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Shivaji, the Founder of the Maratha Empire.



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SHIVAJI THE GREAT

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BY

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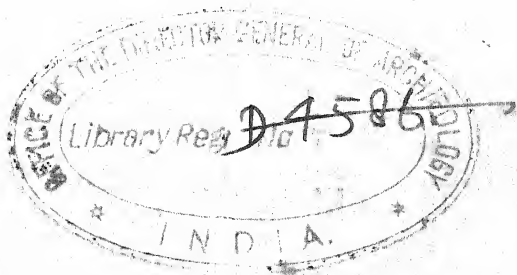
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Vol. II

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CHAPTER I

Early Career of Shivaji

1. True descent of Shivaji

The lineage of Maharaj Shahji Bhosle, the founder of Greater Maharashtra, has been traced from the Solar Dynasty of Sisod.¹ The rulers of Chittor and Udaipur in Rajputana and those of Kolhapur and Mudhol in the Deccan possessed and even now retain lineal consanguinity. The Persian Sanads obtained from the Bahmani and Adil Shahi Kings by the Mudhol chiefs have indubitably proved the Rajput origin of the Bhosles. They were known as Ranas for seven generations. This title was changed to Raja in the case of Bhimsing in 1471. Since that year the Mudhol rulers adopted the surname of Raja Ghorpade Bahadur, while the younger branch in charge of the Devagiri estates continued to be known as Bhosles.

The very word Bhosle indicates their descent from the Bhaswat Kula² or Solar Dynasty. They performed heroic deeds in the south and hence too they were named Bhrishbalas³ or Bhosles. The Puranas propounded the theory that in the Kali Yuga the Brahmins and Shudras were the only two orders of the society, because the true Kshatriyas and Vaishyas had disappeared. Hence in the Deccan, the Bhosle Kshatriyas had become Shudras in the Brahmani hierarchy and terminology. This deep-rooted belief of the Brahmins made Shivaji unfit for a Kshatriya

1. Part I, pp. 49-56.

2. Part I, p. 191 n.

3. Shivabharat, III. 57; IV, 54-56, 67; VIII. 15. Ferishta says that they were called Bhoslas as they were the terror of their enemies or because of the low origin of their mother.

coronation to be performed with Vedic rites.¹ The currency of such a belief has been recorded in a contemporary Dutch letter wherein it is stated that Shivaji was initiated into the rules of the Kshatriya caste on 29th May, 1674, or eight days before his coronation. On that very day he was placed on a par even with the Brahmins with respect to the chanting of the Vedas by Gaga Bhat inspite of the opposition of the other Brahmins. It should be remembered that the denial of the Brahmins of the 17th century to call the Rajputs Kshatriyas would not really pervert their historic descent and high lineage. The Bhosle ancestors of Shivaji were linked to the Sisodias, and hence they were the noblest among the Rajputs.

2 Perverted versions

Shahji Bhosle had two sons,² Sambhaji and Shivaji from his first wife Jijabai, and Vyankoji from his second wife Tukabai. The arch rebel Shivaji proved to be a scourge to all the Muslims, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. Hence some of these people wilfully indulged in fabricating disparaging stories about his ancestry, while others only through ignorance accepted the street rumours and recorded them in their books. For instance, Father Navarette³ described Shivaji as a Mogul, while the author of the *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*⁴ calls the Raja a relative of the great Mogul. The curiosity-monger Guarda⁵ records that Shivaji was the son of Menezes, the lord of the village Virar near the city of Bassein. Even Thevenot makes the mistake of asserting that

1. Cf. Shivaji, Vol. II. P. 33.

2. He had really six sons, out of whom only two survived. Sh. Bh. V. 23.

3. He visited India in 1670.

4. Paris 1677. Sen, F. Biographies, XIII. The unreliability of this author is noticed by R. Orme in his Hist. Frag. Notes, XVI.

5. Ser, F. Biographies, p. 1. Cf. Shivaji Vol. I. 222.

Shivaji was born at Bassein.¹ Bhimsen, in his Journal entitled the *Nushka-i-Dilkasha*,² has given currency to a concocted story of the emigration of an illegitimate son of Bhim Singh, Rana of Udaipur, to Khandesh and then to Poona. The whole account is full of so many chronological inconsistencies that it does not deserve any serious notice. Manucci too gives credence to the story of a spurious son of a Rana fleeing to the court of Bijapur and receiving the grant of territories near Chaul, Cambay, Bassein and Bombay.³ Khafi⁴ Khan is in company of the two previous writers in tracing Shivaji's descent from an illegitimate son of a Rana of Chittor. Ferishta⁵ too has subscribed to the same view. All the four historians were in the service of the Mogul Emperors and Muslim rulers and were interested in giving a perverted version of the descent of Shahji and Shivaji. It has been proved beyond doubt that Shivaji and his ancestors belonged to the purest and highest family of the Solar Rajputs, the the rulers of Sisod and Chittor.⁶

3. Sarkar criticised.

Shivaji was called a Rajput by Raja Jaswant Singh when the latter made a secret understanding with him at Poona (P. 565 *infra*). This happened nine years before the coronation. It is strange that Sarkar should have dealt the greatest blow to the glory of his hero by describing Shivaji

1. We need not refer to the vilification indulged by one Frago in his "Traces Genealogicos Do Maharaje? Nova Goa, 1921." He has been thoroughly exposed by Prof. P. Pissurlencar in 'Xivaji Maharaja com sangne Portugues ?'

2. Source Book of Maratha History, p. 157.

3. Manucci, II, p. 26.

4. Elliot VII. 254-55.

5. Ferishta's History of the Deccan by Scott, II, p. 4.

6. Besides the seventeen references given on pp. 189-92 of Part I to prove the Rajput origin of the Bhosles the following two may be mentioned:

Orme, *Fragments*, p. 5— 'He drew his lineage from the Rajas of Chitore.'

Maria Graham—"A Journal of a residence in India" (1813 Ed.) P. 77—"Shivaji was descended from the ancient Rana of Oodiapore."

to be 'an upstart sprung from such a Shudra (plebeian) stock' and aspiring 'to the rights and honours due to a Kshatriya'. According to him, the Bhosles were popularly known to be neither Kshatriyas *nor of any other twice-born* caste, but mere tillers of the soil, as Shivaji's great grandfather was still remembered to have been. Almost all the Smritis recognize cultivators of land as Vaishyas who are included among the twice-born. Yet Sarkar excludes the Bhosles from their pale. Secondly, he relies upon the Bakhars of Chitnis and others for describing Babaji as an agriculturist, but we have shown that the ancestors of Shivaji were captains of armies and feudal lords in the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. The names of the early ancestors given in Chitnis are confirmed by the Sanads granted to them separately by the Deccan Kings.¹ On the one hand, Sarkar describes Gaga Bhat to be the greatest theologian and controversialist then alive, a master of the four Vedas, the six Philosophies, and all the scriptures of the Hindus, and popularly known as the Brahma-Deva and Vyas of the age.² On the other, he belittles his character. Such a Vyas and Brahma-Deva too had his price. For a huge fee he sold his conscience and consented to recognize Shivaji a Kshatriya, though he was actually not so. Then he describes 'the Bhonsle pedigree as *fabricated* by the clever secretary Balaji Avji and other agents of Shiva.' It will be seen from the genealogical trees given on p. 186 of Part I that the ancestry preserved by the Chitnis family and reproduced in their Bakhar has to a large extent been confirmed by the Sanads. It was no concoction of the clever Secretary, but it is indeed clever on the part of Sarkar to call the genealogical tree a fabrication without stating his reasons for such a sweeping remark.

To sum up, it has been proved on the basis of contemporary Sanads and other materials that the Bhosle

1. Shivaji, Part I, 186-188.

2. Sarkar. Shivaji, 209-213.

rulers of Satara and Kolhapur, and their kinsmen the Ghorpade Chiefs of Mudhol, Kapshi, etc. belong to the Solar Dynasty and are the lineal descendants of the Ranas of Chittor and Udaipur. Hence they can legitimately trace their ancestry to Rama of the epic fame. The bluest blood of the Rajputs ran through the veins of Shivaji, Shivarai, Shivaraj or Shiva Chhatrapati, the founder of the Maratha Empire. His ancestors were not Shudra agriculturists, but Kshatriya rulers of large territories under the Deccani Sultans from 1350 A. D. onwards. Then from his mother's side he claimed descent from the Yadava Kings of Devagiri. Many people have indulged in calumny against Shivarai as he rebelled against the established Muslim Raj, humbled the most powerful Mogul Emperor, avenged seven hundred years of national degradation, restored the splendour of Hindu culture and publicity of Hindu worship, and founded a great kingdom on the ruins of the Mogul Empire and the Deccan Sultanates.

4. The birth-date of Shivaji

Till recently it was believed that Shivaji was born on 6th April ' 1627 as stated by Malharrao Ramrao Chitnis in his Bakhar written about 1810 A. D. But this date seems to be doubtful, if not wrong, in the light of modern research. It is now proved that the date of his birth was 19th February 1630. It was Friday, the 3rd of the dark half of the month of Phalgun, Shukla Samvatsar Shaka 1551.

5. The traditional date is wrong

(1) In several Bakhars, such as Chitnis, Shiva Digvijaya, Shivaji Pratap, and Shedgaonkar, the year of birth is invariably stated to be 1549 Shaka² or 1627 A.D., but in some the name

I. B. G. Tilak pointed out the discrepancies of the Bakhars and provisionally arrived at the conclusion that 6th April was the birth date of Shivaji. Sir J. Sarkar (P. 22) is " inclined to prefer Monday 10th April 1627 which is recorded by the descendants of his secretaries."

2. The Rairi Bakhar, however, has 1548 Shaka.

of the year or week day is wrong, in others the week day and Tithi do not agree. For instance, in the Shiva Digvijaya the Tithi is Vaishakh Shudhi, but in others it varies from 2 to 15 as in Pantpratinidhi's Bakhar. The names of the year are hopelessly wrong.¹ In fact the Bakhars make contradictory statements based on hearsay or on rough calculations.

(2) Important works like the Sabhasad Bakhar, or Bhushan's Shivaraj do not give any date of Shivaji's birth. The Chitragupta Bakhar which is based on the Sabhasad follows suit in this respect.

(3) Chitnis, Shiva Digvijaya, Shiva Nib. 1,133-140, and the Bakhar of Nagpur Bhosles name Thursday, but the Rairi and 91 Q. Bakhars as well as the Small Chronicle of the Maratha Empire name Monday as the day of Shivaji's birth. The Shedgaonkar Bakhar and Bhide's History give Saturday (3 Shudhi) as the birth-date. Modern writers have adopted one or other of these different dates. For instance, Grant Duff gives 3rd May, 1627; Keluskar and Takakhav have Thursday 2 Shudhi 1549; Kincaid and Parasnis prefer 10th April, 1627.

(4) Shivaji's horoscope given in some of these Bakhars is wrong on astronomical evidence.

(5) When the Rairi and Chitnis Bakhars give wrong dates of the principal events of Shivaji's life, they cannot be trusted for the date of his birth. An analysis of the five Bakhars must have revealed their chronological confusion. (Part I, pp. 173-184.)

(6) The evidence of some of the Bakhars is self-contradictory and supports the new date. For instance, it has been said in the Rairi, Tarikh-i-Shivaji and the Bakhar of the Maratha Empire² that Shivaji was 16 or 17 years old at the time of the death of his guardian Kond Deva. It is now certain that the latter died in March 1647, hence Shivaji must have been born in 1630 and not in 1627.

1. See Sh. Ch. P. Pp. 2-13: 71-79.

2. Vakaskar, Shivachharapatichi 91 Q. Bakhar, pp. 47-48.

(7) Sir J. Sarkar has strongly condemned the Bakhars as "the production of some ignorant, credulous, dull-brained writers and not the work of any clever minister of state or scholarly author. They do not make the least pretence of being based upon contemporary written records or authentic state papers." On the other hand, *he is convinced that the Jedhe Chronology is the most valuable and authentic contemporary record of Shivaji* and his ancestors as yet discovered. It contains brief notes of the more important public events in the Deccan kingdoms and Shivaji's family and State, mixed with the fortunes of successive generations of the head of the Zedhe family of deshmukhs. *Exact dates are given in every case.*"¹ He has not only paid such a high tribute to the authenticity of the Jedhe Chronology, but has accepted many dates from the same in the chronology given at the end of his famous volume on 'Shivaji and His Times.' Yet he adheres to the old date on the ground that a hereditary writer of Shivaji's family like Dattaji or Malhar Ram Rao, is a better authority for the date of Shivaji's birth than the Jedhe Chronology. Malhar Ram Rao's Bakhar is as full of chronological inconsistencies and confusion as any other Bakhar. Hence his argument is unconvincing. We must test the old and new dates on the basis of other facts. It is strange that Sir Jadunath has not adopted the birth-date given by the Jedhe Chronology, but preferred the traditional date mentioned in the condemned Bakhars.

On the other hand, all the contemporary works, such as the Shivabharat, the Jedhe, Coronation and Daspanchayatan Chronologies mention 1551 Shaka as the year of Shivaji's birth. This is confirmed by the Stone Inscription of Tanjore. Forbe's Collection (Shivapurkar Chronology), and particularly by the Jodhpur horoscope of Shivaji. All these seven sources which, excepting the Tanjore Inscription, are mostly

1. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, March 1924.

contemporary, are unanimous in every detail of the hero's birth-date. There can be no doubt that in the light of the succeeding remarks, the new date will be preferred.¹

6. The traditional story unreliable

The whole story of Shahji sitting with the princes on the Nizam Shahi throne, of offending his father-in-law Jadhavarao who deserted to the Moguls and brought about their invasion, of Shahji's finding refuge in Mahuli, of his flight from there and of his pursuit by Jadhavrao, is a pure concoction. The whole romance is a baseless fabric of a poet's imagination. The following facts have been well-authenticated:—

(1) Burhan or Murtiza Nizam Shah was put to death by Amber's son, Fateh Khan, in February 1632. His successor was imprisoned and sent in 1633 to Gwalior after the capitulation of Daulatabad by Fateh Khan. Shahji set up a princeling in 1633 as the nominal head of the Nizam Shahi State and was driven out of Mahuli by the allied Adil Shahi and Mogul forces in December 1636 (Part I, 83-101).

(2) When Burhan Nizam Shah was ruling, there could be no question of Shahji sitting on this King's throne with his princes. There is not a grain of truth in the romance of Jadhavarao pursuing Shahji and Jijabai in 1627, of her being taken to Shivneri, and delivering a son there in April 1627.

(3) In 1626-27 Shahji was serving the Bijapur Government and his father-in-law was with the Moguls. There was no question of Shahji being besieged in Mahuli and being pursued by Jadhavrao (Part I, 68-70; 62-63).

(4) Shahji was in the Bijapur service from 1625 to 1628 and returned to Daulatabad on the invitation of the Nizam Shahi premier. The fort of Junner was then under Nizam Shah. Hence a rebel could not be given shelter by the commandant of the Shivneri fort, nor would Shahji jeopardize

1. Apte and Paranjpe: Birth-day of Shivaji; Sh. Bh. Pp. 87-90; Sh. Nib. I. 133-140. Sh. Ch. Pr. Pp. 1-13; 112-122; 182-192; 214-218; 251-289.

his position by keeping his family in the hands of his enemies. Hence Jijabai could not be kept in 1627 at Shivneri, nor could Shivaji have been born and named *there* in that year.

(5) Junner is said to be a fort under Shahji in 1627. This assertion is absolutely incorrect. Prince Shah Jahan had taken refuge at Junner in the beginning of 1627 as the guest of the Nizam Shahi State. Mahabat Khan too joined him there with¹ 2,000 horse. Jahangir died on 28th October 1627 and the news of his death was delivered to Shah Jahan after twenty days at Junner. It is consequently impossible that the rebellious Shahji would keep his family there. The Shivneri Fort was held by Vishvasrao on behalf of the Nizam Shahi Government, and it was in 1633 that Shahji treacherously captured the fortress from him.²

(6) It is said in the traditional account that Mir Jumla came with an army from Delhi and laid siege to Mahuli where Shahji was staying with his wife and son. It is now well-known that Mir Jumla joined the Moguls in 1656 and that the siege of Mahuli took place in 1636. Thus inconsistent statements make up the stuff of the traditional story (See pp. 98-101 of Part I).

(7) Even Jadhavrao, a nobleman in Jahangir's service, could not send his daughter to Shivneri, as the fort was then in the hands of the rebellious prince Shah Jahan.

(8) According to the Shiva Bharat and Tanjore Inscription, Shivaji was born at Shivneri in the year when Shahji was engaged in pursuing Darya Khan, a supporter of Khan Jahan Lodi. This event took place in 1630 (Part I, 80).

(9) In 1626-27 there was no war between the Nizam Shahi and the Mogul governments and the latter had no cause to pursue Shahji. It was in 1630 that the Raje made a common cause with Khan Jahan Lodi and it was probable that to punish him some force might have been sent. But

1. Elliot, VI, 434, 437.

2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 436, 437.

this revolt of Shahji was due to the murder of his father-in-law in the Nizam Shahi Durbar. Hence there could not be any pursuit of Shahji by the deceased Jadhavrao even in this struggle (Part I, 79-82).

(10) The story of the pursuit is not related in the Shivabhusan, the Sabhasad and Chitragupta Bakhars, in the Shiva Bharat or Jedhe Chronology. It is given in later chronicles alone. Hence the whole story is a myth and has no bearing on the birth of Shivaji. A careful examination of this evidence should convince every reader that 19th February 1630 is the correct date of Shivaji's birth day.

7. Shivaji's education

The precocious child Shiva was put in charge of very able teachers, so that in a few years he acquired the knowledge of several languages, and went through the Vedas, the Mahabharat, the Ramayan, the Puranas, books on political science, law, architecture, astrology, astronomy, art of war, physiognomy, poetics, magic, and on several other sciences. He was made proficient in the art of athletics and wrestling, of handling swords, arrows, javelins, lances and daggers, of riding horses and elephants, of capturing forts, of removing poisons, and of examining jewels.

Thus while the Shiva Bharat (IX. 70-74; X. 34-40) describes Shivaji as a well-educated prince, Grant Duff (P. 57) says that Shivaji could never write his name. Even Sir J. Sarkar maintains this tradition by asserting that " Shivaji was illiterate; he learnt nothing by reading." ¹

8. Reasons advanced for Shivaji's literacy

(i) It has been seen that Shahji and his son Sambhaji knew Sanskrit and several other languages. (ii) Shivaji's son Sambhaji is the author of a Sanskrit work called ' Budhabhushan.' ² It is incredible that Shivaji alone remained

1. Shivaji, p. 405.

2. Cf. Tarikh-i-Shivaji in Vakaskar, Shivachhatrapati 91 Q. Bakhar, p.42. Rai'ri, 38.

unlettered. (iii) There is the contemporary evidence that Shivaji too used to compose verses (Raj. IV. 74). (iv) He must have been very fond of Sanskrit, otherwise he could not have a Sanskrit verse inscribed on his seal in his boyhood. (v) Many of the old and new forts were given Sanskrit names by Shivaji. Sinhagad, Vishalgad, Rajgad, Suvarndurg, Vijayadurg, Bhimagad, Pandavagad, Sundargad, Prachandgad are prominent examples. (vi) He was so anxious to give currency to the old Sanskrit words in the political and administrative spheres that Raghunath Pandit was ordered to compose *Rajvyavharkosha* - a dictionary giving Sanskrit equivalents of all important Urdu and Persian words which were then current in the Muslim courts. (vii) He was a great patron of learning. Poets like Parmanand and Bhushan who used to amuse him with their verses, have left works of a very high order. The *Karnagrantha*, *Parnal Parvatakhyanam* and *Gagabhat's Shivarkodya* were written under his patronage.¹ (viii) According to Ramdas, countless Pandits, Purohits, poets, Vedic scholars, and logicians thrived at his court. He was called a king of wisdom and even omniscient by Ramdas. (ix) The Chitnis Bakhar has distinctly said that during the first seven years Shiva was engaged in learning calligraphy and in acquiring knowledge of books. Further he had the genius to learn things without much effort. Then he is introduced to the King of Bijapur as a *very learned boy*.² (x) Since he lived a few years in the Karnatic, he must have picked up Kanarese. Moreover, he must have been well-versed in Hindi, otherwise, he could not have understood Bhushan's verses in high-flown Hindi, nor could he have easily escaped from Agra to Poona without the knowledge of this language. In short, he was well-versed in several languages and had a smattering of several branches of learning.

1. Sh. Ch. Pr. Pp. 224-25.

2. Sane's Edition, 1924. Pp. 54, 55, 58. Cf. Sh. Dig. 72.

9. Contemporary evidence from Records

There are many contemporary evidences to contradict the assertion of Grant Duff and Sarkar. A few instances are given below, but detailed information can be had by referring to the pages indicated in each case:—

1. Rougy (Raoji) Pandit received a letter from the Rajah *written by himself* (P. 80 *infra*).

2. The English merchants instruct their envoys to deliver their letter into Shivaji's own hands, ' for we fear these Brahmans make letters to speak what they please.' Unless Shivaji could himself read the letter, he would be dependent upon the Brahmans for its contents. It is clear that the Englishmen knew that Shivaji could himself read and write letters (P. 140 *infra*).

3. Rougy showed to the English at Rajapur '*a writing from his muster* (Shivaji) with his owne chop (Chhap or seal) and others accustomed to it, as also the print of the Rajah's hand on the top of the paper, done with Sandall.' P. 149 *infra*.

Every important Sanad had a seal and the impression of the hand of the king in saffron. A specimen of such a document has already been reproduced in the Persian Sanads (Part I, Pp. 41, 48, 49, 104, 105, 129).

4. On P. 443 of this Volume, there is a reference of a letter from Shivaji to the Governor of Bombay.

5. The treaty with the English was agreed upon, but had not been *signed and confirmed by Shivaji himself*. (P. 445 *infra*).

6. There are several references to the *signing* of the treaty on Pp. 15, 17, 29, 44 of Vol. II. Here we quote only one example:—

" The Articles of Peace *signed* and ratified by Shivaji ".

7. *Several writings* were sent by Narain Shenwi, *signed by Shivaji*. (Vol. II, p. 36).

8. Mr. Child received ' a letter the Rajah sent me *signed by himself*.' O. C. 4253. 10th January 1677.

9. We have Shivaji's letters to Sir Wm. Langhorn. (See Vol. II, pp. 234, 235, 236, 237, 250).

10. The Dutch account of the second sack of Surat mentions *an autograph letter of Shivaji* wherein he informed the French of his intended invasion. P. 330 *infra*.

11. In the struggle for Hendry Kendry, there is an exchange of letters between the English and Shivaji. The former carefully distinguish Shivaji's letters from those of his ministers. Two letters of Shivaji are mentioned. (Vol II, Pp. 450-51).

12. A new writing be made, *signed* and sealed by Shivaji Rajah for himself and his successors to perform the same. (Vol. II, p, 457).

13. The treaty should be *signed* by both the Governors of Goa and Shivaji Raje. (Vol. II, 316).

14. The Governor of Goa received several letters from Shivaji. (Vol. II, 315, 524).

15. The Rairi Bakhar records that Shivaji opened his father's letter addressed to his guardian Kond Deva and perused it. Forrest, Maratha Series, I, p. 9.

16. We have Shivaji's letters to Shahji, Maloji, Vyankoji and Ragunathpant (Part I, p. 205; Vol. II, Pp. 281-289).

It was hardly necessary to multiply such instances, had not Sir J. Sarkar asserted that Shivaji was unlettered.¹ He maintains that the Europeans never saw him write anything, but we have shown above that the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese have all testified that he could read and write. They received his autograph letters and treaties personally signed by him. It is hoped that some of these letters will one day be discovered in the European Archives.

10. Part played by Shivaji's mother

We now proceed to study the part played by the parents, preceptor and contemporary statesmen in moulding the character

1. Sarkar, Shivaji, p. 27.

and shaping the career of Shivaji. From his worthy father he inherited versatility, statesmanship, military genius, self-confidence, passion for freedom, and a powerful incentive to establish Hindwi Swarajya. His mother, Jijabai was not only descended from the ancient Yadav Emperors of the Devagiri Empire, but was the eldest daughter of Jadhav Rao of Sinkhed who was honoured with the princely rank of 24,000 horse by the Emperor Jahangir. She was married to Shahji Bhosle in 1619/20 and a year after her father deserted to the Moguls. Circumstances conspired in such a way that her husband too had to sever his connection with the Nizam Shahi State and to accept service in the Bijapur Kingdom. Jijabai must have shared the strenuous life of her husband during the four years of 1625-28. After this period when Shahji resumed service under Nizam Shah, he had to defend his Kingdom, except for a brief interlude, against the Mogul inroads till 1637. Thus Jijabai had to actively share in all the dangers and vicissitudes experienced by her heroic husband. She must have been present in many a battle-field and been the victim of a number of sieges and pursuits. Her sons too must have got the thrilling experience of hair-breadth escapes, and all of them must have endured and braved losses and privations with fortitude, since no failure ever daunted them.

Since 1642 Jijabai separated from her husband and lived with her young son Shiva upon whom she lavished all her tenderness. Being a woman of extraordinary endowments, she was best fitted for the task of rearing and educating her child for the exalted destiny of uprooting thrones, mowing down armies, wielding sceptres, dictating terms to mighty monarchs, and liberating trampled millions from the chains of foreign yoke. She instilled into his bosom those exalted principles of devotion, piety, austerity, honour, and glory which, in the midst of many temptations, preserved him from the degraded doom of the voluptuary and the inebriate, and the lack of which afterwards entrapped her

grand-son Sambhaji into its meshes. Shivrai was indebted to his mother for his deep religious convictions, his mysticism, his devotion to saintly persons, his Spartan simplicity and purity of private life.

Jijabai was personally aware of the policies, tactics, diplomacies of the kings, princes, nobles and generals of the Mogul, Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi Kingdoms for more than a generation. She had consequently accumulated a rich experience of statecraft. During the minority of her son, she busied herself in administrative problems and dispensing justice to the people. She remained a sure anchorage in spiritual and moral realities to her son throughout her life. Her inspiring participation in the capture of Purandhar, in the tragic despatch of Afzal Khan, in the memorable escape from Panhala, in maintaining military discipline and administrative efficiency during Shivaji's absence in the north, in the capture of Sihlagad by Tanaji Malusare, and in the reclamation of Nimbalkar from Islam, furnish adequate testimony to her extraordinary qualities of head and heart. In one word, she had the head of a man over the shoulders of a woman. She remained a guide, philosopher and friend to Shivaji throughout her life. She anxiously watched the rising sun of the glory of her son and was fortunate to witness its climax in the form of his coronation as an independent king and an ornament of the Kshatriya race.

11. Were Shivaji and Jijabai discarded by Shahji ?

We cannot accept the inference of Sir. J. Sarkar that by the year 1630 Jijabai lost her husband's love, probably with the loss of her youth, and Shahji forsook her and her little son Shivaji, and took a younger and more beautiful wife. (Shivaji, 23). We have seen that Shahji visited his newly born babe in 1630 and then he busied himself in rejuvenating the Nizam Shahi State. It is expected that he brought his family from Shivneri to the new capital Shahgad. Since he captured Junner by a stratagem in 1633, it is evident that his family

was not in the fort. Since that year Shivneri-Junner was his capital, and he remained there with his family and the puppet king up to 1636, as is borne out by the Shahnama.

After the loss of Junner he moved to Danda Rajpuri and then to Mahuli with his wife and children. Since 1637 he was first at Bijapur and then in the Karnatak. Shivneri was then not in his possession, so that Jijabai and Shivaji were with him in the Karnatak for some five years more. Thus we find that instead of forsaking his wife and son, Shahji kept them with himself for twelve years (Part I, Pp. 82, 84, 91-92, 99). It is certain that Shivaji could not be brought from Shivneri by Kond Deva after 1636, as the fort was ceded to the Moguls by Shahji. Still Sarkar has pinned his faith to the untenable version of the worthless Rairi Bakhar (Sarkar, 23, Vakaskar, 39).

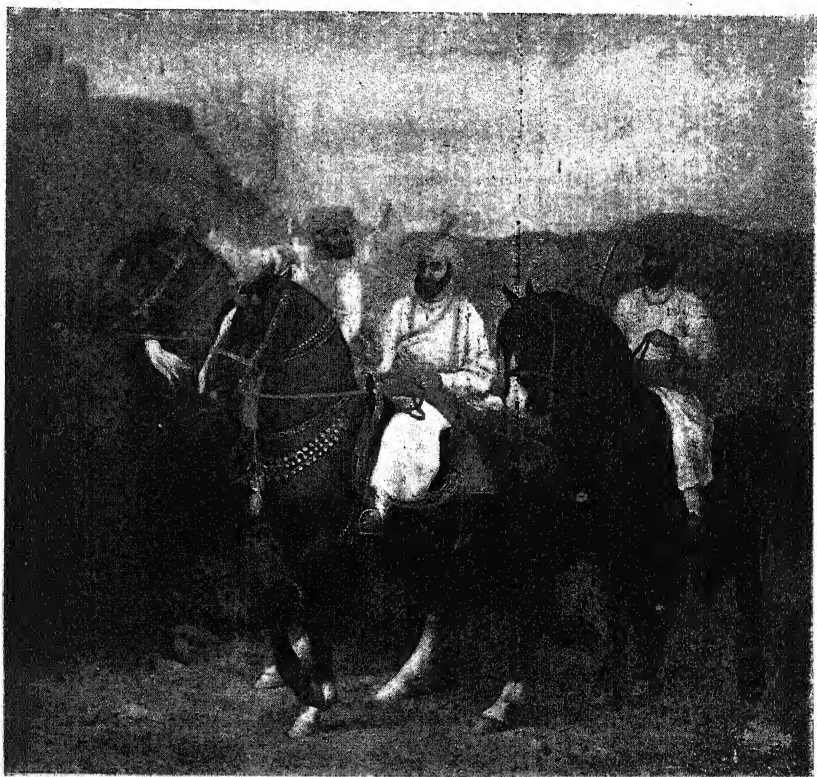
Both 91 Q. Bakhar and Tarikh-I-Shivaji¹ record that Shahji was highly enraged against Jijabai and Shivaji on the death of his eldest son Sambhaji, as he attributed this sad event to the ill-luck of Jadhav Rao. Thereupon he resolved to give up his wife and son and take to another wife.¹ This story is a pure concoction and yet Sir J. Sarkar relies upon this information. Sambhaji² was killed in 1655, while, Shahji is said to have married Tukabai in 1630. Still the second event is related to be the effect of the first. How could the misfortune of Jadhavrao be the cause of Sambhaji's death when the former had died twenty-five years before the latter? The Shiva Bharat³ testifies to the deep love existing between Shahji and his wife Jijabai. It also emphasizes the point that Shahji became more and more convinced that his growing prosperity was due to the auspicious traits of Shivaji. It is recorded by Sabhasad that Shahji had the revelation from God Shankar that his son Shivaji was to perform extraordinary

1. Vakaskar Sh. 91 Q. Bakhar, pp. 40-42.

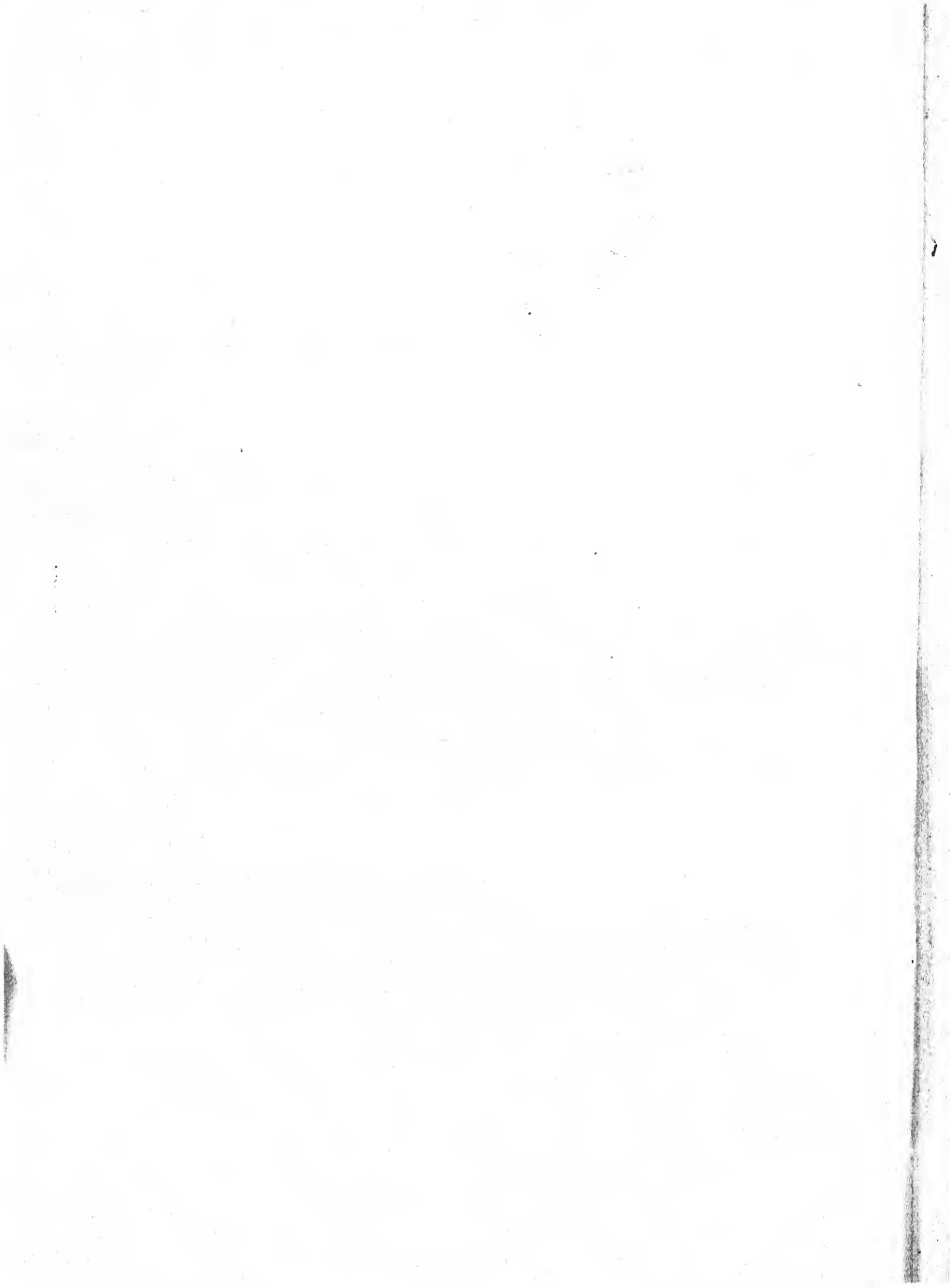
2. Shivaji, Part I, 144.

3. Sh. Bh. V. 21-60; VI. 64-75; IX. 69; X. 3-20

The Sinha (Lion) of the Sahyadries.



(Kindly lent by Khan Bahadur B. D. Padamji).



deeds and hence he should be given independence after 12th year. The Shiva Bharat (X. 1-2) confirms the same point. According to this authority, Shāhji twice had inspiration from God Shiva in 1636 and 1642 to send away Shivaji after the 12th year. The true interpretation of these inspirations seems to be that Shahji desired to give his son a good training in administration from the 13th year. He kept his eldest son Shambhu with him and placed him in charge of the Karnatak Jagir, while he sent his precocious son with his mother to improve the Jagirs in the Deccan. Kond Deva and others thought it necessary to have Jijabai to look after the young boy, because they would otherwise be shouldering too great a responsibility for the safety, health, and character of their precious ward.

12. Dadaji Kond Deva

Dadaji was the *Kulkarni* and *Qanungo* of the parganas of Hingni, Burdi and Devalgaon¹—places of which the hereditary Patilship and Deshmukhi rights belonged to Shahji. He held a high opinion of the ability and fidelity of this shrewd Brahmin, and consequently appointed him his representative in the jagir of Poona in 1637. He was to be assisted by a force of one thousand horse under the command of the Abyssinian Siddi Hallal. In the 13th year of his age, Shivaji was sent from the Karnatak to Poona² and put under the charge of his mother Jijabai and guardian Kond Deva. With³ him were sent Shamrao Nilkanth as Peshwa, (Chancellor). Balkrishna Pant as Majumdar (Accountant), Sonaji Pant as Dabir (Political Secretary), Ragunath Ballal Korde as Sabnis (Paymaster). After some time Manakoji Dahatonde was appointed as Sarnaubat (Commander), and Narayan Pant as Accountant.⁴ With the help of such experienced statesmen, generals and administrators, the new jagir began to be well governed. Order was brought out of chaos. Wild animals were destroyed, robbers were hunted out, sturdy Mawles were persuaded to settle there and cultivate the lands on easy terms. Markets were established. New towns like Shivapur

1. Tarikh-i-Shivaji; Rairi Bakhar calls him an accountant of the Multan village in the Pargana of Patas.

2. Sh. Bh. X. 1-2. Sabh. P. 3.

3. Sen. Shivachhatrapati, p. 3; Jedbe Karina.

4. At another place Tukoji Chor Maratha is named to be the first Sarnaubat.

were founded. Gardens were laid out. Poona was embellished with new buildings. Justice was impartially administered. In one word, peace and prosperity were established in the districts of Poona, Indapur and Supa. It appears that Kond Deva was working in two capacities. He was Subedar and a special officer on behalf of the Bijapur Government in Fort Kondana and other Mahals. The earliest reference to it at present available is a document of 26th January 1638. (P. S. S. No. 432. Cf. Nos. 436; 456-7; 507; 513.). At the same time, he was an agent of Shahji for administering his jagir, collecting revenue, and for sending a part of it to Bijapur and the rest to his master.

13 The subjugation of the Mavals

Soon after his arrival in Poona, Kond Deva planned to bring the Mavals under his jurisdiction. The Maval country or the Sunset Land is extremely rugged and consists of a series of table-lands cut on every side by deep winding valleys. The Western belt of the Sahyadris is divided into twelve Mavals under Poona and twelve Mavals under Junner. Each Maval was then under a Deshmukh—a hereditary revenue collector or agent of the King. He collected the revenue from the cultivators through the village Patils, sent a fixed share to the central government and kept the balance for himself. These local chiefs possessed a kind of feudal militia for the protection of their territories. The Mavals which were once under the Nizam Shahi State and hence administered by Shahji, were ceded to the Bijapur government by the treaty of 1636. A year later when Shahji accepted the Bijapur service, he was given in Jagir all those inaccessible parts for administration. Chitnis records that the district of Poona, Supa, Baramati, Indapur and the Twelve Mavals were granted to Shahji in Jagir. During the last seven years of the existence of the Nizam Shahi State, the central control had almost disappeared and several chiefs had become independent. It was to bring the refractory Deshmukhs under control that an experienced statesman like Shahji was entrusted with the administration of the mountainous region. He was also to act as a warden of the Frontiers against the Moguls.

One Krishnaji Nayak Bandal, Deshmukh of Hirdas Maval, who had put up the banner of revolt against Bijapur,

advanced against the contingent brought by Kond Deva. The latter was defeated, his soldiers fled away, the tails of his horses were cut down, and thus Krishnaji maintained his honour and independence against Shahji. However, this leader of the Mavals was won over by Kanhoji Jedhe. Thereupon he and several other Deshmukhs of the Mavals waited upon Kond Deva at Shivapur and submitted to his authority.¹ Since then he began to introduce law and order in those tracts, and in a short time made the inhabitants wealthy and prosperous. The Sabhasad Bakhar expressly mentions that the capture of the Twelve Mavals² was affected by Kond Deva after the arrival of Shivaji in Poona. Therefore it must have occurred in 1643-44. But Chitnis³ places the event in 1635-6, i. e., when Shivaji was seven years old according to his calculation. The credit of the conquest is given to the boy Shivaji and not to Kond Deva. Chitnis is absolutely wrong, because Shahji was engaged in a life and death struggle with the Mogul Imperialists and their Bijapur allies. By the monsoon of 1636 he had lost the major portion of the Nizam Shahi territory and was forced to seek refuge first at Danda and then in the hill fortress of Mahuli. An unpublished Portuguese document from the Goa Archives will throw light on the point.

"Copy of the resolution of the Council of State, dated 12th October 1636. Pero da Silva and Council.

In this Council there was read a letter from Antonio Carneiro de Aragao, Capt. of Choul to the Vice Roy. Therein it was said that a Mouro (Muslim) came from Shahji on 26th September with a letter to the said captain; wherein Shahji described his condition and his actions in the Konkan and desired refuge to be given by the Viceroy, because he was

1. Raj. XVI. 316-17. XVIII, p. 44; Cf. Doc. 316 and 393 of P. S. S.

2. The twelve Mavals under Poona were:— (i) Rohidkhor, (ii) Velvand, (iii) Muse; (iv) Muthe, (v) Sivthar, (vi) Paud, (vii) Gunjan, (viii) Bhor, (ix) Pavan, (x) Jor, (xi) Kanad, (xii) Murum. Raj. has other names for the last three; Andar, Nane, Ghotam. Raj. IV, 78.

There were twelve Mawals under the jurisdiction of Junner: (Raj. IV, p. 78)

(i) Shivaner, (ii) Junner, (iii) Minaner, (iv) Ghodner, (v) Bhimaner, (vi) Bhamner (vii) Jamner, (viii) Pimpalner, (ix) Parner, (x) Sinnar; (xi) Sangamner (xii) Akolner,

3. Chitnis, 30. Rājwade places the event in 1638-40, but he ignores the condition that Shivaji was at Bangalore up to the end of 12 years.

in serious straits and desired support. He has been a constant friend of the Portuguese. Although the Nizam Shahi State belongs to the Malik (Melique) who is 11 years old and who has been kept in the very strong fort of Trimalvadi on the Balaghat, it is in the hands of Shahji and he is governing it in his own name since three days (years?). The list sent by the captain gives the strength of the army of Shahji. But as there are two powerful kings-the Mogul and Adil Shah, he is not sure of success. He has asked permission to keep his wife called Māy among the Moors, and children in the Choul fort... He is about to be conquered by the Khan-i-Zaman who is a faithful Amir of the Mogul. He will not help Shahji. It is also said that Randulla Khan, captain of the Adil Shahi State, has been requested by Shahji to remain in the Ghats, so that he may get an opportunity to have his wife and children secured somewhere. Hence he desires the Viceroy to give him shelter. If it becomes impossible to continue in his own Kingdom, he will come down to the Choul fort for residence. For this he will give whatever villages etc. are wanted by the Portuguese, as all these are in his hands. Thereupon it was concluded that as we are friends with the Mogul and Adil Shah, we cannot openly help Shahji against them. But if he is willing to go to Danda, we can secretly help him. It was decided to write to the captain not to permit his children and wife in Choul. If they have already been received in the fort, he should give them boats to go to Danda or some other port desired by them, because we cannot openly help Shahji against these two powerful Kings and those with whom we are on terms of friendship." ¹ Thus the Mavals could not be annexed to Shahji's Jagir by Kond Deva or Shivaji in 1636.

The Shiva Bharat explicitly says that Shivaji did not make much impression on the people of Poona in the beginning. It was only after some years when the people became prosperous and when he showed extraordinary intelligence and industry in mastering various branches of learning that the uncommon traits of his character were revealed to the public. The acquisition of the Mavals proved to be the foundation of Maratha Swarajya, the original nucleus of administrative experiments, the cradle of military forces, and the very core of

1. Unbound Documents found out by Mr. P. Pissurlenkar in the Archives.

the future Maratha kingdom. This region supplied sturdy soldiers, devoted followers and faithful comrades to Shivaji. Yesaji Kank, Baji Pusalkar, Tanaji and Suryaji Mulsure, and other heroic companions and captains of Shivaji were from these parts. The steep hills, evergreen forests, winding valleys, deep defiles, and impregnable forts of these inaccessible regions were the favourite retreats of Shivaji and his party.

14. Malik Amber's system revived by Kond Deva

Even the rates fixed by Malik Amber were not collected in the beginning of the rule in the Mavals. In these newly settled districts, one rupee per Bigha was to be taken in the first year, Rs. 3 in the second year, Rs. 6 in the third, Rs. 9 in the fourth, Rs. 10 in the fifth, Rs. 20 in the sixth, the same as other tenants in the seventh, and the rate assessed by Malik Amber in the eighth year.¹ The reclamation of lands in the Mavals was consequently accomplished on generous terms. The normal rate under Malik Amber must have been about Rs. 25-30 per Bigha. Seen in the light of present assessments and the fall in the value of the rupee, Amber's system could not but be extortionate. The main features of his system were:

(i) Classification of lands according to fertility; (ii) ascertainment of their produce; (iii) fixing the government share once for all; (iv) the collection of rents in kind or money; (v) the abolition of the intermediate collecting agents as farmers of revenue; (vi) appointment of Patils and other revenue officers as hereditary agents of the government; and (vii) the responsibility of the collection of revenue on these officers. The people were familiar with the permanent Rayatwari system and the fixed rates to be paid for various kinds of lands. Hence Dadaji Kond Deva, by reviving the popular regulations of the great premier, produced much confidence in his own administration.

15. Administration of Kond Deva

Besides introducing a lenient revenue system, he kept down with an iron hand the robbers and usurpers. His strict and impartial justice became proverbial. The well-known anecdote of plucking a mango against his own rules, of his

1. Vakaskar, Shivachh, 91 Q. Bakhar, p. 43.

attempt to cut off his own hand and ultimately of keeping this hand covered with a leather glove till his fault was pardoned by his master Shahji, illustrates his high sense of honesty, duty and justice.' It was fortunate that Shivaji was brought up under the guidance of such an able and just administrator. Having been initiated into the art of government at an early age, he had for six years practical instruction in statecraft from this ripe statesman.

16. Beginning of Hindwi Swarajya

Up to the year 1648, Shivaji was planning the creation of an independent government, but he was not free from the fetters wrought by the suzerainty of Bijapur. There were several officials in and about Poona to represent the Government. Kond Deva himself was the Subedar of Kondana and several other Mahals; Kazi Abdulla was the Kazi or judge; Gomaji and afterwards Siddi Amber were Hawaldar of Poona up to 1647 (P. S. S. Nos. 525, 540 ; Naro Sundar was Muzumdar, while Vithoji Shitole was Deshmukh. There was also another group of officers appointed by Shahji for the internal administration of the territory put under his charge. The officers of the central government constantly watched the Muslim interests in the territories of the feudatories. It is represented in the Tarikh-i-Shivaji that Kond Deva himself was against the predatory and rebellious tendencies of Shivaji. "Collecting a body of men, he plundered the territories of others and thus accumulated wealth. Dadaji greatly disliked this conduct; but his prohibition had no effect on Shivaji, frequent disputes took place between them. At last in utter disgust, Dadaji took poison.' There is no truth in this story.

17. Capture of Torna

Chitnis records that the officers of the fort of Torna were won over by the Mawles and thus the hill fortress was transferred to Shivaji when he was thirteen years old. Grant Duff places the event three years later in 1646. The importance of this event should not be under-rated. Dadaji Kond Deva and the young dreamer Shivaji could secure a fort from the Imperial Officers for keeping down the Mawles not

1. Rairi and Tarikh-i-Shivaji in Vakasfar, Shivachb. 91 Q. Bakhar. pp. 41, 43. 'He wore an iron chain round his neck.' Tarikh-i-Shivaji.

through a war but through subtle diplomacy, as it would evidently provoke the least opposition. After the capture of the fort, Shivaji fortunately got hidden treasure amounting to several lakh pagodas. The boy seems to be extremely fond of Sanskrit, as he named the fort Prachandgarh (Fierce fort), while another fort which he built on the same spur of hills at a distance of only five miles from Torna, was named Rajgad (The Royal Fortress). It was strengthened with three parapets on the successive terraces on the slopes of the hill. A few details of this *coup d' état* are interesting.

18. Rajgad Siezed

In 1645 March Shivaji made bold to expel the soldiers and officers of the Government from the fort on the Rohireswar Hill and established his own authority there. He strongly fortified it by building ramparts and redoubts, and named it Rajgad which afterwards served as his capital up to 1669 or so. We have to unravel the mystery how Kond Deva could have given his consent to Shivaji to capture Rajgad before March 1645. The Bijapur Government issued a peremptory order to Dadaji Naras Prabhu who was the Deshpande and Kulkarni of the Mavals of Rohid and Velvand to put down the rebellion of Shivaji and recapture Rajgad (P. S. S. Nos. 503, 506.) But Shivaji tried to win over the Prabhu to his side by writing a letter which fully reveals his ambitions and his deep religious convictions. It appears that the Prabhu and Kond Deva had already been won over by this young dreamer of an independent Hindu empire. All the persons in this plot had been bound to each other by a sacred oath. Shivaji exhorted the Prabhu to be firm in his oath like the thunderbolt itself, because he magnetized them with the belief that it was really through the grace of the Self-born Shiva whose temple was on the Rohireswar Hill that he had achieved such a success. " This was only a beginning for the establishment of the *Hindwi Swarajya*. God Shiva was sure to fulfil all his ambitions in future in this respect." Then it is said that Shri Dadaji Kond Deva who was himself very anxious to witness the establishment of this Hindwi Rajya, was waiting for an interview with Naras Prabhu.

It is evident from the preceding summary of Shivaji's

letter dated 17th April, 1645 that he had full faith in his sacred mission and that his guardian had secretly given him a hearty support, Hence the Government had not written to Kond Deva but to the Prabhut to get back the fort from Shivaji.

The Imperial wrath was pacified by Shahji by pointing out that the step was taken to root out intrigue among the local chiefs and to have the forts adjoining to his Jagirs in his own charge to keep in awe the Deshmukhs and to regularly collect the royal revenue.

19. Beginning of Shivaji's rule

The sudden death of Dadaji Kond Deva on 7th March 1647 gave an opportunity to Shivaji to show his latent and natural genius for administration at the age of seventeen. He first possessed himself of the treasure which was to be sent to Shahji. Then the army, consisting of 12,000 horse, was brought under his control. Since its commander Siddi Hallal opposed his measure, he was removed from the post and sent to Shahji. Shivaji was not satisfied with this small force. Hence he is said to have recruited twenty-five thousand Mawles in his service and appointed qualified men to responsible posts. He successfully put down the riots in the districts of Poona and Supa. Similarly, he began to issue new grants to the Inamdars in his own name. In fact, the young man began to manage his estate with such a tact and boldness that Shahji was highly pleased with his proceedings. He bestowed upon him full powers for the government of the territory, expressed warm approval of his conduct and sent assurances of his support in future.

20. Surrender of Kondana

Shivaji knew that he was not in the good graces of the the Bijapur Court and consequently he could not be appointed Subedar in the place of Kond Deva. At the same time, he did not like that Fort Kondana, the key of the Konkan and the natural defence of the plain of Poona as far as Chakan, should remain in the hands of the Muslims. He must have reviewed with his officers the pros and cons of this rebellious act and fully realized its dire consequences. But the audacious boy had full confidence in himself to avert every misfortune. He bribed Siddi Ambar, the Muslim commandant of Kondana, through his friend Bapuji Mudgal and got its possession, but



Shivaji the conqueror of Torna (1646).

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, S.



the Jedhe Karina records that he obtained it through a subtle stratagem, while Sabhasad states that it was captured by assault. Whatever might have been the means, the capture must have created a sensation at the Court. Main Rahim Muhammad, Thanedar of Shirwal, was forthwith ordered to bring the rebels to their senses. But neither he nor another expeditionary force succeeded in dislodging the Maratha force from this Lion's Den.¹

21. Control over Chakan and Supa

It has been seen that Chakan was placed in charge of Pharangoji Narsala, and Supa was administered by Sambhaji Mohite, the brother of Tukabai, Shahji's second wife. The former officer readily agreed to hold the fort under the orders of Shivaji and hence he was confirmed in his command. (Cf. P. S. S. No. 551 of 7th June 1649.)

Sambhaji Mohite, however, refused to accept Shivaji as his superior till he received instructions from Shahji. The young ruler resolved to show an iron hand even to his uncle and thus to set an example of firm rule to all his subordinates. He went there on the Shimga day under the pretext of a visit, imprisoned his uncle, seized his property including 300 horses from his stables, took possession of the Jagir, and sent him and his family² to Shahji. The Shivapur Yadi and Jedhe Sh. place the capture of Supa in September 1656. There is a grant of Shivaji dated July 1649 in the name of the Deshmukh and Deshpande of Supa (P. S. S. No. 556). This is borne out without any shred of doubt by a letter No. 671 of Oct. 1649 (P. S. S.). Hence I have preferred 1649 to 1656 as the year of the capture of Supa. (Cf. Sh. Ch. Sahitya, III, pp, 143, 144, 146, 156, 157.) In this way Shivaji got complete control over his father's jagir and made several appointments for its administration. Tukoji Chor Maratha was made Sarnaubat-Chief Command-of

1. P. S. S. Nos. 507, 525, 535; Raj. XV. No. 437. The Shivapur Deshpande Wahi gives the year 1647 for the capture of Kondana. This event must have occurred before the arrest of Shahji and immediately after the death of Kond Deva to prevent the Bijapur Government from appointing another Subedar in place of Kond Deva.

P. S. S. Nos. 562 and 571 refer to the capture of Kondana. Siddi Ambar was the Hawaldar and Karkun of Pargana Poona. P. S. S. No. 535. 15th October 1647.

2. Vakaskar, 91 Q. Bakhar, p. 55.

the army. Shamrao Nilkanth Parasnis was appointed his *Peshwa*, Balkrishna Pant, Muzumdar, Raghunath Balal as Sabnis or military accountant, Raghav Ballal Atre as Chitnis. Naro Pant and Sonaji Pant were some of the other functionaries.¹

22. The capture of Purandhar in 1647

This strong fortress perched on a high hill commands the road between Poona and Satara and the plateau of Saswad. It was named Indra's Fort on account of its invincibility by being strong like the thunderbolt of the god of gods. It originally belonged to the Nizam Shahi State, but was transferred to Bijapur by the treaty of 1637. Its commandant Niloji or Nilkanth was an intimate friend of Shahji, the premier and king-maker of the Nizam Shahi princes. After the death of Dadaji Kond Deva, Shivaji had an eye on this formidable hill fortress. He could not, however, capture it by force from the friend of his father and consequently waited for a favourable opportunity. This was afforded him by the disaffected brothers of Niloji, the chief of Purandhar. On their invitation Shivaji requested the latter to allow him to canton during the rains under the fort. He was accorded the required permission. Accompanied by his mother, cavalry and Mavali infantry, he encamped at the foot of the mountain. The two brothers of Nilkanth or Niloji were extremely dissatisfied with the uncharitable treatment of their brother and they entered into a plot with Shivaji for his imprisonment and removal. Through their influence, Shivaji was permitted to come with his army into the fort and celebrate the Diwali festival. Soon after the brothers loaded Nilkanth with fetters and brought him before Shivaji. The latter put under arrest the perfidious brothers also, placed his own soldiers as guards in the fort, expelled the old retainers from there, possessed himself of all the accumulated riches in the fortress and thus, without shedding a drop of blood, took possession of the strongest fortress in the Deccan.² In a few days all the three brothers were released and given villages for their maintenance. They were satisfied with the change of masters and afterwards proved to be very faithful adherents.

1. Sen, *Shivachhatrapati*, 4; 91 Q. Bakhar, 47-48.

2. 91 Q. Bakhar 51-54; Sen's *Shivachhatrapati*, 5; Sh. Dig. 121, Chitnis, 39; *Shivacharitra-Sahitya*, Part III, pp. 2-3.

of Shivaji. Moro Pingle was made governor of Purandhar and five thousand Mawles were placed under his charge to protect the fortress. This acquisition made Shivaji's southern frontier quite safe. It is a natural defence for the districts of Baramati, Supa and Indapur, and Shivaji soon made it invincible by impregnable defences. But by such an aggressive act, he soon drew the wrath of the Bijapur sovereign against himself.

23. War after the imprisonment of Shahji

After the arrest of Shahji, Muhammad Adil Shah issued orders for capturing his Jagirs of Bangalore and Poona. These could not be obtained without a war with his sons. Mustafa Khan despatched against Sambhaji at Bangalore, a contingent under Farhad Khan who was assisted by the two chieftains named Tanaji Raje Dure and Vithal Gopal. But the heroic son of Shahji fought with such a valour of despair that the Bijapuri army had to beat retreat from the town.

24. The first victory over the Bijapuri forces in 1649

The war in the Poona district did not terminate so soon. Fateh Khan with several distinguished nobles marched into that district. He took Belsar and encamped there, while Balaji Haibatrao captured Shirwal. Shivaji sent Kavaji with a force officered by such captains as Godaji Jagtap, Bhimaji Vagh, Sambhaji Kate, Shivaji Ingle, Bhikaji Chor. At the approach of Shivaji's force, Haibat Rao, instead of giving it a battle, shut himself up in the mud fort of Shirwal. Kavaji took full advantage of this cowardly move. His soldiers scaled the walls in some places and mined these at other points. Thus they hurled themselves into the fort and furiously fought a hand-to-hand fight. Haibat Rao fell down fighting, but his followers either fled away or were taken prisoners by the victors. Shivaji's forces possessed themselves of the whole bag and baggage of the enemy and retired to Purandhar.

25. The ignominious defeat of the Bijapuri army at Purandhar

Another force was sent by Shivaji to oust Fateh Khan from Belsar, but it was defeated. His soldiers fled away in all directions. During this flight the banner of Shivaji was defended and safely brought back by Baji Jedhe, a son of Kanhoji Jedhe (Sh. Ch. Pr., p. 42). The spirits of the Bijapuri army were revived. The commander led his hosts for

the siege of Purandhar itself. When they began to mount the steep and precipitous slopes of the hill, they were met with showers of cannon-balls, bullets, fiery arrows, and stones. Rocks were also hurled on them from above. Shivaji sent out his brave Mawles to cut down the invaders who were extremely exhausted and thinned down under the unceasing fire from the fort. Under the inspiration of their young general, they hurled themselves on the foe like a thunderbolt and smote like it. Captain Musekhan was soon killed in an action and hundreds of his soldiers were wounded. Even Fateh Khan fled away; thereupon his followers were scattered in all directions like the shades of night before the rising sun. This account of the glorious victory of Shivaji given in the *Shiva Bharat* is borne out by a contemporary letter of the Deshpande of Shirwal himself (Sh. Ch. S., p. 54.)

Though Muhammad Adil Shah was strong enough to crush both Shivaji and Sambhaji,¹ yet the unexpected routs of his forces by Shivaji and his negotiations with Prince Murad and through him with Shah Jahan seem to have induced him to be reconciled to Shahji, and hence the Shah permitted him to be released with the condition that both Kondana and Bangalore should be given over to the royal officers. Shahji sent orders to his sons to fulfil that condition and the forts were delivered to the agents of Bijapur, but it appears that these were soon restored to Shahji.

26. Extent of Shivaji's Jagir in 1649

A document of 25th March 1637 issued by Shahji to the Deshmukhs of *Poona* says that this pargana has 'now been assigned to the Saheb as Mokasa' (P. S. S. No. 417, cf. 420, 493). It appears that before his departure to the Karnatak the Mokasa given to Shahji by the king of Bijapur was transferred in part to the name of his son, while its administration was placed in charge of Kond Deva. (P. S. S. No. 456, dated 26th Aug. 1639: Cf. 457). That *Baramati* was under Shahji is clear from a grant of May 1639; though in 1636 it was under Kheloji (P. S. S. Nos. 418, 453). *Indapur* was given in Mokasa to Shivaji in Oct. 1646. From that time onwards several grants were issued by him as Mokasedar of this pargana (See P. S. S. Nos. 520, 521, 522, dated Oct. 1646).

1. Sh. Eh. Chapters XIII-XIV.

Supa was in the possession of Shahji in 1639 and was placed under Shivaji's charge as is evidenced by a sanad issued by the latter in July 1646. (P. S. S. Nos. 453, 518; cf. 556.)

Shahji was granted half the Pargana of *Wai* and 26 villages in *Karad* with the command of 5,000 horse by the Bijapur King in 1637 (Part I. P. 104). There are no letters in the P. S. S. to confirm the acquisitions of these tracts and to show that these were placed in the charge of Shivaji. It is, however certain that in 1649 the Jagir of Shivaji included Poona, Indapur, Baramati, Chakan and Supa. To this ancestral jagir we should add the new acquisitions of territory such as the Twelve Mavals as well as the forts of Rohida, Kondana, Torna, Purandhar and Rajgad. This ¹ formed the foundation of the Hindwi Swarajya in 1649.

27. Six years' preparation

For the next six years (1650-1655) Shivaji did not disturb the Bijapur Government, but seemed to be engaged in consolidating and organizing the small Swarajya created up to the release of Shahji. This inactivity was probably due to causes such as these:—(a) preservation of the delicate position of his father; (b) the growing weakness of Bijapur owing to the long illness of the King, the regency of the fitful Queen, and the factions at the court; (c) the policy of waiting and watching the developments consequent to the arrival of Prince Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan; (d) the supreme need of consolidating his own position by a well-organized administrative system and by the infusion of confidence among his subjects and neighbours for his sublime mission of deliverance from the foreign yoke, and lastly, (e) the systematic attempt of Shivaji to win over the Maratha leaders like the Jadhavs, Ghatges, Ghorpades, Shitoles, Mores, Shirkes, Nimbalkars and others to boldly espouse the noble cause of a free Hindu state. It was in this period that Shivaji employed 700 Muslim Bargirs (horsemen) who had been disbanded by the Bijapur Government, and stationed them in various forts. (Vakaskar, Pp. 56, 59). Both the infantry and cavalry were largely increased from all ranks and castes but from

1. Rajwade, following the Bakhars, antedates several conquests. R. M. Vi. Ch., 85.

the Mavals in particular, so that 40,000 Mawles could be employed in an expedition against the Mores. These years of peace and organization brought prosperity to the poor peasants of his fief and many opportunities of government service to the rude, unlettered and untrained Mawles. They saw in Shivaji a leader who was surely to lead them to fame and fortune. Many Hindus came to realize that an inspired leader had come on earth to break the chains of the intolerable alien rule, to save Hinduism from the deluge of Islamic oppression and to create a new Hindu Kingdom on the ruins of their conquerors.

In February 1653 Shivaji with the sanction of his mother issued a sanad to a saintly Brahmin of Mahableshtar for performing prayers for his prosperity (P. S. S. No. 631). A few months after in July of the same year he granted another Sanad to one Brahme Brahman of Chakan for having acquired Rajya (Kingdom) and whatever else he had desired through the power of his devotional prayers. Hence 100 huns were to be annually given to him as a reward for the efficacy of his prayers (P. S. S. No. 642). It is evident that Shivaji conceived the idea of Hindwi Swarajya in 1646 and partially realized it in the intervening years up to 1656. He was for all purposes an independent king and had fully matured his plans of extending his kingdom by the end of the year 1655.

CHAPTER II

The Bid for Swarajya

1. The Mores of Javli

Javli is situated at the foot of Mahableshwar within the bosom of the high hills which were then covered with dense forest inhabited by tigers, lions, boars, bears and other wild animals (Sh. Bh. 18. 13; 20.44). The Bijapur Court entrusted the government of these parts to the Mores in the beginning of the 16th century, because the Muslim forces could hardly penetrate and inhabit these wild rocks. The Javli rulers began to live in semi-independence, and gradually extended their sway over the whole mountainous country from Mahad to Mahableshwar and over the district of Satara. All the passes between the Konkan and the plains below the hills were in their possession. They had securely entrenched themselves in these inaccessible parts for nine generations and maintained their military reputation with a large army consisting of the most sturdy hillmen of the Mavals. Thus this potent and rich state stood in the way of Shivaji's ambition. He had a few forts like Torna, Rajgad, Purandhar and Chakan. It was necessary for him to possess some rocky castles in the inaccessible parts of the Konkan whence he could bid defiance to the Bijapur King and the Mogul Emperor. Moreover, it was evident that whosoever possessed Javli, could fully master the district of Wai, the whole range of the Sahyadris and the sea coast running along it.

2. The Javli succession

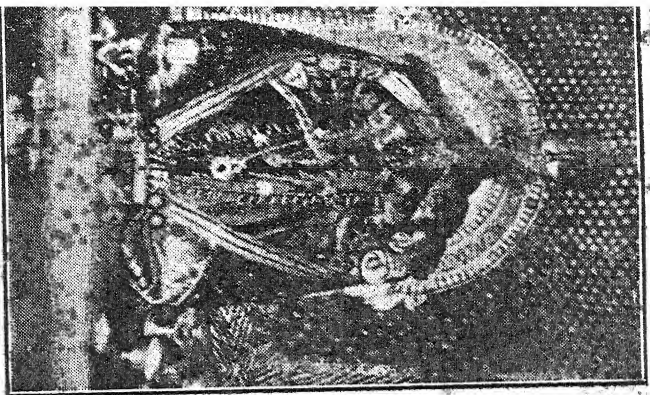
Chandrarao Daulatrao More died without an issue¹ in 1649. Thereupon several of his relations possessed themselves of parts of the territory and began to try for securing succession. It was the right of the Bijapur Government as a suzerain power to settle the succession of the fief of Javli. Afzal Khan, the Subedar of Wai, was consequently ordered to

1. P. S. S. No. 557 of July 1649; Sh. Bh. XIII. 43.

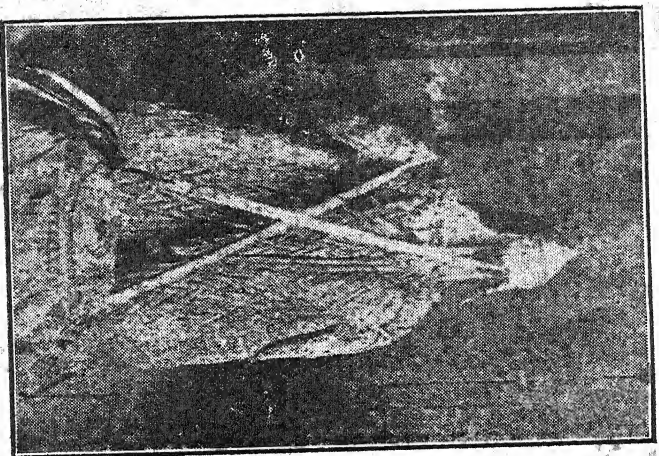
settle the dispute among the claimants and to restore peace in that principality. Kanhoji Jedhe, one of the Deshmukhs in the Wai Suba, was ordered by Subedar Afzal Khan to proceed with his contingent for his assistance in putting down this rebellion. But Jedhe had taken an oath to be faithful to Shivaji and therefore he could not help Bijapur, though he was a servant of that government. He also enjoyed a Deshmukhi under Shivaji. Hence he was on the horns of a dilemma, for if he did not obey any one of the two masters, he was likely to lose his Deshmukhi rights for disobedience. In such a difficult position, he asked the advice of Shivaji who told him to attend upon Afzal Khan with his contingent, but to beware of treachery. He should consequently demand security from the Khan for the safety of his own person and even of his son. He himself should not go as far as possible, but if he thought it proper to wait upon the Khan, Shivaji had nothing to say to a wise man like him (P. S. S. No. 558). It appears that Kanhoji long remained in suspense, hence two more letters were sent to him by the Khan (P. S. S. Nos. 560, 561). Hanmant Rao More had taken possession of Johar Khore on the Mahableshwar Hill, but it was granted to Kanhoji for his prospective assistance in putting down the More rebellion. So he was asked to expel Hanmant Rao from Johar, and as a reward he was also to be given a command of 200 men in Javli itself (P. S. S. Nos. 664-5, 567). The subsequent events cannot be traced on the basis of contemporary letters. It appears that Shivaji forestalled Afzal Khan in putting down the rebellion, and bringing order and peace out of disorder. Daulatrao's wife adopted a son Krishnao Rao by name with the help of Shivaji who gave all assistance to her to win over the Mores to his sublime cause of uprooting the Muslim rule and ushering in an era of self-government. It seems that Hanmant Rao, the chief minister of his father, was confirmed in his possession of Johar by the new ruler.

3. Shivaji's ambition

In a short time, Shivaji was disappointed by the Mores who turned a deaf ear to all his requests. Though Krishnarao More was adopted with his help, yet he, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, showed loyalty to Bijapur and was not ready to assist Shivaji in his designs of shaking off the



Shri Bhawani.



Tiger-claw & other Weapons.



The Fort of Torna

MAP of THANA



Muslim yoke and of establishing a Hindwi Swarajya under the hegemony of Shivaji himself. More's refusal led the latter to hatch plans for his complete overthrow and the annexation of his kingdom to his own.

Shivaji asked Krishna Rao More to be dependent on him and to pay him the tribute that was till then being given to Bijapur. If he did not consent to this proposal, he might serve the Raja with 5,000 followers in times of war and then need not pay the tribute either to him or to Bijapur. The More chief curtly refused to accept any one of these peaceful proposals and therefore Shivaji was compelled to resort to force or fraud for annexing the More dominion (Sh. Bh. P.128.)

4. Causes of the war

Several other causes had deepened the enmity between the More chief and Shivaji. For instance, in 1651 the latter took up the cause of the Patil of Birwadi and granted him a *kaul* (assurance) against Krishnarao More who had forcibly ousted the Patil from there (P. S. S. No. 615). In 1652 this More chief gave protection to Rango Trimal, the village Kulkarni of Moose Khore, who had to be arrested by Shivaji's men for fornication. Then one Ramoji Wandekar, Patil of Chikhli, and even his son were put to death by Krishna Rao in Shivaji's territory. Similarly, the More tried to win over Haibat Rao, the Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval, so that the Raja had to write a long letter to the Deshmukh in 1655 for assuring him that he was looked upon as a son by him. The latter had to take an oath by the name of Mahadeva and his own mother for the security of Haibat Rao. It is now evident that during the six years of 1649-1655, there had cropped up several causes to embitter the relations of the Raja with the Mores. He had lost all hope of winning them over to the patriotic cause. He saw that Muhammad Adil Shah was lying on his death-bed and no army could be despatched to the aid of the chief of Javli on account of the factions at the Court. Bijapur was involved in a war with the Portuguese from August 1654. This was terminated by a treaty ratified in May 1655.¹ Then Afzal Khan, the Subedar of Wai, had been sent in 1654 to the Karnatic for the conquest of Kanakgiri and its subsequent pacification. From a Firman of December 1655 it appears

1. Eng. P. P. 298; Ind. Hist. Rec. Oom. VIII. 130-146.

that the Khan was away in the Karnatic.¹ Thus he too could not despatch any army for the assistance of the Mores. Moreover, Shivaji cleverly obtained permission from Prince Aurangzeb to snatch away portions of the Bijapur territory. With the vision and judgment of a true statesman he grasped the vital conditions of success. Then with a master-piece of diplomacy, he drew the net round his enemy and fulfilled all his hopes.

Shivaji sent Krishnaji Rao a message:—"You call yourself a king. I am a king. Shri Shambhu Mahadeva has given us sovereignty. You should not in future entitle yourself a Raja." Krishnaji returned the only possible reply that he could give under the circumstances: "You have become a king only yesterday. Who has bestowed upon you this sovereignty? If you have any courage in you, you should meet us to-day and do not postpone the visit till to-morrow." (Sh. Nib. II, p. 134). Shivaji accepted the challenge and proceeded with a large army to lay siege to Javli. The war has been variously described in the different Bakhars.

Shivaji is charged by a few chronicles to have contrived through his agents the cold-blooded assassination of the unarmed Mores and then to have taken possession of Javli from their unresisting relatives and troops. It is argued that the Marathi Bakhars have called a spade a spade and made no attempts to hide the atrocious crime, but that the modern eulogists of Shivaji attempt to defend the perpetrator of that dark deed in various ways. I am placing the whole evidence on the conquest of Javli before the reader, so that he may draw his own conclusions.

5. Traditional account of the destruction of the Mores

The Sabhasad Bakhar tells the story that Raghunath Ballal Sabnis was summoned by Shivaji and told that the kingdom could not be extended unless Chandra Rao was killed, and none but he could execute that work. So Raghunath was sent as an envoy with the ostensible mission of entering into an alliance with Chandra Rao, but really for assassinating him. In a private interview he murdered the two brothers, Chandra Rao and Suryaji Rao, tactfully cut his way through the guards and made his escape to the camp of Shivaji who had already

1. Framin-i-Salatin, 208, 211, 212; P. S. S. Nos. 688, 702, 709; Shivaji. Part I. 144.

come with an army to Mahableshwar for taking advantage of the new situation created by his lieutenants. Before the Mores could recover from the consternation caused by this sudden murder, the Raja swooped down upon them and after some resistance captured Javli. Hanmantrao, the surviving brother of Chandra Rao, rallied round himself his old adherents at Chaturbet. This thorn of Javli was to be removed by means fair or foul. Sambhaji Kavji was deputed by Shivaji for the dark deed. Under the pretence of negotiating a matrimonial alliance, Kavji stabbed this More to death in a private audience. Lastly, Shivthar was captured from Babaji¹ Rao who was first imprisoned and then blinded.

The Chitragupta chronicle merely reproduces the same story, but Chitnis (P. 41) makes some difference in details. Hanmantrao has been called the Karbhari or minister of Chandra Rao. After the capture of Javli, the two sons of Chandra Rao, Baji Rao and Krishna Rao, were arrested there. They were brought to Purandhar and afterwards put to death near Poona. The family members of Chandra Rao were, however, released. Raghunath went as an envoy for a matrimonial alliance to Chandra Rao's brother, Hanmant Rao, at Johar Khore.

The Shiva Digvijaya gives a different version. Raghunath murdered Hanmantrao and returned to Purandhar for informing Shivaji of the valourous deed. He was much praised for his bravery and given a robe of honour. Then both Shivaji and Raghunath advanced with a large army upon Javli. Chandra Rao courageously fought to the last till he fell down on the battle-field. The two sons of Chandra Rao were brought to Poona and after some time beheaded on the charge of perfidy, because they were caught in having secret correspondence with Bijapur and in attempting to escape from custody. The women and children of the More family were afterwards set at liberty.

The Rairi Bakhar confirms the preceding account, but at the end it is said that Chandra² Rao, his two brothers Bajirao and Krishnarao, and their women were taken prisoners.

It will be seen that Grant Duff's story (P. 67) differs

1. In Chitnis and Shedgaonkar, he is respectively called Dadaji Pant and Dadaji Mahadeva.

2. Sh. Dig. gives 1564 Sh. or 1642 A. D. but Chitnis, Jedhe Sh., Shivapur Yadi and Shivapur Shakavali have 1577-78 Sh. or 1655-66 A. D.

from all the seven Bakhars in several details. According to him, Raghunath Ballal and Sambhaji Kavji were sent as envoy to Chandra Rao. The former murdered the chief and the latter his brother. Afterwards Himmatt Rao was killed in the battle of Javli, but the two sons of Chandra Rao who bravely fought to the last were captured there. They were subsequently condemned to death for maintaining a secret correspondence with the Bijapur Government. This version should be ignored, since it wrongly interprets even the Bakhars.

6. The true account of the war

It is not difficult to sift the truth from the previous versions. These contradict each other on the important point of the assassination of the Mores. The Sabhasad and its copy the Chitrageeta Bakhar record that the two brothers Chandra Rao and Hanmant Rao were treacherously murdered, and they make no mention of the execution of the sons. Chitnis adds that the sons were condemned to death at Poona. It would have been noted that according to this chronicle Hanmant Rao was a minister and not a brother of Chandra Rao. The Shiva Digvijaya says that Hanmant Rao alone was treacherously murdered, while the ruler himself fell fighting in a battle, and his sons were put to death later on for entering into secret correspondence. In the four Bakhars called 91 Q., Rairi, Small Chronicle of the Maratha Empire and Tarikh-i-Shivaji, none is said to have been murdered, but all were imprisoned. The 91 Q. Bakhar is supposed to have been written earlier than the Sabhasad Bakhar. Shall we believe this or the Sabhasad group of Bakhars? It is very doubtful that both Chandra Rao and Hanmant Rao could have been entrapped on the same excuse of negotiating a matrimonial alliance with them. It is incredible that any

1. Sir J. Sarkar has indulged in sarcasm at the modern theorists by writing that the 'More's offence is alleged by them to have been the opening of correspondence with the Adil Shahi Government for recovering his heritage, which would be a quite natural and legitimate desire.' The learned historian knows that Grant Duff (P. 67) was the first writer to mention this fact on the basis of the Shiva Digvijaya and therefore the charge cannot be advanced against the modern theorists. Moreover, it might be a legitimate desire for the More to recover his heritage, but as a prisoner of war and a pensioner of Shivaji, he could neither morally nor legally indulge in such a correspondence. Is the Kaiser permitted to make an attempt to recover his lost Empire with the assistance of foreign powers, or was Napoleon allowed to do the same from his exile in St. Helena? The reply must be in the negative. The More of Javli too had no right, and hence he was given just punishment for his perfidy.

proposal of a matrimony could be made when, as shown above, the Mores and Shivaji were on terms of hostility for four years and when they had sent ultimatums to each other.

The contemporary evidence of the Shiva Bharat gives us a clue to unravel the mystery. The Jedhe Chronology and Karina throw some light, and More's Bakhar can be trusted for the narration of events leading to the destruction of the Mores of Javli. We are told in this Bakhar that Daulatrao More died without an issue. His wife adopted one Krishnaji Baji from the More family of Shivthar. He ruled for three years and resisted all the attempts of Shivaji for becoming his suzerain. Thereupon the Raja led an army to invest Javli which capitulated after a siege of a month. Krishnaji fled away to Rairi. After three months' struggle, he submitted to Shivaji who kept him in confinement at Chakan. From there he entered into correspondence with the Ghorpade ruler of Mudhol and was consequently condemned to death there.

The Jedhe Shakavali confirms the point of the flight of Krishna Rao from Javli to Rairi, and of his surrender there. Shivaji is said to have invested Javli with the contingents of Kanhoji Jedhe, Bandal, Silimkar and other Deshmukhs of the Mavals, and captured the town with their help in January 1656. Rairi too was besieged, as Krishna Rao had taken refuge there. The siege lasted for three months, and the More finally submitted through the mediation of Haibat Rao Silimkar who was rewarded for this service by the confirmation of the Deshmukhi of Gunjan Maval and the partition of the ancestral property among the brothers. We hear no more of the post-war fate of the More in the Shakavali; otherwise More's Bakhar and Jedhe Shakavali give an identical account. It should be remembered that Jedhe was himself an active participant in this war. The Jedhe Karina adds that Hanmant Rao More raised his head in the Johar valley on the Mahableshwar Hill. Raghunath Ballal Sabnis was sent against him. He murdered the More and thereupon took possession of the Johar estate. The Shivapur Yadi confirms these statements in a concise manner, but adds that Chandra Rao More¹ escaped from Rairi on 28th August 1656 (Sh. Bh. Pr. 50 55). The

1. Sarkar suggests that this More was the younger son, named Baji Rao, who assumed the hereditary title of Chandra Rao, and in March 1665 joined Jat Singh for war against Shivaji.

Shivapur Chronicle makes no mention of the flight and murder of the Mores. The Shiva Bharat explicitly states that Krishnaji, his brother Baji Raj, his father and minister *fell fighting in the battle*. Afterwards all the surviving supporters and relations of the More chief were put to death by the heroic Shivaji (XVII. 16. XVIII. 4-7). Babaji More was then at Shivthar. He too was defeated, imprisoned and blinded. The whole principality of Javli thus lay at the feet of the conqueror who also took possession of the immense hoard which the Mores had been piling up there for generations.

We learn from the Shiva Bharat that Pratap Varma, one of the relations of Chandra Rao, made good his escape and took shelter with Adil Shah. He left no stone unturned to induce the Court to send an expedition for the chastisement of Shivaji (Sh. Bh. VIII, 8-14), but the fatal illness and the demise of the King, the succession of a young son, the regency of his mother Bari Sahiba, the dissensions among the nobles, the invasion of Bijapur by Aurangzeb, the rebellion of the principal nobles, these and several other causes conspired to paralyse the Bijapur state for three years. At last when these difficulties were tided over, Afzal Khan was despatched against Shivaji to take revenge for all the wrongs done by him to the Bijapur Government.

7. Consequences of the War

The importance of this conquest can be very well imagined by the fact that (i) Shivaji's possessions were almost doubled by the inclusion of large parts of the hilly country of the Konkan and of the district of Satara; ii) he became master of some of the invincible fortresses like Rairi on the high peaks of the Sahyadris; (iii) he controlled the mountain passes and thus the trade and traffic passing between the inland country and the sea, and that (iv) his kingdom for the first time extended to the sea coast, so that he could make the town of Mahad its emporium and a naval base for the ship-building industry.

Shivaji remained for two or three months at Javli for consolidating the newly annexed country. He won over the Mawles by giving them promises of protection and security, introducing financial and military reforms, making new arrangements for the administration of the territory and by recruiting a large number of Mawles in his army. For some

years to come, Shivaji seemed to have made Javli his mountain-capital and safe retreat. During the campaign of Shaista Khan even, Sarje Rao Jedhe sought permission to keep his people at Javli, but he was asked by the Raja to seek a secure place in his own estate of Bhor (P. S. S. No. 904-5). Javli was made a Suba as is clear from the two letters of 1669 and 1677 (P. S. S. Nos. 1263, 1972).

He strengthened his new conquests by constructing a strong fort on the hill facing the old town of Javli and guarding the Par, Rartondi and other passes. It was rightly named Pratapgarh or the 'Valour Fort.' It is said that the work was completed with the money secured at Javli under the supervision of Moro Trimbak Pingle who, a few years after (1662 A. D.), was promoted to the highest post of the Peshwa or Prime Minister. Within the large compound of the fort there was erected a temple wherein the family goddess Tulja Bhawani was established by Shivaji. This goddess was his inspirer and patron deity whose guidance he sought on all occasions of emergency.

8. Shivaji and the Bandals of Rohida

Bandal, the Deshmukh of Hirdas Maval, is said to have rebelled against Shivaji, and therefore his hill-castle Rohida, was besieged. This heroic chief and his minister Baji Prabhu Deshpande fought most bravely, but were ultimately defeated. The chief was mortally wounded, yet he did not yield and fell fighting in the battle. The heroic minister was won over by the Raja, confirmed in his jagirs and made a captain in the army. It appears that the sons of Bandal were also continued in their jagirs and they performed remarkable services to their master. The new Bandal Deshmukh took a solemn vow with a few other Deshmukhs to support Shivaji at the time of the invasion of Afzal Khan, and was deputed to protect the Parghat below Pratapgad against the invading army. He routed and annihilated the Muslim forces after their leader's death. Sometime after he was entrusted with the defence of the famous pass to Khelna. His men fought magnificently along with the Indian Leonidas, Baji Prabhu, and it was then settled that the honour of the sword was to be given first to Bandal and then to Jedhe (Jedhe Shakavali).

9. Konkan under Bijapur

Since 1637 the Bijapur state was the paramount power in the Konkan. The forts of Dabhol, Anjanvel, Ratnagiri and Rajapur with the districts dependent upon them, were held by the officers appointed directly by the Crown. But the remainder of the Southern Konkan was farmed out to the hereditary Deshmukhs, of whom the Savants of Kudal were the chief. The middle Konkan was divided into two subedaris: the first, Kalyan, extended from the Vaitarana to Nagothna under Mulla Ahmad; the rest down to the Savitri was put under the charge of the Siddis of Janjira. In this region the latter held the important forts of Tala and Ghosala. The Northern Konkan was in the hands of the Portuguese and the Moguls.¹

10. Description of Kalyan

Dr. Fryer, on visiting the famous city of Kalyan, saw the splendid ruins of the stately fabrics which were 'marks of its prestine height, the remaining buildings having many stories of square-facing stones, and the mosques, which are numerous, of the same, abating little their ancient lustre, being all watered with delicate tanks.'

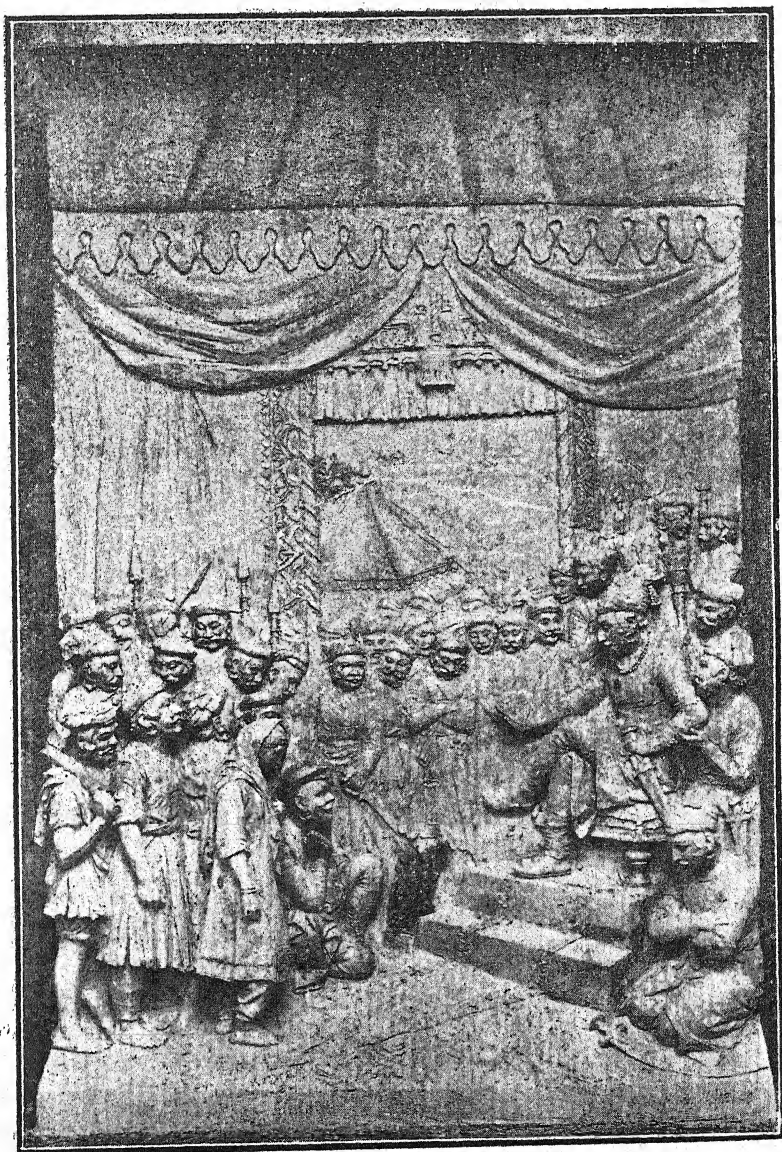
The fury of the Portuguese, the Moguls and of Shivaji had reduced the city to ruins. It was an emporium of trade and the chief place for the residence of the Bijapur Governor of the Konkan. Hence there is nothing incredible in the account given by the learned doctor who says that the noble city consists of 'the most glorious ruins the Mohammadans in the Deccan ever had occasion to deplore.' Since 1637 it was transferred from the Government of Ahmednagar to that of Bijapur.

11. Capture of Kalyan in 1657

Twenty years later we find that its governor Mulla Ahmad had been called to attend upon the ailing monarch of Bijapur. Shivaji saw that the city was without sufficient defence during the absence of the Governor. He sent two divisions to capture Kalyan and Bhivandi respectively. Abaji Sondeva² succeeded in surprising the first on 24th October 1657 and shortly after he pounced upon the second. The Muslim officers and forces were turned out, the places were garrisoned with Mawles and then put under

1. A. K. Nairne, *The Konkan*, pp. 34-35. 2. Jedhe Ch.

The captive maid presented to Shivaji.



(Panel by Mr. Karmarkar.)



Goddess Bhavani granting
the Bhavani-Sword to Shivaji.

(Panel by Mr. Karmarkar.)

the charge of brave and experienced officers like Dadaji Krishna Lohokare¹ and his brother Sakho Krishna Lohokare. They immediately began to make arrangements for the revenue settlement of the newly annexed province to consolidate their conquest.

12. The beauty of Kalyan

Tradition has invested the capture of Kalyan with the halo of romance. It is said that the beautiful daughter-in-law of the Muslim governor fell into the hands of the Maratha captain. He presented her to Shivaji who in an open court appreciated her beauty with the remark that he would have been more handsome, if he had been born of such a lovely young mother. She was presented with a dress of honour and sent back to her parents at Bijapur with all the respect due to her rank.² This incident sheds light on the character of the young Shivaji who rose above the temptations of the flesh in the midst of all the dissipated scenes of the courts where dissolute and licentious princes were living in bacchanalian revelry. In that age prisoners of war were sold in slavery and the Mogul Emperors from Akbar onwards indulged in institutions like the Mina Market. The young ruler, however, set an illustrious example of sexual purity and spotless morality in his new kingdom. He appeared to be a philosopher and a sage. Had he yielded to human weaknesses, he would have lost his charm, power and supremacy.

There is no mention in the Jedhe Chronology or the Shiva Bharat³ of this chivalrous incident and hence a doubt is thrown on it. Three contemporary foreign writers speak of Shaista Khan's daughter falling into the hands of Shivaji and being returned on payment of a large ransom. The Persian writers are expected to remain silent on the point. It is possible that this incident was confused in the Sabhasad

1. Shivaji, Pt. 1, p. 135.

2. Tarikh-i-Shivaji in Vakaskar, Shivachh, 91 Q. Bakbar, p. 61; Chitnis.

34. According to the Sh. Dig. she was daughter of the Governor.

3. Sh. Bh. 18, 52 remarks that rich mansions and Mosques were pulled down at Kalyan. But it is not attested by Fryer. He says that Shivaji as a Hindu was inclined to pull down the pleasant summer houses, yet he did not do even that. He merely ordered them to be converted into granaries. Fryer, Vol. II, 308-9.

Bakhar which is entirely based upon memory, "the half-obliterated memory of an old man who had passed through many privations and hardships" (Sarkar, 408). The high character of Shivaji is proved beyond doubt, whether it be Mulla Ahmad's daughter-in-law or Shaista Khan's daughter who was captured and returned with due honour to her rank.

The annexation of Kalyan brought Shivaji in direct contact with the Portuguese of Bassien and Thana, and gave him a fine ship-building place with abundant teak on the neighbouring hills. It is said that Shivaji got a large buried treasure¹ in the ruins of the fort on the Durgadi Hill which protects the port of Kalyan. This acquisition hastened his naval programme.

13. Further conquest in the Konkan

(i) In this expedition the hill forts of *Rajmachi* (Royal Terrace) and *Lohgad* (Iron Fort) perched on the inaccessible heights of the Bhore Ghat lying between Poona and Kalyan, were captured by Shivaji. This success made him an undisputed master of the country from Poona to Thana at one stroke. J. Douglas has truly said that "one is confounded with the audacity which prompted a single individual to measure his strength with the resources of such a kingdom as Bijapur. It was the combat of Achilles with Hector; and the swift-footed Sivaji in the end gained the day."

(ii) By the capture of the well-known fortress of *Mahuli*, the last refuge of Shahji, on 8th January 1658, Shivaji got a firm footing in Northern Konkan.

(iii) Some time after, the famous town of *Chaul* was raided by Abaji Sondeva or Sonoji Pant. Many Gujar merchants were killed and a rich booty fell into his hands. After imprisoning the chief Kanth Rao, he pacified the peasants with promises and agreements, caused lands to be cultivated, and then returned to the court.

(iv) *Pradhangad* was next attacked and after three days' fighting it was taken by Shivaji. Its commandant Kesari Singh, being reduced to hard straits, performed the famous Rajput rite of Jawhar or immolation of the women on the

1. Vakaskar, Shiva Chh. 91 Q. Bakhar, 61; Shivaji II, p. 292.

funeral pyre and himself fell fighting in the battle. Shivaji was extremely fortunate in securing 22 pitchers and four cauldrons of Akbari Mohars, pagodas, and jewels there. The old mother of the chief with his two sons had concealed herself in the fort. She was treated with great respect. Shivaji laid his head at her feet and begged her forgiveness. Then he took her to his house, ordered all who were slain in the battle to be cremated with due honour, and ultimately despatched the orphans and the old lady to their home at Devalgaon.

(v) It appears from certain documents that Shivaji led an expedition to plunder some parts of the Karnatic in 1658. The *Terdal* Pargana, Raibag and Argal were raided, but Krishna Gauda, Desai of Terdal, energetically turned them out of the territory. Hence he was rewarded by Afzal Khan in September 1659 (P. S. S. Nos. 753, 780).

14. Shivaji against the Moguls (1657-58)

The greatness of Shivaji is evidenced by one fact among others that at the threshold of his political career he realized the paramount necessity of opposing with all his might the advance of the Moguls into the Deccan. He made up his mind to support the Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms against the Delhi Emperors and even to carry on an offensive war of the guerilla type against them, so that the Imperial forces should remain occupied with the defence of their territory and thus refrain from swallowing up the Deccan. Up to the end of his life he maintained the policy of making and breaking an alliance with the Moguls according to the exigencies of the moment.

15. Junner scaled by Shivaji

For the first time the young enthusiast threw to the winds the fear of the formidable Moguls and in alliance with the Bijapur offices began depredations in their territory. From his base of Chakan he made in May 1657 a lighting raid on Junner, the ancient town situated at the foot of the inaccessible fort of Shivneri, his birth-place, which were transferred to the Moguls by the treaty of 1636. He scaled the walls of the town with rope-ladders, slaughtered its defenders, and carried away a

large treasure amounting to three lakhs of pagodas, precious stones, costly clothes, 200 horses, etc. ¹

16. Plunder of Mogul territory

Then two divisions were despatched under the leadership of Minaji Bhosle and Kashi to plunder and devastate the Mogul territory beyond the Bhima. The intrepid Marathas carried fire and sword up to the very gates of Ahmednagar, the capital of the Mogul Deccan. This was their first plundering expedition in which they threatened to sack the very capital of the Moguls. Though they retreated on the approach of the reinforcements, they inflicted a great blow on the prestige of the Imperialists. The popular belief in their invincibility was shattered and the Marathas struck terror into the hearts of the Mogul subjects.

17. Counter attacks by the Moguls

The officers were thereupon instructed by Aurangzeb to take a full revenge on Shivaji by plundering and burning villages, enslaving and slaying the people, and devastating his towns like Poona, Chakan, etc. The whole south-western frontier was to be thoroughly guarded by the new contingents stationed there under experienced officers. Nasiri Khan who was sharply rebuked by Aurangzeb for his slowness, made forced marches to Ahmednagar and fell upon Shivaji ² who, however, triumphantly made an escape to his own country with a booty of 700 horses, four elephants and much wealth. ³ The rains prevented the Mogul officers from pursuing him or opening a vigorous campaign against him. Thus his territory was not stricken with the horrors of war. Aurangzeb was infuriated at the weakness of his officers and sent reinforcements under several captains like Raokaran, Shaista Khan, etc. Minaji was defeated near Chamargunda, while Shivaji's army was surprised in the Ahmednagar district. On 4th June a battle took place wherein many Marathas were wounded and slain, while the rest took to flight.

18. Peace with Aurangzeb

When the King of Bijapur bought up peace from Aurangzeb, Shivaji realized the futility of continuing

1, 2. Sabhasad.

3. Jedhe Ch. places the battle in May 1657.

hostilities against the Moguls single-handed. Discretion was the better part of valour. He made a peace-move for the protection of his patrimony by sending an envoy to Nasiri Khan, the general in charge of operations against him.

As this deputation did not achieve any definite success, another envoy was sent in the person of Sonoji Pant to Aurangzeb himself. The time was most opportune, as Aurangzeb was already on the march to the north for plunging into the fratricidal struggle for the throne of Delhi, the Prince sent a conciliatory reply in a letter of 23rd April 1657. It mentions the interview of Shivaji's envoy Sonoji Pant and unambiguously acknowledges the right of the Raja to hold all the country and forts so far wrested from Bijapur, and even permits him to capture Dabhol and the lowlands depending on it. In return for these favours, Shivaji was asked by the Prince to send him timely assistance to the best of his abilities. Some months after, another envoy in the person of Raghunathpant was sent to have an interview with the Prince. The result of the negotiations is recorded in his letter of 14th February 1658. "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that you should be given a promise of the grant of all the villages belonging to your home (i. e., Shahji's Jagir) together with the forts and territory of the Konkan, from which those parts should be excluded which are now under the jurisdiction of Ahmednagar. While those which are in the possession of Adil Khan of Bijapur, should be made over to you when that country is conquered by you. You will then send Sonopant as an envoy to my court, will defend the Imperial frontiers in company with the Imperial officers and will put an end to all riots and disturbances in the Deccan. You are called upon to send Sonoji¹ with a written representation and your wishes will be granted." (Jedhe Sh.; P. S. S. No. 739; Source Book of M. History, p. 60) Shivaji knew that all the important Mogul officers were to be withdrawn from the Deccan, for the civil war, so that a formal assurance of keeping the peace and of giving assistance to the Imperialists in subduing disorders would be most welcome to Aurangzeb. These offers were sure to put an end to the war with the Moguls.

Aurangzeb outwardly pardoned the crime of Shivaji and

consented to his taking possession of the Konkan, but really he warned his officers in the Deccan to beware of the ambitious adventurer. Multafat Khan was instructed to take care of Ahmednagar and to keep his troops ready, lest when Nasiri Khan went away to Hindustan, Shivaji, finding the field vacant, should begin to plunder it. Similarly, Nasiri Khan himself was warned not to leave his charge at the call of Shah Jahan, lest Shivaji should sally out. But the Prince's instructions to Mir Jumla reveal the real danger apprehended by the Moguls from Shivaji. "At Nasiri Khan's departure that district has been left vacant. Attend to it, as the son of a dog is waiting for an opportunity."

Even Ali Adil Shah was urged by the Prince to protect his country. "Expel Shiva who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. If you wish to entertain his services, give him jagirs in the Karnatak, far from the imperial dominions, so that he may not disturb them."

The King was given back the fort of Parenda with its dependent territory, the Konkan, the Wangi Mahal, and the part of the Karnatak which was in the possession of the late Adil Shah. It was further promised by Aurangzeb that he would not accept the offer of Shahji or of the sons of Bahlol and other officers of the Bijapur state to enter the Imperial service. The sincerity of these promises can very well be judged by the permission granted to Shivaji only a few months before to conquer the Konkan.

19. Conquest of the Konkan

Besides the above-mentioned precautions, Aurangzeb got the old fort of Pedgaon repaired and garrisoned, as an outpost for operations against Poona. In spite of all these measures, Shivaji entertained no fear of the Moguls as he distinctly foresaw that the war of succession would weaken them in the Deccan. The first use he made of the permission to take possession of the Konkan, was to occupy some of the neglected strongholds of the coast and to invade the Siddi's territory. Its detailed account is given in Chapter XX (Shivaji, II, p. 290 et seq.). It will suffice to say that Shivaji captured Tala, Ghosala, Birwadi, Surgarh, Sudhagarh, Kangori from the Siddis. In the neighbourhood of Rairi, his future capital, he

also built the two forts of Birwari and Lingana. Thus the eastern half of the Kolaba district was possessed by him by 1658.

By such an extension of the territory, he came into contact and conflict with the Portuguese of Bassein, Salsette, etc. His effort for constructing a navy was frustrated by these sovereigns of the sea. They laid an embargo on his ships coming out of Kalyan, Bhivandi, or Panvel (Shivaji II, 293). The manner by which he crushed their opposition, is not known. So much is clear that after a time his ships began to cruise upon the coast. While Shivaji was dealing blows to Adil Shah, the Siddis of Janjira and to the Portuguese, he kept his hands off from the Mogul territory and closely watched the events of the fratricidal war. A few days after his first coronation which took place on 5th June 1659, Aurangzeb expressed satisfaction on the conduct of the Maratha chief, advised him to follow the instructions of his Viceroy in the Deccan and despatched a dress of honour for his use. But this move was only to gain time, for within less than a year Shaista Khan was sent for the destruction of Shivaji who had come into the limelight of fame by a series of remarkable successes against Bijapur.

Shivaji was not slow to take advantage of the weakness of the Bijapur Government in winning over the Sawants of Kudal. These Desais belonged to the same Bhosle caste as did Shivaji himself, and they seem to have been won over by him for the common cause of putting an end to the Muslim rule in Maharashtra.

A Goa letter of 5th May 1658 states that Rustum Zaman, a son of the famous Randulla Khan, was deputed by Bijapur to punish Lakham Sawant, but he was defeated with a loss of 1500 men. This failure was, however, compensated by the capture of the impregnable fort of Rangana by the Bijapur general (Pissurlencar, Shivaji, p. 12). These hostilities with Bijapur induced the Sawants to enter into negotiations with Shivaji through their agent Pitamber Shenwi. A treaty was drawn up between the two houses of the Bhosles on 5th March 1659. Its terms and significance are given in App. on p. 586 *infra*.

In the narration of these events it is likely to be forgotten that Shivaji was thirty years old when he was called upon to face Afzal Khan, Siddi Jauhar, Ali Adil Shah and Shaista Khan in succession. His daughter Sakwarbai was married to Mahadaji Naik, the son of Bajaji Naik, Nimbalkar of Phaltan.¹ In 1657 he himself is said to have married three wives from the Gaikwad, Jadhavrao and Ingale families to create alliances with the chief Maratha families. By his first wife Saibai he had his first son whom he named Sambhaji after his elder brother. According to the Jedhe Chronology, the child was born at Purandhar on Thursday, the 14th of May 1657.

It has already been seen that special causes had cropped up to embitter the relations of Afzal Khan with Shahji as well as his son Shivaji. The Khan had conducted Shahji in fetters from the Karnatak to Bijapur; he had been the cause of Sambhaji's death at Kankgiri; and then later on, he had advised the King to favour the Desai of that place against the terms granted him by Shahji (P. S. S. Nos. 688, 702). As the Subedar of Wai, he had attempted to settle the succession of the Mores, but was outwitted by Shivaji.

Then the latter was guilty of the unpardonable offence of not only annexing the whole territory of the Mores but of totally destroying the faithful More family. Further, these aggressions were succeeded by lightning raids into the Konkan and rapid conquests of the Bijapur territory up to the sea coast from Mahad to Kudal. While these severe strokes to blot out the Adil Shahi kingdom from the map of Maharashtra created a considerable sensation at that court, his dazzling adventures deeply stirred the imagination of the Hindus. The young King, the Dowager Queen and the nobles of Bijapur vowed vengeance upon the notorious rebel and made extraordinary preparations for a war to crush him or to teach him the immortal lesson that he who sows the wind reaps the tempest. It will be seen in the next chapter that the crisis was fully averted by the wonderful genius of the youthful general Shivaji.

1. P. S. S. No. 732 of Oct. 1657.



Afzul Khan.



Pratapgaurh (Valour Fort) and Tomb of Afzul Khan.

Shimi Art, Bombay, 8.

CHAPTER III

The Murder of Afzal Khan

1. Afzal Khan against Shivaji

A letter sent by Revington to the Company on 10th December 1659, gives us an idea of the factions at the Bijapur court, mentions the appointment of a distinguished general to put an end to the rebellion of the Maratha leader, and describes the famous feat of Shivaji in despatching Afzal Khan and a large part of his army on 10th Nov. 1659. Revington and his party were at Kolhapur when they heard of the death of Afzal Khan, the rout of his army, the surprise of the impregnable hill-fort of Panhala and the capture of many other places of importance. His letter is explicit on the point that Afzal Khan was advised by the Queen to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery and that Shivaji, learning of the treacherous design, endeavoured to counteract the plot by various methods, in self-defence. It was thus a fight of wits in which Afzal was ultimately outwitted by the shrewd and courageous Shivaji. Revington did not consider the murder of Afzal Khan as an act of treachery. This contemporary view of the tragedy confirms the statements of the Maratha chronicles. This *coup d'etat* of Shivaji so much demoralized the Bijapur officers that they evacuated forts and towns at the mere approach of Shivaji's army.

"The¹ person that is cald King of this country is

1. E. F. 1655-1659. Pp. 249-51. Revington to Company, 10 Dec. 1659.

knowne to bee the bastard of this Queenes¹ husband, and she, notwithstanding that, would have the crowne settled on him; but some of the Umbraves of this country, knowing him to bee spuriously begotten, will not give him² homadge and refuse to goe to court; and these are Rustum Jemah, (Rustam-i-Zaman), Bull Ckaune (Bahlol Khan), Shawgee (Shahji Bhonsla), and Sevagy; which latter lyes with an army to the no(rth)ward and commands all alongst the coast from the upper Choul unto Dabull³; against whom the Queene this yeare sent Abdle⁴ Ckaune with an army⁵ of 10,000 horse and foote; and because shee knew with that strength hee was not able to resist Sevagy, shee councelled him to pretend⁶ freindshipp with his enemy; which hee did. And the other (whether through intelligence or suspicion its not knowne) dissembled his love toward him, and sent his

Factions at
Bijapur.

Abdulla Khan
proceeds against
Shivaji.

1. "The Queen Mother, Bari Sahiba, who virtually ruled the State till her fatal journey to Mecca (1660), was a woman of masterful spirit and experienced in the conduct of business" (Sarkar, p. 59.)

2. Ali Adil Shah II. The question of his parentage has been discussed by Duff, p. 70; Bernier, 197; Sarkar, I, 285 f.; Tavernier, I. 148; Fryer, p. 169.

Guarda describes Ali Adil Shah as the son of an elephant driver.

3. A well-known port on the River Vasishti.

4. Abdulla Khan or better known as Afzal Khan,

5. 10,000 cavalry—Tarikh-i-Ali, II. 76.

12,000 horse mentioned several times in Sabhasad, as on p. 8.

12,000 force—Rairy Bakhar, p. 11.

12,000 force—Shivaji Pratap, p. 78, but

30,000 force—Chitnis, p. 54.

12,000 horse and 10,000 foot from Bijapur, but

35,000 at Wai. Capt. Modak's Pratapgarh, p. 18.

6. It confirms the version of the Bakhars. For instance, Chitnis has recorded that the Khan had openly in the Bijapur Court taken the vow of bringing Shivaji alive or dead. It was to ward off the hidden means of the Khan that Shivaji paid him in his own coins. Both began to lay traps for each other. Learning that arrangements about his entertainment were sumptuous, the Khan thought to himself: 'well let me but see him and I shall serve my Lord, to my utter satisfaction.' The Maharaja, on the other side, said to himself: 'I will serve my purpose, by a show of submission and calmness when I shall have occasion to see him.' Thus both outwardly pretended to be, quite calm and quiet. Chitnis, p. 58.

mother¹ as a hostage, assuring him of his reality²; upon which Abdle Ckaune advances, and the two armies lay within little distance of each other³, while with a party from each of theis two went to meete and imbrace each other.⁴ And having had some discourse publicquely, they desired to bee private; when Sevagy with a dagger from out of bosome stabd the other to the hart.⁵ After which, the signe being given, his army, consisting of Rashpootes, Hendooes, etc., fell upon the Moors, kild about 3,000 and put the rest to

Murder of Afzal
Khan.

1. It is an unreliable rumour. There is no mention in Sabhasad, Chitnis, Rairy, Shiva Digvijaya that his mother was sent over as a hostage.

Rairy Bakhar (P. 12) and Shiva Digvijaya (P. 17) say that Shivaji's mother was at Pratapgad, but Sabhasad (P. 12) mentions that his mother and his son, Sambhaji were left at Rajgad.

Cf. Sabhasad's account (Pp. 11-12): The Raja further said that his mother Jeejaou and young Sambhaji should be sent to Rajgad, so that if Afzalkhan was victorious, he might dispose of Shivaji alone as he liked; there would be Sambhaji who might be placed on the throne and to whom fealty might be sworn. Having issued these instructions, he bowed down to his mother and took leave of her. The mother blessed him saying "May succees attend thee." The King then proceeded to Pratapgad. On the other hand, Chitnis states that. Sambhaji and Jijabai were in the Fort of Pratapgad, (P. 59).

2. There is no mention of the demolition of temples in this letter, but Sabhasad (p. 9) and Chitnis (P. 54) allege that those at Tooljapoor and Pandharpoor were desecrated. On the other hand, Shiva Digvijaya (P. 156) says that the Goddess at Tooljapoor and the God at Pandharpur were removed soon after the news that Khan was going to demolish them. Cf. Mokak, p. 55 and Bhawe, p. 9.

3. On the banks of the Koyna River.

4. This meeting took place at Javli at the foot of Pratapgad in tents specially prepared for the purpose: Sabhasad, P. 14; Chitnis, p. 57, Rairy Bakhar, p. 12, Scott, p. 8, but in the Shivaji Pratap (P. 80.) Pratapgad is mentioned as the place of meeting. It was really on the outskirts of the Fort on the crest of a hill where to-day the Abdulla Tower is pointed out to the visitors of Pratapgarh, or "Valour-Fort." (See illustrations.)

5. Dr. Fryer, Duff, Scott, and other writers have imputed treachery to Shivaji in words like these:

Dr. Fryer. See P. 57 (*Infar*.)

G. Duff: "The treacherous Mahratta struck the wagnuck into the bowels of Afzal Khan" P. 78.

J. Scott (P. 8) "When the treacherous Zamindar (Shivaji) stabbed Abdoola in embracing him."

But this view is not borne out by Revington's letter or by the Bakhars. For instance, it was *the Khan who first thrust* the sword in to the sides of Shivaji and then Shivaji thrust the dagger and "Wagnukh" into the bowels of the Khan. Sabhasad, p. 17, Chitnis, p. 61, Shiva Digvijaya, Shiva Bh. and Shivaji Pratap (P. 86) affirm that it was the Khan who first took the offensive.

flight¹; which they pursuing, in there pursuite tooke the great castle of Panella, some eight miles from Collopoore, where wee livd; which was the onely place of refuge for the King and Queene to fly into in tyme of perrill; and hath

Conquests of taken possession of all the port and inland Shivaji after the townes²; which hath made some of the port murder of Afzal townne governours fly from there governments

Khan. unto this port of Rajapore, which is at peace because it belongs to Rustum Jemah, who is a freind of Sevagies and is now upon his march toward him, and within Shivaji secures few dayes—wee shall heare of his joyn- the town of ing with him, and then wee shall [according Danda Rajapore. to H(enry) R(evingtons) promise unto him at his coming downe] send him all the granades which last yeare hee desired, and advised us to spare Sevagy some, promising that, if we would lye with our shippes before Danda

1. The Khan's army which consisted of 2,000 regular troops and 10,000 camp followers, having learnt that his head was taken to the fort, was disheartened and panic-stricken. At the same time, the King's forces hemmed them in. A bloody battle ensued which lasted for nearly six hours. The grandees who accompanied the Khan's forces, warriors fully armed, Mahadin and Oosdin, the Pathans, the Rohillas, the Arabs, the Surnees, the Sir Vizeers, the Firgees, Marathas of noble blood Dhungurs, Brahmins, the men in charge of the bullocks which dragged the gun carriages, the Carnatic gunshots, the archers, and all other arm-bearers and the gunners all fought desparately, without any distinction or rank. The Mowlees fought on foot hand to hand. Some of the elephants that were brought to the battlefield lost their tails, tusks and trunks, while others lay dead on the field. Many horses were killed at one blow. The battle field was strewn with innumerable carcasses of the dead. Pools of blood were formed. The clotted blood and the flesh of the dead together lay like mire under the treading feet of the warriors. The following is the list of the live and dead stock that fell into the hands of the Marathas.

About	£5 elephants.	About	4,000 horses.
"	1,200 camels.	"	Rs. 7,00,000 cash.
"	75 viziers.	"	2,000 cart loads of cloth.
"	Rs. 3,00,000 jewellery.		

Besides these, several guns and immense jewellery were captured; so also were cattle." Sabhasad. Pp. 18-19. Cf. Rawlinson's Shivaji. P. 86.

2. It partially confirms the account of the Bakhars. The Sabhasad records that the death of Afzal Khan, the powerful Vizier of the Bijapur kingdom, weakened its power. Shivaji, taking advantage of this, captured all the forts of the Bijapur kingdom in the Konkan. He took 50 hill forts. The Ghauts surrendered to Shivaji who had then a formidable army consisting of 7,000 foot, 8,000 horse and 12,000 camp followers beside Bargeers and Siledars. The whole army under Netaji Palkar Surnobat overran Palghat, Parande, Haveli, Kulburga, Udgir, Avsa, and all the country as far as the Godavery, and exacted tributes. The Surnobat then fought a battle with the Subbedar of Aurangabad who advanced against him with his army; but the Maratha commander killed him and many of his elephants and horses, Sabhasad, P. 22,

Rajapore Castle, that Sevagys men should assist us ashoare, hee having already taken the town of Danda Rajapore, but not the castle, wherein there is a great treasure, part of which wee may have and the castle too, give him but the rest. And this is the business that wee have to recommend unto you; which H. R. hinted unto Mr. Mathew Andrews in a particular (*i.e.*, private) letter, but hee presently putts it into his next generall, whereunto Mr. Forster sighnes, and Mr. Gray writes for every office boy to take notice of, and commands to act nothing in it; which hee need not have donn, for how cann wee or hee act any thing in this buisnesse before you send out two or three shippes and men for the purpose? But wee may bring things in the meane tyme to such maturity and ripenesse as that heereafter they may bee ready for you to pluck; and so much wee are resolved to doe. One months tyme more will, wee belive,

Shahji advancing
to capture
Bijapur.

put an end to this trouble; for Sevagyes father, Shawjee, that lyes to the southward is expected within eight dayes with his army consisting of 17,000 men, and then they intend for Vizapore (Bijapur), the King and Queenes residence, whose streng(t)h consists onely in men and they are not above 10,000 souldyers; so that in all probability the kingdome will be lost. And if it proves so, all that Rustum Jemah hath promised us, of a tancksall, of remitting you part of the saltpeeter costomes, and of assisting you in taking Danda Rajapore Castle which are three things wee doe desire to bee instrumentall in, will as certainly bee performed. Wee onely want power and means, and a good head at Suratt."

2. The Capture of Panhala

The letter from Rajapur to Surat sent on 9th December 1659, is important, as herein Shivaji is described as a 'Great Rajput'. It is clear that the Founder of the Maratha Empire did not fabricate his ancestry, nor was it at the time of the coronation that he was acknowledged a Ksha-

triya. Even as early as 1659 he was known to be a 'Great Rajput.' This point has been fully discussed in the appendix.

The great castle of Panhala was secured by Shivaji on 28th Nov. 1659, and we have this news conveyed to Sura only ten days later by Revington who was at Kolhapur at the time of the surprise of the strongest hill-castle of the, Bijapur Kingdom.

"Sevagy¹, a great Rashpoote and as great an enemy to the Queene (of Bijapur), hath taken the great castle of Panella, within six courss (kōsas) of Collapore; which The English must needs startle the King and Queene at pleased at the cap- ture of Panhala Vizapore. Wee wish his good success hearty- by Shivaji ly, because it workes all for the Companies good, hee and Rustum Jemah² being close f(r)einds... This cloath wee could not wash, because the washers and other poore people were struck with the noyse (*i.e.* rumour) of an army being so neareas made them all runn away."

3. Abbe Carre's Version of the Tragedy

"Abdul Khan weighed in his mind if he should accept the post of Commander-in-Chief which they had come to offer to him. He resolved against his wishes, (to do so) and prepared himself to march against Shivaji, who being always at the head of his troops knew not pleasure.

"When Abdul Khan was about to depart, and when he had to quit his women, his jealousy flamed up with such violence that he could not master it any more, and it

1. English Factories, Vol. 1655-59, 252.

2. The following extract from G. Duff throws slight on the surprise of Panhala. "Panalla was one of those forts to which the king generally appointed the Killidar, but it was situated within the Jagheer of Roostum Zuman, one of the Beejapoor generals, whom we shall have occasion to mention in our progress. The jagheer of Roostum Zuman comprehended Merich and Kolapoor above the Ghauts, and Carwar and Rajapoor in the Concan. There is reason to suppose that Roostum Zuman was bribed by Sevajee at a very early period; the English merchants of the factories of Rajapoor and Carwar repeatedly accuse him of being in league with Sevajee, and of sharing in the plunder of some towns in his own jagheer." (P, 79)

inspired him with the darkest design of which a man is capable. He shut himself up for eight days in his seraglio, passing all the time in festivity and pleasure. The end was tragic, because on the last day, to save all the disquiet which love gives, he caused to be stabbed before him the 200 unfortunate women, who did not expect in the least to receive such a treatment.

"After such a fine opening, he departed for the army, breathing of nothing except blood and courage. The report of this barbarity was not long in spreading, and there was none who did not hold him in horror. This was the reason that Shivaji lent his ears to the talk of some among his generals, who advised him to assassinate Abdul Khan, during a pretended interview which he would ask of him at the time when the two armies would be at the point of being engaged. They represented to him that Abdul Khan being loaded with the horror of so black an act, which was that of causing to be killed two hundred women, whom their sex ought to have saved from his fury, if no other consideration protected them, the world would be delighted to see him perish in his turn, and that they would see him fall with joy, without thinking of the hand which would strike him down. They produced many other reasons to 'colour' the crime. Shivaji came himself up to their discourse; the more so as he having once by the greatest of all the outrages revolted against his legitimate king, one more assassination ought not to frighten him.

"The occasion for executing his project presented itself very soon; the two armies sighted each other, and already the commanders who passed rank after rank, commenced to excite the valour of the soldiers by reproaches or by praise. Shivaji sent a herald to propose to Abdul Khan to advance alone in order to confer at the head of his army; as he also would do on his part: and that, for greater security, he also offered to give up his arms, provided that Abdul Khan too would lay aside his own.

"Abdul Khan accepted the offer, and by a signal imprudence advanced alone, without having anything to rely

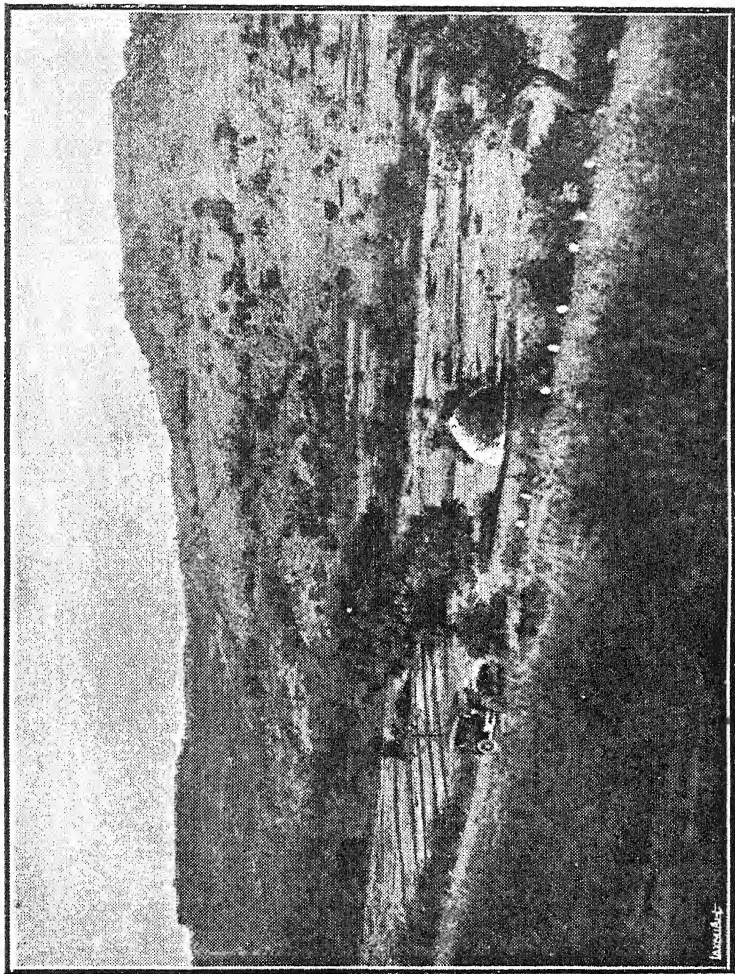
upon except the word of Shivaji. It is true that he had known him at all times as a man of strong probity and he had not yet imagined him capable of breaking what he had promised. Shivaji, however, had under his vest a concealed dagger, well resolved to avail himself of it and to finish thereby a war which otherwise would last long and in which success was doubtful.

"When they were sufficiently near each other, Shivaji took the word; and as if he did not intend anything except to draw him into his revolt, he spoke to him of their old friendship and told him that it would be a violation of right to fight with one another: then suddenly changing his visage he drew his dagger and drove it into his bosom: he told him 'Take this is what those deserve who sully their lives with hateful crimes; those who like you violate all the natural laws do not deserve to have any share in the privilege of the right of men.'

"Shivaji (then) retired towards his own people, who immediately fell with fury on the army of Abdul Khan, totally struck with consternation at the death of their general; he cut to pieces one part, the rest surrendered at discretion. He made the better troops take the oath and augmented his (army) with them.

"The body of Abdul Khan adorned with the richest robes, was by order of Shivaji carried to a neighbouring town where he was regretted by none.

Thus ended the second enterprise of the king of Bijapur, against whom Shivaji prepared still other affairs. I remember that in 1663, in a journey which I made by land from Surat to St. Thome, I rested at Abdulpur, of which Abdul Khan had been Governor when he was assassinated. I went to see the palace: I there found a great number of workmen occupied in cutting the stones which were to serve as the mausoleum of Abdul Khan; and I was surprised (to see) how in the epitaph they mentioned the women of the seraglio whom he had caused to be killed."



The Forts of Panhalla and Pawangarh as they are visible
from the Kolhapur-Ambaghat Road.



Fazal Khan
(Son of Afzul Khan)

4. Dr. J. Fryer's Account of Afzal Khan's Murder

"At which the King of Visiapour beginning to cast an Eye finding him aspiring, and intending to blast him in the Bud, sent a Potent Army against him, conducted by Abdul Caun, an experienc'd Soldier, yet outwitted by Seva Gi: For he understanding of his having taken the Field, while the Main Body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing Messages, intimating withal, if he would but stop his March, at an appointed Choultry out of sight of each Rendezvouz, he would meet him, and kiss his Feet; begging that he act the obliging Office of a Peacemaker between him and the King.

Abdul Caun thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his Friends, (whether out of Superstition, as the dying of an Elephant, and other bad presaging Omens, or they doubting the Integrity of Seva Gi, I know not) but they could not prevail; At the Day prefixed therefore he takes with him his Son and a selected number, which he credited would not be out-equalled by Seva Gi, upon his former Protestations and Hopes of Reconcilement: but the Perfidious Man had placed an Ambuscado, and with a smaller Shew in appearance than Abdul brought, waits his coming; who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned Tears, craving Pardon for his Offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his Advocate to procure it; Going to enter the Choultry together, he cries out like a fearful Man, that his Lord (so he stiled the General) might execute his Pleasure on him, and ease him of his Life; which Abdul Caun surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly unarmed, delivered his Sword and Ponyard to his Page, and bad him enter with Courage; where after some Parley he slips a Stiletto from under his Coat-sleeve, and then eyeing his Blow, struck it at his Heart, whereat the Signal was given, and his Men came forth, in which Scuffle Abdul's Son gave Seva Gi a Wound, but was forced to change Habit with a Frass immediately, and venturing

through untrodden Paths hardly escaped to the Camp, who thereupon were so discomfited, that they quickly dispersed themselves, and left the Field open to Seva¹ Gi.

5. Dr. Fryer's version of the Capture of Panhala

“Who, grown proud with this good Fortune, resolves not to return till he had sacked Panala, one of their Wealthiest and Strongest Cities; but finding it a Work not over-facile, they within, though thinly Mann'd, being obstinate, he disbands therefore, under pretext of Ill Usage, Seven or Eight Hundred of his Men, who presently took their way to the City, and offer their Service, complaining of Seva Gi as an Inhuman Butcherly Fellow, some Marks of which they produced on those suborned for that purpose; The present Occasions urging, and being willing to blind themselves with the Improbability of its being a Cheat, they within admitted them the City, but so as for some time they could not put their Plot in execution, the Citizens watching at Night the Gates with their own Men, and disposing them on the walls and Out-posts; But the Inhabitants taken up with their Delight more than Security, had Pester'd the Ditches with Gardens and Trees, whereby on a Set Night, they on the Walls having so contrived it, received their Friends of the Camp under Covert of the Trees, and overpowering the Citizens, opened the Gates, whereupon the Enemy entered, and by this Treachery the City was gained for Seva Gi; which he makes his Retreat, ordering those Trees to be cut down that were so fatal to the former Possessors.

6. Conflict with the English at Rajapur

The Englishmen opened a factory at Rajapur in 1649. Since then their ships used to lade saltpetre, yarn, cloth, pepper, etc. from there. They continued to trade peacefully there till the beginning of 1660, when Shivaji, taking advantage of the demoralization caused amongst the court and

1. John Fryer, Vol. II, pp. 57-58. Another account is given by G. Duff, p. 79; Parnal; Shiva Bh. Chap. 23.

nobility by Afzal Khan's murder, pounced upon the port towns. The Bijapur officers of the towns fled before him to take refuge at Rajapur. Here the English factors gave them assistance and thus came into conflict with Shivaji's men for the first time in January 1660. The story of these incidents is related in a long letter sent by the Rajapur factors to Surat, on 4 February, 1660.

"Since our last, Sevagyes forces (whose actions you can not but heere of, being so neare us) hath gonn on succesfully and possessed them selves of severall Shivaji captures port townes on the coast; amoungst which Dabhol and other towns. Dabull being ¹ one, the Governour (Mahamud Shariff) runn from thence hether to Rajapore with three of Abdell Ckaunes (i.e., Afza Khan's) jounkes ² (whom Sevagy kild)...; where being come, his sonn, Fozell Ckaune, (Fazl Khan) joyning forces with Rustum Jemah, lord of this towne, they both write to the Governour of Rajapore (Abdul Karim) to receive what goods were in theis jounkes (as the Governour informd us), while they marched towards Sevagyes forces, then lying at Panella; and in the way encounters with each other, in which encounter Fozell Chaune, being Shivaji routs in the front, was first routed and many of Fazl Khan and his men kild,³ and afterwards persued; while Rustam Zaman Rustum Jemah had only some of his men slaine and himselfe suffered to retreat back unto Hookery. Which newes coming downe to Rajapore put the Governour into such a fright that hee would presently have runn from hence, without making up any accompt with us or the towne; but wee perswaded him to stay till hee heard from his master, who wee are informed, and doe beleive, is Sevagyes friend, because the Queene was not his nor hee hers, and his syding with Fozell Ckaune against Sevagy was lookt on only as a warlike pollicy, for hee now sitts

1. Cf. Chitnis, p. 35.

2. These were 450, 350 and 300 tons burden respectively.

3. Bijapur forces encountered Shivaji's troops. Shivaji captured 2,000 horses and twelve elephants. J. S. Cf. Shiva Bh. Ch. 24.

still while Sevagy proceeds beyond him to Vizapore *. But all this did not really (though semingly) prevaile with this Governour to stay ; for hee told us hee would come to us the next morning and give us a note upon the towne for monyes that our broker had disbursed upon our house (being already about 700 pagodas) and for 2,000 pagodas that our sheroff Timogy (Timoji) sent unto Rustum Jemah and had taken a bill for it in the Englishes name (unknowne to us); which bill, at his being imprisoned at Raybagg,...hee sent downe to us, desiring us to receive it of the aforesaid Governour. Now, it was no more then reason in us to demaund this mony of the Governour, because that Tymogy, our sheroff, owed us about the same some...; and besides, how doe wee know but, our sheroff being imprisoned (as before) and 4 or 5,000 pagodas forced from him so unjustly, might make him become insolvent and not able to pay what hee owed the Company? Therefore wee, finding this Governour the next morning not so good as his promises sent for him, and heard that hee (had?) runn away in the night downe to Jettapore (Jaitapur), aboard the Dabull jounkes, intending to bee gonn; upon which wee presently sent downe to the *Diamond* (who was then lying ashoare triming) to haule off and fall downe belowe the Dabull jouncks; which accordingly she did, and being mand with about 20 lascarres and halfe a dosen of ourselves, desired the Governour of Rajapore to come aboard us; when we demaunded a reason for his running away in that nature. And hee not given (giving) any reason, wee demaunded our mony; which hee paid us in goods to the vallew of 1200 pagodas, as per the inclosed list, and for the rest hee said he would pay us afterward. But at this instant comes 500 or 600 men to Rajapore, and 200 downe to Jettapore to take theis jouncks of Abdul Ckaunes and desired our asistance; which wee denied, and returned answer that we came

* Brief account of this expedition is found in the Dutch Records reproduced later on.

downe only to even our accompt with the Rajapore Governour, and after wee had donn our owne business, they might doe what they pleased. Afterward they required us

Shivaji's men in
Rajapur harbour to deliver up the Dabull Governour, the Rajapore Governour, and the Suttaly (Satavli) Governour, who came all aboard; which wee

denyed, being not consistent with our religion to deliver up any man to his enemy that comes under our protection; and besides, there being aboard of us was only to make up an accompt depending betweene the Rajapore Governour and the English; which when that was donn, they had liberty to goe where they pleased. This angred them, but pleased the Governours, in so much that, upon the newes and sight of Sevagyes men, they presently desired us to take possession of two of there jounks and to owne them. But that wee would not doe; only, if they would deliver into our hands the jounk of about 300 tonns, wee would (keep?) possession of her till the rest of the mony was paid, and that wee would have liberty to imploy her this monsoone on the Companies accompt, without any detriment to the Company for any damage that should happen to her; with which they were content, and drew up a writing among themselves, for us to shew unto Sevagyes forces, that this jounk was the Englishes; which being donn, they desired us to carry them to Vingola (Vingurla) but that wee could not answer to Sevagy; therefore desired excuse, and encouraged them to goe aboard there other two jounkes and sayle for Surrat or some towne under the Mogulls command. But they would not goe, the souldyers in the great jounk (being upwards of 50, with there weomen, being 150) declaring for Sevagy; upon which hee (the Rajapur Governor?) protested against them and hired one amydea¹, wherein, with a letter of recommendation from H. Revington to the Chief of the Dutch in Vingola, hee went; where hee is under there protection. Thus having donn our buisness the best we could, H. R. went ashoare, to acquaint Sevagyes men that, as wee were strangers in this country and merchants,

1. A small vessel,

wee were not to meddle or side in fighting with any party, but to trade with all, if wee could: and that the Governours were gonn and left two of there shippes (the other being ours, for mony oweing us), which wee beleived would yeild to them. And the next day wee went up to Rajapore, leaving Mr. Mingham commander of the jounk, whom wee have named the *Rajapore Merchant*, and intended to have fild her with rice, beetlenutt etc. and so sent her to Persia and Coung, which must needs have gaine the Company mony, wee paying nothing for her hull, and lascarrs wages heere being 50 per cent. less then in Surrat, and there provisions to; but having no mony, this our intention was frustrated, and now wee think of sending her up to you at Basseene, from whence (or Chaule) she might gaine the Company a considerable peece of mony unto Persia. But when wee are thinking of this, another thought arises: how wee shall get mony to pay lascarrs and to buy shippes provisions sufficient to carry her up to you? and a little powder etc. necessaries shee wants; for heere is no mony to bee had, Vouggys and all the merchants and exchange men being gonn. Which leads us to Rajapore, where being come up, the next morning the Generall desired to speak with us. And the next day R(andolph) T(aylor) went over the river to know his minde; which was made knowne by demanding the afore-said Governours, but it was told him they were certainly gonn. Then hee required us to take the jounks; which was denied him¹. Afterwards hee demanded of H. R. the goods and jounk wee had; of which the former was offerd him, provided hee would give us a bill upon the towne with Vouggys Sheppotts (Bhaji Shivpat), the Desies, etc. merchants hands for the payment of as much mony as wee had them delivered us for; which hee promised, and desired the goods to bee sent for up; but untill the writing was made and delivered, wee would not send for or deliver the goods. And upon that, and some other discourse about D(anda) Rajapore) C (astle), which his master hath a great

1, Cf. Surat Letter to Co., 6 April 1660. F. R. S. Vol. 85,

minde for us to helpe him in taking it, or rather the mony in it (of which the Companye is largely advised), wee parted; and afterward went downe to Jettapore about the Rajapore Merchant; in which tyme the souldyers in the great jounck, being fearefull of having there weomen abused by the souldyers of Sevagy, altered there prementioned resolution of delivering there shipp up to Sevagy, and stood, upon there owne defence, and tooke the men belonging to the other of there shippes and weyhd anchor, falling downe belowe us and Sevagyes forces, who lay on both sides watching there motion, but she fired through them and came to an anchor beyond the command of there guns. Upon which Vouggys and Velgy (Valji) being in Jettapore, Sevagyes men ceises on them, because the English would not take the

Brokers of the jounke for them but lett her goe; which English captured caused us to send them word that wee would by Shivaji's men fire the towne about them, if they delivered us not our broker. And upon that they all run up the hill, sending Velgy away before them; which made us follow them to the topp of the hill; where being come, they were all below the hill; unto whom wee sent Mr. Gyffard and the commander of the *Diamond* to demand our broker. But instead of delivering him, they kept Mr. Gyffard too, and sent the *Diamond*(s) commander back to bid us to come no further; and in the meane tyme they marched away with about 200 souldyers as farr as Carrapatann

Mr. Gyffard (Kharepatan) that night; from whence wee captured by have received letters from Mr. Gyffard that they Marathas say, unless wee take theis jounkes and deliver them our goods, they will keepe him and Velgy. Now wee recommend this business...unto your consideration, whither it bee fitt for us to take theis jounkes for them, one of which lyes in the river empty, and the other full of men and weomen; or whether wee should deliver the jounke and goods in our possession to them whom it concernes not. In our reasons it appeares unreasonable, although they doe detain Mr. Gyffard and our broker; whom they cann but keepe prisoners so long as wee cann have a letter carryed to there master Sevagy, who is so great and noble a per-

son as wee believe hee will never maintaine this action of
 The English deteyning any of us upon so unreasonable
 nobly refuse to accompt, And wee thinke it more fitt that
 deliver the re- Mr. Gyffard suffers imprisonment in a just
 fugees cause by them then wee unjustly to doe
 anything that might cause a just imprisonment by others;
 besides the dishonour that would redound to our nation by
 delivering up so many soules into the hands of there ene-
 myes who are no otherwies to us then friends, and loose-
 ing of so many weomens lives (for any thing wee know) by
 pining and greiving in extremity, if not by mercyleess cruel-
 ty, for the redemption of one Englishman from imprisonment
 who heereafter, wee hope, will bee rewarded for his suffer-
 ing...Your letters to Cale Velho¹ could not as yett bee sent
 forward by land, theis poore people being afraid to pass
 through or by souldyers; yett this cossett will venture up
 the coast, for the trouble is now running downe, and and
 wee hope in one months tyme it will bee gonn; so farr as our
 business will bee donn; for, wee are now boyling peeter in
 Rajapore and are sending up to boyle, more at Nemtovad,
 which wee hope to have all downe before the raines falls...
 As for the other goods, they are and might bee now
 bought cheape, notwithstanding theis troubles, and with-
 out trouble might bee brought to port after the raines; but
 as wee begunn, so wee end, your not sending mony to pay
 our debts or to buy more goods makes us uncapable of
 doing any other business (besides the salt-peeter) for our
 imployers against next yeare...Interest of one per cent (per
 month?) runns deepe in a principall of 5,000..."

In the preceding letter, it is mentioned that a junk of
 300 tuns, having been taken over by Revington, was
 renamed *Rajapur Merchant* and placed under the command
 of Mr. Mingham. Then Revington, Taylor and others
 returned to Rajapur to have an interview with Daruji, the
 commander of Shivaji's forces. From the next letter dated

1. Old Kayal, about 10 miles S. W. of Tuticorin. It was a flourishing
 port as attested by Marco Polo.

14th Jan. 1660, it will be evident that these events took place up to 13th January.

* 'Since our coming up from Jettapore wee have not understood the Commander's minde of Sevagies forces now lying in Rajapore, notwithstanding wee invited ourselves unto his presence the next morning (after coming up at night) he desiring our absence from his presence till the presente evening, when wee desired his excuse till to-morrow morning, and then wee intend to visett him, after which you may expect to heare further from us.'

Without going into details, this letter may be supplemented by a further report of 15th February 1660 to the effect that

"Our broker writt a letter to Rustum Jemah and Sevagy when hee was imprisoned with Mr. Gyffard; and afterward a Shivaji orders maldarr (Amaldar) from Rustum Jemah was sent the release of downe, with one man of Sevagyes, with order Gyffard and the that what had bin taken from the towne of broker. Rajapore should bee restored, and that our Englishman and broker bee released. After which our broker was sent us; but Mr. Gyffard is kept by a rogue Bramman in Carrapatan Castle, out of lucre and expectation of a bribe. Wee have writt to Sevagy and Rustum Jemah againe about him (they being certainly friends), acquainting them with there roguery, who may chance to bee turnd out for it, as Dorogy (Daruji), the cheife commander of the forces that carryed him away first, is."

That Shivaji took a strong action against his general, Daruji for an attack on Rajapur, is confirmed by the Rajapur Letter to Surat, dated 20 Feb. 1660.

Now we come to one important letter of 13th February, 1660, addressed to Shivaji himself imploring him to order the release of Gyffard. It is, says Sir W. Foster, 'the earliest recorded communication from the English to that remarkable chieftain.'

* H. Revington and factors to William Mingham, commanding the *Rajapore Merchant*. Dated Rajapore, 14th January, 1660. Factory Records, Rajapore, p. 103.

"To Sevagy, Generall of the Hendoo Forces.

How much freindshipp the English hath promised to act for you against Danda Rajapore Castle your servants Dorogy etc., wee beleive hath informed you; Shivaji implored but how much injury wee have received from to order Gyffard's release. them wee are ashamed to tell you. Only thus much bee pleased to understand; that because wee would not take the jounkes lying in Rajapore River, bee enemies to those who were our friends, therefore hath our broker and one Englishman binn carryed away by your servants and kept abused in prison for 25 dayes; and although now our broker is released, yet still the Englishman is detayned and imprisoned in Carrapatann Castle, to the sorrow of us and feare of all merchants in the port townes under your command, believing that this action will hinder there and our trading. But wee are patient and hope satisfaction by a letter from you unto the cheife of theis your forces. Therefore wee pray that theis may come to your hands, and intreat your answer to this for the restoring of our English man and what else hath binn taken, against your command.¹

The factors did not wait for an answer to this letter, but took an opportunity to rescue their colleague from his guards, while, he was being transferred to a fresh place of imprisonment.

"Since our last generall wee received advice from Mr. Phillipp Gyffard of the Governour of Carrapatann Castles Englishmen intention to send him from thence (where wee forcibly rescue supplied him every day with meate and Gyffard drinke) unto Suttoly (Satavali) or Chelna (Khelna or Vishalgarh) Castle; and having notice which way they intended to steere, wee waylayd them with about 30 men, some ten miles up from Rajapore, and (thanks bee to God) mett him in a towne, tended upon by 25 souldyers,

1. Rajapur Letters to Rustam Zaman and Fazl Khan, 13 Feb. 1660 complain of Gyffard's imprisonment.

from whom wee rescued him without any prejudice on eyther side. This action, wee confess, was done out of passion, because wee had not patience to stay till our freind S(e)vagyes answer came unto our letter in our last mentioned, having good opportunity before," (Rajapur to Surat, 23 Feb. 1660.)

Andrew's version of the conflict.

The story of the conflict between the English and Shivaji's men at Rajapur has been briefly related by Mr. Andrews, President of the Surat Factory in his letter dated 6th April 1660 to the Company in London. It throws new light on some incidents of the struggle and accuses Revington of rashly taking the part of one of his brokers against Shivaji's men.

"Savages¹, a Jentowe of greate power in Decann, raiseth an army in January last to oppose the now reigning Kinge there, and (hath?) taken many townes there, among which was Rajapore. A shroffe employed by Henry Revington etc., had some monthes before lent a greate person, Rustam Jemah, () pagodas, (and?) tooke a bill (as is the custome of many Bannians that are in your service) in the Englishes name; therefore desires Mr. Revington to assist in this hurly-burly, to procure him his money. He proclaims warre, and flyes Rajapore, with the rest of the English into a small shipp (*the Diamond*) of Bennidashes lying in the river; engadges your servants; puts you to charges excessive of peons and lascars wages for the vessell detained; seizes on three junckes there riding in the river also; and in treatinge with the prementioned Savagees soldiers, Phillip Gyffard is seized on and Velgye the broker, both carryed away to prison; keepes one of the junckes, on pretence of moneys owing by them unto you (when they own not one pice) and intends to make use of her. The consequence is left unto Your Honours to judge. Wee feare

1. Eng. F. 1655-60, p. 368. 6th April, 1660, Surat to Co from President Andrews.

another Meir Jumblaes busnesse, unlesse you please to goe to warre with them; for none urged him to this action; only he would be meddling with that which concerned him not. Mr. Gyffard sometime after was released, and the junke still kept, to trade (say they) when they gett moneys; which because wee send them not (for reasons wee shall now render) their censures come apace. For (say they) you send us back our bills of exchanges non accepted, which will be losse to the Company. There is not one bill sent back; all are accepted, except one of 2,000 rupees or thereabouts, which was not accepted in January last; and the shroffes on our promises depending with much civilitye and no such clamour as we have from them."

7. The friendship of Rustam Zaman and Shivaji.

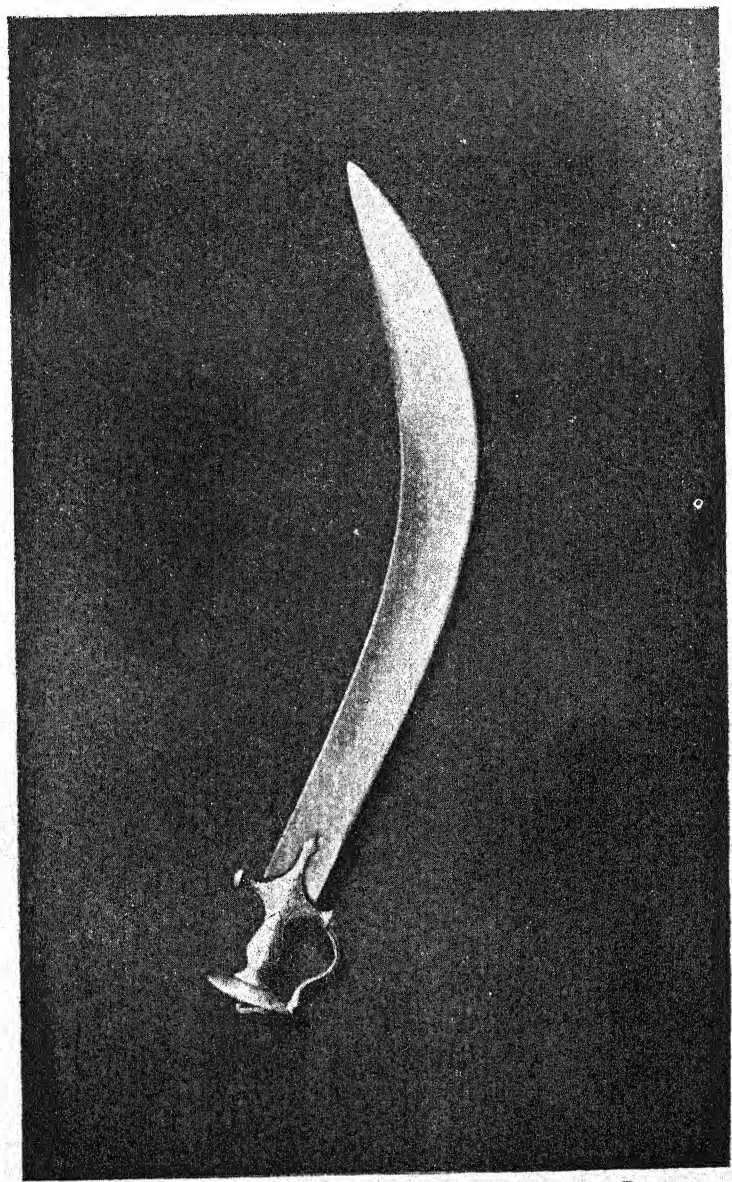
This is referred to in several letters, but two of them are given below. We are informed that Shivaji won over Rustam Zaman by ceding him several towns captured from Bijapur.

"And because being heere should not put him in minde of his owne baseness, hee hath acted as followeth, vizt. Rustum Jemah being (as before wee informed you) freind to Sevagy, hee still enjoys his owne towne of Rajapore, and hath two or three more given him by Sevagy, which Abdle Careeme, the former Governor of Rajapore, is come downe to governe; with whom came about 100 souldyers¹."

Further on we are told that Shivaji's army was on a plundering expedition, that Rustam might follow suit and that his governor might force the English to give some money to him.

"Wee have writt Rustum Jemah all the business: but wee feare that, now Sevagy and hee are joynd, that great matters at present will not admitt of smaller to enter his consideration. And besides wee see how Sevagy sends 3 in 4000 men all along this coast, not to take townes but to gett mony to maintaine his army; and so we believe

1. Eng, F. 1655.60, 364. 19th March 1660. Rajapur to Surat,



Shivaji's Sword

(With Khan Bahadur B. D. Padamji).

Lakshmi Art. Bombay, 8.



Shivaji charging the armies of Rustam Zaman and Fāzal Khan.

Rustum Jemah may doe, for this is a true begining (though not a faire one) to the purpose. Wee have received letters from Rustum Jemah, who bids us not bee afraid; but we finde that if a Governour cann bring but mony to his master (*per fas aut nefas*) in a tyme of necessity, there will bee no dispute made where had you it, or how did you gett it, but Shawbash, and well donn, thou good and faithful servant, when hee hath brought it."*

The Dagb Register records a rumour of the *victory of Shivaji over the Bijapur forces* in the Diary of 17 Feb. 1661.

"There was a rumour that the rebel, Siwasi, being the son of the aforesaid Sahagie of whom full particulars have been given in the Wingurlase reports of the previous years, beat the general, Molla Mahamadoe, with the Lieutenants, Babulchan and Ajapaneyk, near Visiapour and took 2000 horsemen prisoners."

8. Retreat of Shivaji from Bijapur.

Report from Commander Adrian Roothass to the Honourable Joan Maetsuycker G. G. and the Council for India on the events of his mission to the Coast of India from 27th July 1659 to 10th June 1660.

"In the Kingdom of Visiapour the position has become somewhat more favourable. The rebel Suwasie who had brought his troops close to the capital and about 4 hours distance from Wingurla, was driven off by the Desai of Coudal and defeated in a bloody fight by the kings troops, joined by those of the king of Golconda who had come to his assistance. Peace has now again been restored in the disturbed provinces."†

The G. G. Joan Maetsuycker and the Council for India to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company dated 16th December 1660.

"The country of Visiapour has been much disturbed

* Ibid p. 366; Cf. C. Da Guarda, p. 9. † Dutch Records (at the India Office)—Letters from India 1660-1661—Vol. 24, No. DCLXIV.

last year, owing to the bad Govt. of the old Queen who has roused her subjects to rebellion by her extortions. One of these rebels named Siwasi has been so successful that several towns and castles have fallen into his power and his troops already occupied the suburbs of Visiapour. We hear however that he has been obliged to retreat. On account of these disturbances it has been impossible to present to the king the gifts we sent last year. We reported the death of Governor Zollegan and the appointment of his son in his stead. But without any reason the Queen has taken the post from him and given it to Chare Chan, the son of the well-known Chan Channa, former Commander-in-Chief of the army. This alteration of Governor at first caused much dismay at Wingurla." *

9. Siege of Panhala.

The tragic death of Afzal Khan, the crushing rout of Rustam Zaman and Fazl Khan, the fall of the important forts of Panhala, Khelna (Vishalgarh) and Rangna, the capture of Danda Rajpuri, Dabhol, etc., the plunder of the rich port towns, and the appearance of Shivaji at the very gates of the capital, struck such a terror into the hearts of the Bijapur nobility that no prominent general came forward to face the Maratha hero. At last, the task was entrusted to Siddi Jauhar who was honoured with the high title of Salabat Khan. He drove back the Maratha forces from the precincts of the capital and opened his campaign by laying siege to Panhala. Shivaji assigned the defence of the various parts of his kingdom to his ablest commanders and resolved to defend the Panhala fort in person. The military operations of the Siddi are described in several letters. Henry Revington, the principal English factor at Rajapur, quickly seized the opportunity to sell the Company's mortars and shells to Siddi Jauhar for

* Dutch Records 1659-1660—Vol. 23 No. DCLI.

the reduction of that fortress, and on a favourable reply being received from the general, he started on 2 April, 1660, for his camp, carrying with him one of the mortars and a quantity of shells. In a letter of 5th April from Rajapur to Revington near Panhala, it is mentioned that the Bijapur King sent a special phirmaund for transporting the ordnance and ammunition to the camp of Siddi Jauhar and that Rustam Zaman was "much displeased with the English for selling the granadoes to Syddy Jore, when they were first promised him." The letter confirms the news of Bijapur victory over Shivaji. "Wee are now glad to heare of the victory you say the King hath obtayned against Sevagy, and hope your next will conferme the truth thereof—"

Panhala was besieged by Siddi Jauhar with a force of 15,000 men, and Revington had a grand reception in the General's camp as well as an interview with Fazl Khan.

"Since which his departure [being the 2 instant] wee have received sundry letters from him, signifying his most courtious and noble reception unto the camp of said generall, Syddy Jore; being conducted thether from Collapore [Kolhapur] [some 8 or 10 miles thence] by some of the generalls men which were sent thether, together with his pallanken and a horse for same purpose, and about 100 persons with an ellephant etc., attending his nearer approach to the generalls owne tent; where hee was received in such courtious manner that suffitiently declares the defference between such noble dispositions and those rascall ones wee so often are abused by for want of acquaintance with the former. As yett the granadoes are not sould; but when they are, and any thing else offers there worthy your notice, you will bee punctually informd therof by Mr. Revington himselfe."

The Rajapur Factors requested Revington on 17 April, 1660 to send them news about the reduction of the fort:

"Wee should bee very glad that Sevagys forces that were at Vizapore were gonn towards home, as is reported,

that so there might bee the more hopes of gayning that castle out of his hands, and consequently of an end of these troubles. Please to advise the opinion you have of Panella, and whether there is any probability of redemcion..."

A letter of 28th April, 1660, from Rajapur informed Revington that Jauhar had sent his men to capture Kharepatan, etc.

"Heere is no newes worth advising you, Rustum Jemahs men sitting all heere still; only it is said that Syddy Jore hath sent men to take possession of Carrapatann, Sandall, etc., townes, the certainty whereof wee beleive you are better acquainted with then wee."

In a letter of 5 June, 1660, Napier, Revington and the rest at Kolhapur¹ mentioned that

"The Panella Castle is closly beseidged and Sevagy, the Queens grand enemy, in it with about 5 or 6,000 men². The Queens generall, Sallibut Ckawn, a Syddy, hath promised to buy some granadoes, which undoubtedly will bee the cheifest disturbers of the beseidged."

On 15th June Napier, Taylor and Gyffard wrote from Kolhapur to the Surat Council that 'the Companies granadoes etc., remaine still in Rajapore' and

"There is no newes here merriting your notice; but if any profers at Panella, where Mr. Revington now is, wee doubt not but hee will acquaint you therewith. Wee (God bee thanked) remayne sure from all troubles, though the country is still disquieted with what (was?) occasioned by the rebellion of Sevagy....."²

10. Escape of Shivaji from Panhala.

It is a pity that no document is available on the escape of Shivaji from Panhala and the subsequent fall of the fort. The Maratha Lion found himself closely caged up for five months within the rocky ramparts of Panhala; his armies

1. Kolhapur to Madras. 2. The strength of Shivaji's forces besieged in Panhala varies in different Bakhars.



Baji Prabhu's Ghorkhind-The Thermoplae of Maharashtra.

Baji Prabhu, the Indian Leonidas.



were deprived of his personal direction and leadership; his infant kingdom was being run over by the Bijapuris, the Siddis of Janjira, and the Desai of Wadi; and the Mughal forces under the able generalship of Shaista Khan had advanced as far as Poona and even laid siege to Chakan. Under such trying circumstances, the genius of Shivaji discovered a sure way to freedom. He feigned submission to Siddi Jauhar, went to his camp to personally settle the terms of the treaty, promised to surrender the fort, thus lulled the whole army into a false sense of security and victory, and under cover of night slipped out of the fortress with the pick of his army to find shelter in Vishalgarh. His escape was, however, soon detected by the besiegers, so that he was hotly pursued by Fazl Khan and Siddi Jauhar. At last he was overtaken at the pass of Pandrapani, but probably at the Ghorkhind. The bravest of the brave Mavalis were left under Baji Prabhu to defend the narrow pass against the pursuing army, while Shivaji himself continued his flight to Vishalgarh. This Indian Leonidas immortalized his name by his gallant defence of the Deccan Thermopylæ against the Bijapuri odds, till his master had safely arrived in the 'Formidable Fort.' Siddi Jauhar and Fazl Khan were rightly disheartened at the loss of the game. They drank the cup of humiliation, retreated from the frowning rocks of the fortress, and concentrated all their efforts on the reduction of Panhala fort. But it was after a stubborn resistance of more than two months that the fortress was made over on 22nd September to the Bijapur General. This submission put an end to the war and left Shivaji free to organise an effective opposition to Shaista Khan.

The Dagb Register of 30th April 1661 [P. 96] records the *surrender of Panhala and the subsequent rebellion of Siddi Jauhar thus:*

"The Kingdom of Visiapour has not quite recovered

from the losses sustained in the inland war. The King having arrived with an army before the fort Pannala came to terms with the great rebel *Sivasi*; but the general Sohær Salabetchan, after he has been favoured by His Majesty with the dominion of all the lower lands of Visiapour among which Wingurla is also included, and has been sent with the biggest part of the army to Canara to fight Ventapanyk or to extort a large sum of money from him, returned with his army when on the way, owing to some grievance which he felt, to the town of Racassy Tangaddy situated about fourteen miles from Visiapour, where he declared that he was not a servant of the King, but a Mogol captain, and on that account disowned all standards and colours of the kingdom, replacing them with new ones after the Mogol fashion. In the meantime he had sent a new Havildar or governor to Wingurla, called Miersa Fatan Molouc. The latter arrived in Wingurla on the 15th November, but owing to the treachery of Salabetchan described above, was prepared for hourly flight, so that Chavescan [Khavas Khan] will apparently again be favoured with his village."

11. Dr. Fryer on the aftermath of Afzal's tragedy.

"And now he forages the Country and lays all waste in his Round, till young Abdul was reinforced to revenge his Father's Death, and to join with another General Rustam Gemma, with whom Seva Gi had been tampering: Such is the Covetous Nature of these people, that Money shall currupt the most Loyal among them: Which made him when they were ready to give Battel, withdraw his Cavalry, leaving young Abdul and his Men to try it out with Seva Gi; whose Force, though an Handful, fell bravely on, and so gauled Seva Gi, that he wish'd him well off; Abdul crying out wherever he went. Thou Coward Seva, here am I; whereof though Seva had notice, he avoided him, saying. He was a Rash Youth, let somebody else kill him: He made through his Army two or three times in Person, till being tired he was fain to leave off, and speed to Visiapour,

Fazl Khan's
defeat.

to complain of Rustam's Falsehood; Upon this Rustams' Horse disbanded, some choice Friends only going over with him to Seva Gi, advising him to follow his Blow, and set upon Visiapour itself, which he did; and had not Syddy Jore come to its Relief with a vast Recruit, he had not only attacked, but carried it.

"Then it was time for Seva to retire to Panala, where being long detained by Syddy Jore's lying before it, at length (as 'twas thought) through the Connivance of the said Syddy, he stole out by Night; and by a false Pharmond takes the Syddy's Town of Rajapour.¹

Shivaji's Escape from Panhala
Siddi Jauhar slain.
"After which the Syddy resorts to Visiapour to his Master, who bore his Disgust for letting the Traytor go, under a serene Countenance, and dismiss'd him with Thanks: But having made Bullel Caun Commander-in-Chief, he dispatches him after the Syddy, who being wary and doubtful of the King's Intentions, had provided to stand to it, putting Bullul Caun to Flight: Whereupon begins another Civil Discord; the King in Person resolves to bid at his Head, which otherwise by the clandestine Practices of Bullel Caun was hoped, to be atchieved, as it proved, he doing that by Fraud he could not do by Force: For the Night after both Armies were in view, the Omrahs on the Syddy's side forsook him, and he was slain, and his Head brought to the King, without any more strokes fought: such deadly Venom bears Secret Malice and Hellish Insinuation.²

"This still makes for Seva Gi, for he was not able to cope with him singly; which Impediment thus lopped off to his hand, he seizes at leisure smaller Places, as Dande Rajapour, whose Prince sueth for Protection to the Mogul, being beaten out of all but his Strong Castle at Dande Rajapour, environ'd about by the Sea, but within Shot of the Main, which Seva with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The Mogul succouring it by sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim."

1. Orme has followed Fryer, but we learn from Revington's letter of 10th Dec. 1659 that Shivaji had captured Danda Rajapur before that date. Orme, p. 9, and p. 52 *supra*.

2. The same account is given by Orme, p. 9.

CHAPTER IV

Surprise of Shaista Khan

1. Shaista Khan and his march to Poona.

Aurangzeb appointed Shaista Khan, a great general, to suppress Shivaji. The Khan's original name was Abu Talib or Mirza Murad. He was the son of Asaf Khan, the Prime Minister of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and a grandson of I'timadudaula, the father of Nurjahan Begam, the famous queen of the Emperor Jahangir. He was thus the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb and rose to be the premier peer and the richest grandee of his empire. On his father's death in 1641, he was appointed Wazir by Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb made him Viceroy of the Deccan in 1659 and, on his ignominious failure in the Deccan campaign, transferred him to the Governorship of Bengal in 1665 which, with a year's break, he continued to hold till 1689. Then he retired to Agra, where he died in 1694 at a good old age. He is several times mentioned by Tavernier and in other memoirs of his time, as by Sir T. Roe, i. 115; Manucci, i. 194; Bernier, 13, 56; Diary of Hedges, i. 42, 133, 141; Diary of Strensham Master, etc.

It was a minister and general of such a noble descent and proved ability that was sent with 100,000 horse to crush the 'Mountain Rat'. Cosme da Guarda has fortunately left a very interesting description of the march of this great general to the Deccan.

"The grandeur with which Sextaghan marched will be discredited in Europe but it is necessary that we should

speak about it, though most people refuse to believe everything outside their country and out of their sight. This proud Mouro had with him two field tents, each carried by three hundred elephants. When he set out from the first, the other was fitted in the place where he would stop that day. Each tent contained houses for him; the tent in which he used to give audience was sixty feet in length and thirty in breadth and its covering was supported on strings of iron fifteen feet in height. This was followed by bed chambers, private rooms, gardens full of flowers, conveyed in millions of vases, and so delicious that one who saw them would doubt whether they were natural. All the houses were so neat, and furnished with such beautiful and rich furniture that even the court had nothing better. Immediately behind were houses for the ladies, for maid servants, for many eunuchs and innumerable servants; there were other houses for pantry, for plates and different kitchens. Outside there were houses for the revenue office, for the criminal and civil courts and many other departments. In the front of the tent there was a courtyard so big and capacious that the military exercises with all their combats and defences were performed here. All this fabric was surrounded by a wall made of thick doubled cloth, twenty feet in height supported by several iron cylinders with spurs fixed in the ground."

The Khan opened his campaign in 1660, captured Poona, Chakan, etc., kept up a desultory warfare against the Marathas for full three years and was ultimately bearded in his own den by the adventurous Shivaji. Guarda gives a graphic account of the ambuscades and miseries to which this cumbrous army was subjected by Shivaji's light horse.

"But in spite of all these precautions, he said or planned nothing that Sevagy did not immediately learn. Sevagy, **Guerilla warfare** knew how to make new friends with money and, like his wealth, his friends were innumerable and they sent him information every hour. He was at great Punadar, but Sextaghan had not marched one league when he saw ten thousand horses of Sevagy, arrayed in four

divisions assault his army on all sides. The Mogol army also marched in separate detachments to make room for the numerous baggage, women and beasts, of which the camp was composed. For this reason none left their place, for each company guarded what belonged to it. The Mogols were in this suspense and difficulty when the troops of Sevagy inflicted a heavy loss upon them with dexterous expedition. They assaulted one division and retired, but in the same manoeuvre fell upon another. The Mogols could not divine wherefrom they came, for it appeared as if Sevagy were everywhere; the confusion in the army became in this manner very great. By these onslaughts Sevagy used to take plenty of spoils besides killing many men, and as his appearance and disappearance were affected in an instant, every foot of the thicket made Sextaghan halt, for each presented an unusual aspect, without examining which he would not move.

“At the place where the Mogol army was to encamp (as we have said, this is decided by the place having a good water supply), appeared eight thousand horse commanded by Neotagy, Sevagy’s uncle and contriver of ambushes, besides the eight thousand on two sides of the road which the Mogol army had to take, but they were placed in such thick forests that this reserve caused no suspicion.

“When the Mogol army saw these eight thousand horse in the place where it was found necessary to encamp, the vanguard halted, and hardly had word passed as to what should be done, when they (the Sevagies) charged with passionate fury in order to sweep the Mogol under their horses, and the field was filled with shouts and uproars and soldiers were so confused that they fell upon one another with tumult and fury. When the Mogols imagined that they had caught them, the Sevagies divided themselves into four parties and fled each in a particular direction. In such a manner could they steal the manoeuvre that the Mogols were stupefied and stumbling upon one another, they could not reach those sought. After a few manoeuvres at a great distance the

Neatji—the
master of
ambushes.

Shivaji’s cossack
tactics

Sevagies turned to unite, in order that the Mogols should pursue them under the impression that they constituted the whole force (of Shivaji); for once afar, they would be able to succour the baggage for which the two thousand hidden horse had been destined. This plan was nicely executed; for Sextaghan pursued them, thinking that was the whole army of Sevagy, which he wanted to destroy that very day. And when it seemed that the proper time had arrived, out came the two thousand and assaulted the immense baggage, which was immediately invested to the great confusion of all.

“The circumstances that largely contributed to this confusion were that the baggage was invested on both sides and that the sun had already gone down. The

The loot loss was very great. They (the Marathas) took thousands of loaded camels, many elephants, innumerable horses and everything that they could, killing all whom they met, while the other thousand removed the spoils. What they could not take was left on the ground, but they removed the beasts of burden. And in these, more than in anything else, the army suffered the greatest loss. The frustrated army then retired, as Neotagy had conveniently vanished in a moment. But when they arrived at the former place and

saw the destruction the Marathas had wrought, **The plight of Shaista's army.** they could not hold their surprise and sorrow. That night they went without food in the

inclement weather, for the servants did not appear and most of the tents had now passed into Sevagy's possession. Moreover they passed [the night] with arms in hand, for the very leaves that moved seemed to them to be Sevagy's men. Their conversation consisted of nothing but the bad omens of such a bad beginning. They did not know how to speak too highly of the tricks of Sevagy, for this mode of pillage, said they, was unknown to them, and they concluded by saying that Sextaghan will put an end to this method. Soon the most pitiable sight presented itself; the camel drivers and other servants who had fled or escaped began to arrive, and all in the army uttered shouts of surprise, for some of them came without their arms, others crippled,

others with head uncovered and all without their charge, which was the most important thing. That night, Sextaghan slept in a very small tent, for he had to go without his accustomed pomp; with the usual arrogance of a Mogol, he blasphemed and swore that Sevagy would have to pay for all these with interest, but in spite of so much arrogance he had to experience to his cost Sevagy's stratagem and cunning now and afterwards.

"The army then set out for Puna in the field of which city, as we have already said, Sevagy had built a palace, and tanks and gardens. In the same palace, Shaista allured into Shivaji's palace at Poona Sextaghan took up his residence, for everything was found as it was when Sevagy lived there. Another stratagem that Sevagy always had recourse to, and from which he derived no small gain, was based on the knowledge he had of the most secret entries and exits of the house, fashioned purposely for this enterprise, and things happened afterwards quite in accordance with the plans already made."

2. Shivaji's account of Shaista's surprise.

The first letter on this thrilling incident which happened at Poona on 5th April 1663, purports to be a summary of the note sent by Shivaji himself to his General at Rajapur. It was written to the Surat Factory by Philip Gyffard and sent from Rajapur on 12th April 1663. It contradicts the common belief that Shivaji was an illiterate ruler.

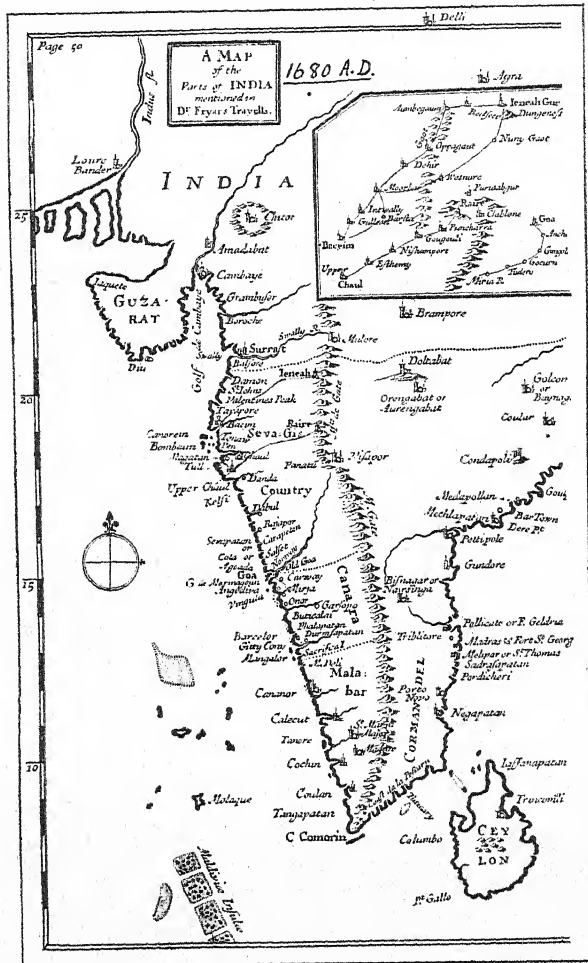
"¹ Raugy Pundit is returned. Presently upon his arrivall he desired me to write to Your Worship etc., to send some body to make an end of the businesse. He declared a great desire thereto. Yesterday arrived a letter from the Rajah, *written by himselfe* to Rougy, giving him an accompt how that he himselfe with 400 choice men² went to Shasta

1. F. Rec, Surat, Vol., 103; E. F. Vol. 1661—64, p. 236.

2. Shivaji was accompanied by 2 to 3 hundred men — Chitnis (P. 98), *Sabhasad*, (P. 33)—2 hundred men, *Shiva Digvijaya*, (P. 220)—"4 to 5 hundred men stationed in an orchard very near Puna." *Shivaji Pratap*, (P. 98)—5 to 7 hundred men.



Shivaji's attack on Shaista Khan



Map of the Deccan in 1680
(From Fryer).

Chans camp; there, upon some pretence [which he did not insert in his letter], he got into his tent to salam, and presently slew all the watch, kill'd Shasta Chan[s] eldest sonne, his sonne in law, 12 of his cheife women, 40 great persons attending him their generall; wounded Shasta Chan with his owne hand (and, he thought, to death, but since heares he lives), wounded six more of his wives, two more of his sons; and after all this returnes, loosing but six men and 40 wounded; 10,000 horse under Rajah Jeswantsin¹ standing still and never offered to persue him; so that it's generally beleived it was done with his consent, though Sevagy tells his men his Permisera² bid him doe it."

Cosme da Guarda has left a detailed description of how Shivaji won over Jaswantsingh to his cause. The following extract will, however, suffice here:

"Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact), for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous canons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress."

"Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what [Quanto must be a misprint for quando] he might design anything against the Mourros." [Pp. 64, 66.]

3. Gyffard's confirmatory letter

The preceding letter is followed by another by the same Factor from Rajapur on the 4th of May 1663. During the interval of two letters, enquiries were being

1. *Jaswant Singh*—Orme (P. 11) and Scott (P. 10) refer to the connivance of Jaswant Singh, but there is no mention in Chitnis, Sabhasad and Shiva Digvijaya.

Rairi Bakhar—wrongly asserts that Jaisingh Mirza Raja was also sent along with Shaista Khan on this service (p. 14).

2. Parmeshvari or Bhavani.

made regarding the details of the exploit and these were confirmed by a trusty servant of the Governor of Rajapur, who had come down from Shaista Khan's camp. The news of the return of the Bijapur King to his capital and of Shivaji's expedition to Goa is also given herein.

"Philip Gyffard to Surat.¹

Right Worshipfull &ca.

Since my last there is no newes worth writing, but only confirmation of Shasta Ckan's death, with the death of his eldest sonne and sonne in law, six concubines and fifty more great persons, which newes I believe is most of it very true, except that of Shasta Ckan's death being generally reported to be false, and I am apt to beleive so by reason that a trusty servant of Rustum Jeamah's, who came from Shasta Ckan's camp, reports he saw him alive, but much wounded. The King of Vizapore is returned to Vizapore from Buncapatam², where they say he hath conquered Snepnai and brought him to compound for 40,000 Pagods, Rougy Pundit is very solicitous to know whether your Worshipp will please to returne Mr. Taylor, till whose arrival he pretends he shall never be really contented. There is a report of Sevagy's coming this way with an intention to goe down as low as Goa, but I suppose he will hardly come these raines....."

4. Budget of news from Kolhapur

This famous exploit of Shivaji is again described by Robbert Ferrand and Giffard who were at that time at Kolhapur in their letter of 24th May, 1663 to Surat.

(i) Almost all the details of the Rajapur Letter are repeated herein.

(ii) The conquest of Kudal as far as Vingurla is briefly told in the first part.

1. Factory Records, Surat. Vol. 103. Rajapore the 5th of May 1663. Cf. Letter of 8 April, 1663 in Eng. F. Vol. 1661-64, p. 235.

2. Bankapur whence the King of Bijapur conducted operations against Shivappa of Bednur.

(iii) It speaks incidentally of the return of Shivaji from Vingurla and of the departure of the discomfitted Shaista Khan from Poona.

“Yours of the 23th with its copie, came both to hand the 12th instant; and in compliance with your order therein wee set out for Collopore the 16th, wither wee arrived (thankes be to God) safe the 19th; Shivaji's expedition to Kudal. no body hindering us, Rougy being gone along with the Rajah to Coodall¹ and so to Vingurla. All the way as he goes along he gives his cowle, promising them that neither he nor his souldiers shall in the least doe any wrong to any body that takes his cowle; which promise he hitherto hath kept, but what he will doe when he returnes, it's as uncertaine as it is whither he intends to goe no further then Vingurla, where he heard the Dutch had brought great riches from Cochin. The Dutch as yet keep their house, he not offering to molest them..... The newes stirring here is only that the king is returned from Bankapore², where he hath brought Shepnaick to a composition of 7 lack of pago[das]: and that Shasta Ckan is not dead, but wounded, one sonne kill'd outright, two wounded, six women³ kil'd, 8 more wounded, and 40 persons attending their generall left dead in the place. In this business Sevagy himselfe was

1, Desai of Kudal who had twelve sub-divisions each governed by a Naik

2. Cf. Extracts in Chapter V.

3. *Murder of Women* :—The Sabhasad remarks (83) :—It was Chimnaji Bapu who performed this deed and not Shivaji, Scott (P. 12) and Sarkar (P. 95)—“Some female servants were also slain”.

Rairi Bakhar, Chitnis Shiva Digvijaya, and Grant Duff make no mention of the slaughter of women.

Da Guarda's opinion deserves attention, :—

“Neotagy offered no insult to the women, for this sex is much venerated in Hindustan and they observe their customs better than Europeans. These soldiers had special reason for this as it was the order of Sevagy who while he lived was both obeyed and loved” (P. 69).

cheifest actor, he goeing into Shasta Ckans tent¹ with 400 men, and returning (after he had kil'd as many men as he could) by 10,000 horse under Rajah Jeswuntsine, who never offered to stop him; so that it's generally beleived he advised him to it, promising to secure him. God willing, the 25th, wee shall set out for Goa, though by Sevagy's

1. Tent *versus* Shivaji's Palace as the place of the incident.

TENT.	PALACE.
1. SABHASAD (Pp. 33-4)—Nabob's tent and Nabob's pavilion.	1. SHIVA DIGVIJAYA (P. 220)—The house where Shivaji formerly lived.
SABHASAD (P. 49)—"Shivaji is very expert in treachery, when he entered my camp, he jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the Pavilion."	2. SHIVAJI PRATAP (P. 90) Palace.
2. CHITNIS (P. 18)—Several times the word 'tent' has been used.	3. RAIJI BAKHAR, (Pp. 14-15)—Mentions Lal Mahal, thus giving the impression that the incident took place in Shivaji's Palace.
3. ESCALIOT, THEVENOT and FRYER confirm the testimony of the five letters.	4. SCOTT (P. 10)—'Passing without alarm to the Palace.'
4. ORME (P. 11)—"They got into the tent of Chasest Khan after midnight, who escaped with a severe wound in his hand."	5. GUARDA:—He entered the lodging of Sextaghan which was in the very houses that Neotagy and Sevagy had built and posted behind the walls of these houses he began to affect a breach with hand pikes, a strong wind prevented the noise which would otherwise follow, for Sextaghan himself slept in the house," (P. 66)
5. CARRE:—The Mughal General was far removed from his army, in a camp badly fortified and near a seraglio where he passed his time giving himself up to love and pleasures.—Shivaji conducted his troops up to the middle of the enemy's camp."	6. GRANT DUFF—House built by Dadaji Kondeva.
	7. SARKAR (P. 88)—"took up his residence in the unpretentious home of Shivaji's childhood."

We cannot ignore the evidence of the authentic contemporary letters. There could be no mistake in reporting on such a simple point. It appears to me that Shaista Khan and his personal retinue stayed in tents pitched in the compound of the Lal Mahal. The "unpretentious house" of Shivaji would have been too small for a rich grandee and general of the rank of Shaista Khan. Some persons might be occupying the house itself, but the greater portion would have put up in tents. The surprise attack might have been led by Shivaji by jumping over or mining the compound wall. The incident must have happened in a pavilion.

going downe the coast the way is a little dangerous; but wee think it more secure to travell thither then trust ourselves here, it being a general report wee burnt the Kings shippes at Mocho last yeare. For the reasons aforesaid, likewise wee [with advice of Narbaw Ramcushna (Nabd Ram Krishna) being at Goa] think it best to goe under the name of Persians that Sevagy tooke prisoners last yeare and now hath let goe. So wee have made us one sute of Mooremans clothes each, which when wee arrive at Goa wee shall sell for as much as wee can (so hope there will be but little losse thereby). To secure us likewise the better from petty robbers on the way (who are now more stirring then ordinary, by reason, for feare of Sevagie, all the governours as far as Simgelay and Dutchele are fled), wee have hired four souldiers for the way, who shall returne at our arrivall to Gao.”¹

The English
factors travel
from Kolhapur to
Goa in Muslem
Dress

5. Surat version of the exploit

A further account of the attack upon Shaista Khan is given in a letter from Surat to Madras² of 25 May, 1663.

“Sovagee, the rebell in Decan……, did lately in his owne person, accompanied with 400 of his menn, sett upon the tent of Shasta Ckaun, his army lieing round it, killed 50 great persons, wounded Shasta³ Ckan, killed 12 of his woemen and wounded, 6, killed his eldest sonn and sonn in law, wounded 2 more, carried away his daughter⁴ and a great treasure of jewells and money. (He) hath lost 6 menn and 40 wounded; 10,000 horse, under the commaund of Raja Jeswanson, standing still and looking on while

1. Eng. F. Vol. 1661-64. P. 237.

2. Oxender Papers; Eng. F. Vol. 1661-64. P. 238.

3. The Nabob was in bed—Chitnis, 98; Rairi, 15; Scott, p. 10.

The Nabob had not gone to bed, but was sitting in the company of his wives. Sabhasad, p. 33.

Khan was in bed, but his wife awake. Siva Digvijaya, 221. Sarkar, p. 90.

4. Shaista's daughter was captured by Shivaji. No mention at all in Chitnis, Sabhasad and Rairi, but Thevenot and Escalot confirm this point.

Sevagee was doing this. Tis thought he would willingly have had Shasta Ckaun removed out of the way; which had beene done, but that his sonn¹, seeing him in great danger spake to him as to a common souldier, sayeing: Souldier, why dost thou adventure thy life, when thou maist save it? Tis not thou they looke after to kill, but Shasta Ckaun; by which words Sevagees menn, concludeing it was Shasta Kkan that spake, left him and fell upon the sonn, whome they slew, whilst the father made the escape."

6. Shaista Khan's Departure from Poona

The next letter², with the packet from Porakad, was sent on to Surat from Goa by Giffard and Ferrand on 22 June, accompanied by a note from themselves, describing their proceedings since leaving Kolhapur. It conveys the important news of Shivaji's return from Vingurla and of the sudden departure of Shaista Khan from Poona.

"The 26th May wee set out thence, and after a great deale of trouble and danger arrived at Goa the last ditto, both ill, and so continue. Your Worshipp sending us no money, wee were forced to take up 60 great pagodas in Rajapore, to pay in one month; so at our arrivall here, to comply with our promise, wee thought it best (exchange for Surat running very high) to write to Mr. Masters etc. at Carwarr to spare us so much; so sent thither, and they have promised to doe it. About 15 pagodas of it was due in Rajapore; 31¼ pagodas spent on the way, 4¾ of which was forced from us by two of the King's governors, one at Chendurgurra³, another at Ditchulee⁴. Wee have received

1. *The son of Khan* is mentioned by Chitnis to have been killed in bed. A different story is told by Guarda—"Feeling himself then wounded, and disarmed, expecting no mercy he retreated among the women who with great artifice saved his life. They pushed him along saying.—'We see this washerman shows boldness knowing that this is the house of women.' This dissimulation saved his life, for Neotagy on this account gave up pursuing him." (Pp. 67, 68). Cf. Carre too.

2. Eng. F. Vol. 1661-64. P. 241.

3. Chandgarh, 22 miles west of Belgaum.

4. Bicholi, 7 miles north-east of Goa.

no answer from Rougy Pundit; nor no newes of Sevagy, more than that he is returned from Vingurla, leaving 2,000 men. Shasta Ckan is certainly alive, and hath kil'd him severall men, which caused his suddaine returne."

7. The Dagh Register on Shaista Khan

"It is understood that the King left Dilly (Delhi) for Lahore on the 28th December 1662 and on arriving there decided to go higher up, *i.e.*, towards Kashmir having beforehand all his treasures brought from the castle, Agra, to the castle Shasiana-bat (Shahjahanabad). These treasures comprising 4300 times one thousand gold mohurs or rupees and 26,127,000 silver rupees; for the transport of which 700 (bullock) carts were used. His Majesty's father, old Chisaahan, although meanwhile a prisoner at Agra, is still in good health. The duke Saestachan and Rajah Jessonsing are combatting the Rebel, Siwasi (Sivaji), otherwise there is no rumour of war, only the roads are made unsafe by dissatisfied Rajahs."

Shah Jahan's
Treasure,

Shaista Khan
against Shivaji.

"Except the governor of Agra also Sultan Mossem was marching against the robber Siwasi and had already advanced as far as this side of Agra." (Page 590, 29th. November, 1663.)

"The rebel Siwasi again threatens to attack the Visiapore countries. Lokkamsante, afraid because he is coming, has started negotiations with the Portuguese in order to have free shelter in each other's country in cases of emergency. The Goanese have therefore sent the Bramine Quoththary to Lokkomsant who has returned with a letter and a representative of Lokkamsante. The intestine wars increase every day, so that before long the destruction of the Visiapore state is anticipated unless there comes a change soon.

"The English resident Revington is still a prisoner of Siwasi with his comrades on a certain fort Soangur, situated inland. Salabetchan has sent a representative to Siwasi to get them released and he himself is now in the field with a

big army against Bullelchan." (5th Dec. 1661, p. 447.)

"The following advice is received in matters of government. King Arangcha has returned from Casmier to Lahore and intends to destroy the rebel Siwasi entirely. The old Chasien (Shah Jahan) is closely guarded. (15th January, 1664. Page 17.)

"Duke Saestachan who had marched up against Siwasi has been defeated and has hardly escaped being taken prisoner. The King of Visiapour has become vassal of the Mogol. The old Chasien is still alive, but is kept prisoner in Agra and closely guarded. The widow of the late Nabab Chanchanna has arrived in Agra on the 18th of January bringing with her about 300 elephants, loaded with a great treasure of jewels, gold and silver and about 700 mans of cloves. The said Siwasi has after his victory surprised the town of Suratte and has looted and burnt it. (15 May, 1664. Page 195.)

"The long expected Nabob Chaestechn, who had come to Bengal from the Court of the Mogol, has entered the town Ragiemahol on 18th March, where prince Chasousa has always held his court before. He travelled through Pattana in such a hurry that he would not even come to the castle and have dinner, for which the governor had invited him. He also would not accept the greetings of the nobles on his arrival in Ragiemahol. (11th July, 1664. Page 277.)

"The fleet of 10 frigates of which mention was made in the previous advices has at last set sail on the 2nd of November and has proceeded to Bassyn in order to stop the Mogol army which lay in camp there against Siwasi and further to do as much harm as possible. The fleet has returned a little while ago, because Siwasi had defeated the Mogol and had removed the cause of fright for the Portuguese." (13th August, 1664. Page 325.)

CHAPTER V

The Conquest of Kudal

Shivaji was safe in Sinhagad, the Lion's Fort, but his night attack had the effect of a lightning stroke. He saw that his daring exploit had caused such a consternation in Shaista's camp, that terror reigned supreme in the hearts of all. Within a week or so, he left the Mogul army behind him to idle away its time in demoralization and inactivity. Then taking advantage of the absence of the Adil Shahi king from his capital on account of the war with the Bednur ruler, Shivaji led his flying columns to the Konkan for plunder and conquest in the middle of April, 1663. It is evident from the letters given in the previous chapter that by 5th May, Shivaji was expected to march down even to Goa, that by 24th May, he had subdued Kudal and was on his way to Vingurla, and that before 22nd June, he had returned from this port leaving behind him a force of 2,000 men there¹. Thus this short campaign lasted for about two months and during it Shivaji annexed a large part of Kudal to his kingdom.

The province of Kudal and the five purgunas of Dichoolee, Phonda, Pedna, Sanklee, and Muneree constituted the state of Savantvadi. Kudal was sub-divided into twelve districts, and each part was governed by a Desai.

Lakham Savant, the Desai of Savantvadi, was descended from the same Bhonsla branch of the Marathas to which Shivaji himself belonged. Circumstances had forced him to tender his allegiance to Shivaji who confirmed him as Sardesai of Kudal in 1650. However, he wavered in his allegiance and several times proved false to his overlord.

1. See pp. 81—86 *supra*.

One more object of this expedition seems to be to punish this faithless ally.

1. Ali Adil Shah to Bankapur and Netaji Palkar pursued by the Mogul

On 1st March 1663, Ali Adil Shah went to Bankapur, the southern-most stronghold of his kingdom, but was refused admission by the mother of the Bankapur Chief, Bahlol Khan. We are also informed of the escape, from the pursuing Mogul cavalry, through the timely help of Rustam-i-Zaman, of Netaji Palkar, who is styled 'Shivaji's Lieutenant-General.'

"The newes¹ here stirring is that the Mogull with 12,000 horsemen is in the upper Chaul, abuilding houses for to winter in. Seven thousand horses more are in Rimatpore, being returned from persuit of Netagee, Sevagies Lieutenant-generall, who was gone to plunder into the Moguls country. They followed him so close that he was faine to travell 45 and 50 miles a day, and yet much adoe to escape with a small booty he had got. They left not of the persuit till they came within five leagues of Vizapore (Bijapur); which put the King and the Queen into so great a fright that with a 100 horse they presently marched to Bunckapora² (Bankapur). Rustum Jeamah met the Mogull and made his owne peace. What will follow hereof is uncertaine; but all here think the Mogull will take all the Kings country. If Your worshipp etc., thinks it convenient I should retire any further, upon notice of your intentions I question not but I can securely get away; yet humbly conceive, if my remove be intended, the safest way would be to write to Rougy that you have ordered me to goe up to Collapore (Kolhapur) to provide goods....."

1. Letter from Rajapur to Surat. 30th March, 1663.

2. This news is contradicted by a letter of 20th July wherein it is written that the king moved to Bankapur to put down the rebellion of the Rajah of Bednur. This version is confirmed by Persian histories. Cf. Sarkar, 230 n.



Nawab Shaistakhan.

Jaipur Pothikhana.

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.



Maharaja Jashwantsinghji of Jodhpur.
Jaipur Pothikhana.

The information here given about Netaji Palkar's raid is supplemented in a further letter from Gyffard, dated 8 April, 1663.

"It's certaine that the King, Queen, and all the nobles in Vizapore are gone to Bunckapore, where they are denied entrance by Bulla Ckan's mother, by reason Bulla Ckan (Bahlol Khan) and the King are at great variance. Rustum Jeamah hath certainly met the Mogull, but upon what conditions wee cannot heare. After he met the Mogull, he perswaded them from persuing Netagee any further, by telling them that the countrey was dangerous for any strange army to march in, likewise promising them to goe himselfe and follow him; by which deceit Netagee got away, though not without the losse of 300 horse and himselfe wounded. The house Rustum Jeamah was a building the English here in Rajapore not being finished, by reason of Sevagy's coming here, there is severall beames and posts which, if not taken care of, will certainly rot in the raines."

2. Shivaji in Kudal and Vingurla

Full light is thrown on the capture of Vingurla, the conquest of Kanara, and on the correspondence with the Dutch Factory at Vingurla by the Dutch papers preserved in the Dag Register for 1663. Their English version is given below:

"Internal¹ warfares have not yet ceased in the Empire of Visiapour (Bijapur). Lokhomsant, protector of Vingurla, rules the lower countries and sets on fire some Portuguese villages. Moreover, rumours are rife that the rebel Siwasi is coming down to these places. On account of which the Resident has decided to have the Company's merchandize, *i.e.*, cinnamon and cotton yarn, brought in safety on board a Moorish yacht lying there in the roads and belonging to Bania-merchants who have regular dealings with the Company, and kept the ship under sail. At the same

Lakham Savant,
protector of
Vingurla, and
Shivaji.

1. Pp. 315-6, 21st June, 1663.

time the said Lokhomsant has approached said merchants to take side against Siwasi. However, our men have kept them neutral, fears have partly disappeared by the arrival of commander Verspreet and his ships.

"Meanwhile, Siwasi played a bad trick: having heard of Verspreet's arrival he secretly sent a spy to Vingurla with the most amiable letter that one can imagine of. In this letter he expressed the intention to bring Vingurla under his rule asking the Resident's opinion about this scheme and further stating that he understood that the said Resident having feared his intentions, had brought the Company's goods in safety, but assuring him at the same time to have no ill-feelings towards the Company."

"As it became clear that all this politeness served no other purpose but to try and put our men off their guard, the spy has been given the reply that it was pleasure to hear of these good intentions on which they fully rely, but they being merchants, it was impossible for them to give him an advice in matters of warfare, for that they begged to be excused. At the same time Lokhamsant put up a request for loan, for two months, of 2,000 pagodas and 2,400 lbs. ammunition, giving to understand to need it for the protection of the countries against the rebel Siwasi, but his request has been declined except for granting him 600 lbs. ammunition. After having received this courtesy he entered into negotiations with those of Goa to drive our men from Vingurla; and the Viceroy there, was found willing to listen to this scheme as appeared from a letter from Goa written by a Civil Officer of Vissapour to the feudal lord.

However, this scheme has not materialised as Lokhamsant got too busy elsewhere."

Capture of
Vingurla by
Shivaji.

"Tidings came to Golconda that our lodgings at Vingurla had been partially destroyed by Siwasi and that the inhabitants have fled."

"¹ (Mention is made.....) also of the rebel Siwasi and of Canara and it is announced that guns and ammunition demanded on behalf of Baddrapanyck is to be excused (This seems to mean: will not be given)."

"² At last, on the 23rd May, the great rebel Siwasi, originator of all these internal troubles, has come down to the province of Caudael with his army comprising of 4,000 horsemen and 10,000 Shivaji's army in Kudal. footmen which created a great fear and panic among the inhabitants at Vingurla. The Dessy Lokhamsant, well-known from former letters, sent a Brahmin to the Company's camp with the information of Siwasi's arrival and with the request that our men, the governor and all the merchants of Vingurla, would come to the place where he stayed at the moment called Wari, leaving the camp (or lodgings) under the care of only 2 or 3 Dutchmen."

"The Resident considering this a treacherous scheme to murder him, has declined this offer; and, indeed, afterwards our men heard that the said Lokhamsant intended to attack our residence, against which Savant against the Dutch. attack they prepared. However, since then nothing was heard about his scheme."

"Later on, letters were received from Siwasi by the Resident announcing his being favoured by the King of Visiapour who had given him the province of Caudael Kudal, a gift from Bijapore, and his having arrived there to take possession of this province. He invited our men to send a representative (literally an express) to visit him at his place of abode."

"The Resident showed this letter to the Governor and to some merchants, residing within Wingurla having in mind to forestall the fleeing of the inhabitants. The Dutch sent presents to Shivaji. However keeping on his guard meanwhile and having had occasion to think matters over he decided to send a letter and some present to Siwasi, congratulating him on his acquisition, also sending letters to Pandito and Nittosie (Netaji). Babasinay who

1. Ibid. P. 492. 10th October 1663,

2. Ibid. Pp. 543-5, 14th November 1663,

was entrusted with this task, however, had to bring the said presents back with a letter from Siwasi, also a letter from Pandito and reported that Siwasi could not accept the Resident's presents in order not to give the Queen of Visiapour any reasons to say that he was accepting presents out of her country and further stating that he was in need of funds, although he still had many goods (draperies?) on hand which, however, he was not able to sell."

"The Resident, understanding that the presents offered were not considered enough, increased the same by 200 pagodas in abacys (Shah Abasis), which have been accepted. The spy, Ballagie, who brought Siwasi's first letter to the resident has afterwards, i.e., on the 8th of June, returned with letters of freedom (assuring free passage?) for merchants of Wingurla. However, the said merchants, having received intimation that his only intention was to get money out of them, have declined the invitation. Ballagie however persisted with threatenings. And although our men intervened and sought to divert him from his plans, he insisted all the same impertinently, asking whether Babassisinai, to whom he handed a letter from the secretary of Pandito, would not again proceed (apparently meaning would not launch an attack?). After deliberations at the Resident's, it has been approved of not to send Babasisinay until a letter should have been received from Pandito himself, and the Resident had impressed upon the merchants not to pay any sums of moneys to this spy simply at the latter's verbal demands.

"Ballagie very much dissatisfied with this reply then returned to Caudal. Since then a letter was received from Pandito demanding Babasisinay to appear before him."

3. Shivaji's return from Banda

From an English letter it is learnt that Shivaji had to return from Banda before 15th June.

"It was reported here a few dayes since that Sevagee was come as far as Banda and that he was intended to

take all these countreys here abouts as farr as Mergee. But it seems that, the Moguls forces coming so hot upon him, he was forced to recall his forces. But whither or no he doth intend to returne againe after the raines it is not as yet known, but, however, much feared." (Karwar to Surat, 15 June, 1663.)

4. Ali Adil Shah's efforts to regain Kudal

The Goa Letter of 20 July 1663 conveys an important budget of news on the affairs of Bijapur and the efforts made by Ali Adil Shah to regain the lost province of Kudal. The main points are:

1. Ali Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, was still at Bancapur.
2. He deputed the Governor of Fonda, Mahmud Khan and Fazl Khan to reconquer the Kudal territory and the port towns from Shivaji with the help of the Kudal Desais.
3. Netaji Palkar was killed by the Moguls.
4. The king fell out with Rustam Zaman and he confiscated even his native town of Hukeri.
5. Bassal Khan, the Governor of Bancapur, and Shāhji were put into irons by the order of the king, but the latter was soon released.
6. The rebellion of Snep Naik, a Carnatic Raja, was successfully put down by the king.
7. Lastly, we learn that the king who had been the cause of Siddi Jauhar's murder, was endeavouring to win over Jauhar's son and son-in-law.

"¹ The 19th (July) arrived a man from Collopore, who met with a jessud (peon or letter carrier) of the Kings Bijapur prepar- aboute two days journey of (f) of Goa, who tions against told him he left the King at Buncapore, Shivaji. a castle in Carnatick, and was going to Punda² (Phonda) with a letter to the Kings Governor there,

1. E. F. Vol. 1661—64, p. 242. From Goa to Surat by Giffard and Ferrand.
2. 10 miles south of Goa City.

which ordered him to joine his forces with the Cuddall Jessyes (Desais and some other petty Rajahs), and goe and rout Sevagy out of Rajapore and Carrap(atan), the King having given both those townes to Mamud Ckan (Mahmud Khan), eldest sonne to Con Conno (Khan-i-Khanan) or Eggles Ckan (Ikhlās Khan). This man went likewise to Vizapore, with order from Mamud Ckan to the Chief of his horse, to prepare for Rajapore and secure his townes. The King hath likewise given Dabull and Chiploon to Fozell Ckan (Fazl Khan), eldest sonne to Abdala Ckan (Afzal Khan), whom Sevagy kill'd at Jouly (Javali). This Fozell Ckan is now much in this Kings favour. The King likewise hath wrote to Sevagy to deliver those townes by Faire Meanes or take what followes. Its reported that the Mogull is in Mar (Mahad) and Sevagy at Jouly; but the former wee cannot beleive.

Rumour of
Netaji's death.

They say likewise that the Mogull hath kill'd Netagee, Sevagee's generall; but how true this is wee know not¹. Rustum Jeamah, returning from whence the King had placed him to Hookery, his owne towne, by the Kings order is denied entrance. This jessud

Shahji's second
imprisonment.

sweares before he came out of Bunckapore he saw irons put on Bussall² Ckan and Shagee (Shahji) (Shivagys father) but taken off of the latter in two dayes: who is now with the King without any command. Bussall Ckans mother denying the King entrance into Bunckapore, the King wrote to Shagee to perswade Bussall Ckan to come and stand to his mercy, for the King, being denied entrance, was so incenced that, if he stood out any longer, would never have pardoned him, and now he could not hope to be able to withstand him, the kingdome being at peace since the King conquered Snep-Nayck, a Carnattick

Bassal Khan
imprisoned.

Rajah, and brought him to a composition of 700,000 pagodas³. The rebelling of this Rajah was the cause of the Kings going for Bunckapore. At last Shagee perswaded Bussall Ckan to goe to the King, upon condition that he would accompany him: which he did, and so the King trapann'd them both. The

1. The news was false.

2. It should be Bahlol Khan.

3. Confirmed on p. 83, but 40,000 pagodas are mentioned on P. 82, while Dagh Register, 1664 (P. 323) says 1,500,000.

King hath likewise wrote Syddy Mussad (Siddi Masud), Siddy Zoars sonne in law, and to Syddy Zoars eldest sonne¹ (the former of which hath 14,000 horse, the latter 10,000) to come to him; but they returne him answer that they dare not trust him that had murdered their father² upon which the King wrote them againe, that they had no reason to mistrust him, he having now imprisoned Bussall Ckan, who was the only cause of their fathers death."

Another extract from the Dagb Register gives us an insight into the means adopted by the king of Bijapur to expel Shivaji from Kudal and of the counter movements of the Maratha hero:

"Siwasi³ after having restored order in these districts has marched towards his frontier and afterwards made a treacherous attack on the Mogol Commander Sastichan. Also his two sons and several of his wives were murdered and the inhabitants north of Biziapore were thoroughly extorted. The Portuguese at Goa hearing that Siwasi was besieging Wingurla, (although this was not true) were very glad about it according to the statement of a certain Bengaen (Banian) and tried to induce

Shivaji's attack
on Shaista Khan.

Shivaji & the
Dutch.

Siwasi by means of rich presents to expel our men (the Dutch) from Wingurla. They promised him the sum of 15,000 pagodas if he succeeded in this. But it was all in vain for the said Siwasi having heard about the courage of the Dutch and thinking that he might take advantage from them had absolutely taken our side. The Viceroy who in the meantime also became afraid of Siwasi, had sent reinforcements to the frontier of Goa. But the ambassador of Visiapore residing at Goa and the complimentary letter written by Siwasi to the Viceroy set his mind at ease, so that he sent⁴ Ramagie Quotharie (Ramaji Kothari) to Siwasi with a friendly letter and a present of 4,300 cherefins (Zeraphins). But Quotharie

1. Siddi Aziz

2. Cf. Duff. P. 84.

3. Dagb Register. P. 548—14th November 1663.

4. Confirmed by the Port. Records. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, pp. 7-8.

who on his journey heard about the departure of Siwasi returned. It is rumoured that Siwasi in order to protect his

Shivaji's intention to conquer Goa and Danda Rajapuri.

state is willing to conquer the town of Goa and a certain small island Danderagiepore with the support of the Dutch; that he also wants to remove the Bengaen merchants Cas-siba and Santuba Sinai and to constitute him-

self a merchant of the Company. We have mentioned before that Siwasi wrote to the "Resident" that the King of Visiapore had put him into possession of the land of Caudael, but it is rumoured that the king did not give orders to that effect and that the Grand Governor, Trunbeg Calo, who is staying at Ponda, is to expel Siwasi from Caudael in conjunction with the four dessys—Lokkomsant, Kesnaneyk, Raelosseney

Kudal Desais against Shivaji.

and Sandarana. And the Portuguese tried hard to incite the dessys and the said Grand Governor who were not very great friends

with each other, against Siwasi. Lokkomsant had departed from Warri and remained in the jungle with 600 soldiers at the foot of the mount Ballagatsen. The King of Visiapore remains in Bancapour. It is said that if Siwasi is not driven away by Trunbeg Calo, His Majesty will send a considerable army for that purpose. The old Queen has at last replied to the letter of his Excellency as per translation

Bijapuri Governor of Vingurla.

which follows hereafter in full. Hackim Sumcha has obtained supervision over the government of Wingurla, but he is a sus-

picious, miserly and haughty person who has appointed a drunkard, unreasonable and bestial Governor at Wingurla. This governor in order to prevent complaints about himself first sends wives to Hackim and complains about the ill nature of these inhabitants which causes great discontent. The "Resident" keeps up a friendly correspondence with the Grand Governor of Condewaer and Mahomet Chan, so that they are well inclined towards him and have done him many favours. The inhabitants daily sent a good quantity of goods higher up, which were passed by Siwasi without difficulty. The "Resident" has therefore sent the merchandise from the warehouses to Ragiabath, viz., the deteriorated

radix China, 21 bales of camphor, a quantity of tin, some mace, cloves and copper. Every thing arrived there in safety. but the goods are still unsold as the drapery has not been sent up first on account of the heavy rains and also for some other reasons. In order to comply with the request of the "Masters," the undermerchant Leendertz has been sent to Romsamolder and the "Resident" has recently written to Caudael to Pandito for obtaining a permit for one of our men, whom he would allow to go up country with some merchandise and asking whether Pandito would follow the junior partner of Alia Dessiah whereupon he had replied that he would stay with the said partner and requested that he should get an urgent message if there was anything in the matter."

Trade permits in
Shivaji's territory.

5. War between Bijapur and Bednur

The war between Shivappa Nayak of Bednur and Ali Adil Shah assisted by his useful ally, the Raja of Sunda, is described in the succeeding three letters :

"This countrey at present is much unquiet, and dangerous for merchants caphilas to pass up and downe, by reason of the difference that is between the King of Canara and the King of Decan, who hath an army of 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot in readinesse to give his enemy battle; who is thought to be as potent as the other." (Karwar to Surat, 28th January, 1663.)

"The Raja of Sunda and Ellapore, by the help of King of Vigeapore (Bijapur) hath newly regained his countrey and made the wayes passable to goe to Hubely; unto which place wee are dispeeding of our goods, and intend to goe thither ourselves as soon as possible, that wee may avoyd the soldiery." (Karwar to Surat, 27th February, 1663.)

1. Shivappa Nayak, the ruler of Bednur for forty-four years 1618-1662 had conquered Sunda and some other forts belonging to vassals of Adil Shah and had thus come dangerously close to Bankapur, the fortress of asylum of the Bijapur Sultans in the south-western corner of their kingdom. (Sarkar, P. 231). The Dagh Register shows that Shivappa died in 1660, was succeeded by his brother, Ventappanayak, Pp. 5, 121. "A letter written by the King of Canara, Ventappanayk, to the General, 3rd January 1661." He was succeeded by his brother, Bhadrappa in 1662.

"The warrs betwixt this king and Suppenag (Sivappa Nayak) hath hindered the merchants from bringing that commodity from his parts, for whereas there was used to come from his country 10,000 oxen yearly, this yeare there hath not arrived one to Hubyly." (Karwar to Surat, 15th June, 1663.)

On the death of Ventappa Naik in 1662, his brother Bhadrappa Nayak had to wage war with Ali Adil Shah. He implored the assistance of the Dutch as is evident from the succeeding two letters entered in the Dagh Register:

"¹ The King of Visiapore, his son and wife have recently gone to Canara with a rather strong army with the object to make war with Badrappaneyk or to extort some money from him."

"² The King of Canara and Malappa Malæ have each written a letter to H. E. the Governor-General, the first requesting to send him 48 thousand lbs. gunpowder and 3 metal guns, and the second recommending to comply with the request, the translation being as follows:—

From the King Badrappaneyk,

"The happy and very wise King of Quelady writes this letter to the Viceroy of Batavia, Joan Mætsuyker. This state is in want of some gunpowder and as Your Excellency is a friend of the King, we herewith request you that to confirm our friendship you kindly let us have 2,000 mans or 48,000 lbs. gunpowder and also 3 metal guns of 36 or more lbs. And if I may have the honour to receive the above next year, my minister Malappa Malæ will give you compensation.

Please do not wait but comply with our request if possible. The reason for this request Your Excellency will read from the letter of Malappa Malæ."

From *Malappa Malæ*, dated the 20th April, 1663.

"It will be my greatest pleasure to hear of the welfare of Your Excellency, which is on my mind first of all. I am willing to serve Your Excellency as much as I can. His

1. Dagh Register. P. 317—21st June, 1663.

2. Ibid. P. 320-21st June, 1663.

Highness, my King, recommends to me very much his letter, asking for gunpowder and 3 guns. I would do anything if you would comply with his request and knowing how much His Highness is in want of them, I am sure that you would do him the greatest honour and that it would serve to make our cordial friendship even stronger and knowing very well that Your Excellency can easily do it, I from my side ask you to comply with the request. I shall feel obliged to serve the business of the Company here in such a way, as can be expected from someone who is really grateful. May Your Excellency live many prosperous years and give God that the friendship between this and your state may last and grow forever !”

Bhadrapa too had to submit to the superior forces of the King who returned as a conqueror to his capital in January 1664. He was soon poisoned and his minor brother succeeded him. One faction at the court invited the Bijapur King to annex the small kingdom of Bednur. The Dagb Register records:

“The armies of Visiapore had almost completely chased the neyck of Canara, but now they had closed peace again.” (12th May, 1664.)

“Ali Adelshah, King of Visiapour has invaded the country of Canara with his army and had already practically conquered it. But being out mostly for booty, he has arranged with the neyck that the conquered countries would be given back to him, on condition that he would pay the said King 1,500 thousand pagodas of 5 guilders each. And the said Majesty has therefore returned to Visiapour triumphantly in January last. Siwasi is very much loved and honoured there.” (13th August, 1664.)

“The advices from Canara mention that the Badrappaneyk has been poisoned and that his brother, a child of 8 years, has succeeded him. On account of lack of prestige big quarrels and feuds had started amongst the nobles, in which the Court merchant Narna Malse had been wounded.” (13th August, 1664.)

"It was further reported that the ruler of Visiapour came down to Canara again and that a few nobles at the Court of Bidnur had conspired to deliver the country to that ruler." (13th August, 1664.)

6. War with Bednur

A letter of 18 April, 1664 conveys the news that fresh armies were sent by the king of Bijapur against Bednur where a revolution had taken place on the murder of the king.

"But since the King of Beddrure is dead, and his sonne murdered by his Brahminies and a kinsman set up in his place; which hath so incensed the King of Vizapore that he hath sent Bullul Caune against all the Raja's countrey the upper way, and Siud Elasse is gone towards Biddrure with 6000 horse..... It is likewise reported that Rustum Jeamah is comming down to goe this way against Batticalla etc.; preparations are making in this town to receive him. The Portuguezes and the Raja had concluded a peace; the Canaras were to deliver up all but Anore to the Portugall(s); but now what will be done in this businesse wee know not, Mollup Molla, the Raja's embassadour to Goa, as yet being not returned from thence." (E. F. 1661—64, p. 344).

7. Ali Adil Shah's preparations for war against Shivaji

Goaded by threats and persuasions of Aurangzeb, Ali Adil Shah first sent an army under the command of Mahammad Ikhlas Khan of Karwar to conquer Kudal. A letter of 14 May 1664 recorded the news of the Bijapur forces marching against Shivaji to re-take port towns from him.

"The King of Vizapore hath sent an army against Seva-gee, which consists of about 4000 horse, besides foot. They are come down as farr as Corollee, which is two dayes journey from Goa; and they give out that they intend (and have the Kings order) to take from Sevagee, as far as Choule." (E. F. 1661-64, p. 345.)

8. Shivaji greater than Hercules

To this letter Oxenden and his colleagues replied on 29 June. As regards Shivaji, they said:

“Savagy is soe famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath made him an airey body and added winges; or else it were impossible hee could bee at soe many places as hee is said to bee at, all at one time. Sometimes hee is certainly beleiv-

Exploits
of Shivaji.

ed to bee in one, and in a day or two in another place, and soe in halfe a dozen remote one from another; and there burnes and plunders, all without controule. That they ascribe to him to performe more then a Hirculian labour; that hee is become the talks of all conditions of people. Wee here heere alarmed to expect him by sea; for which intent report speaks him to bee fitting up some and building

Shivaji's
Fleet.

of others, to the number of 60 saile of friegotts, to surprize all jouncks and vessayls belonging to this port, and that hee intends to waylay them in their returne from Bussorah and Persia; and others give out hee hath another designe, to run up the river of Cambaya and land an army that they are to transport, who are to march up to Ahmadavad and doe by that as hee hath done by this towne.”

“That hee will lay seige to Goa wee doe hardly beleive, in regard it is none of his businesse to lay seige to any place that is fortified against him, for it will not turne him to account; hee is, and ever was, for a running banquet and to plunder and burne those townes that have neither defence or guard.”

9. Rustam Zaman's Governorship

“Rustum Jeammah is at Vizapore, where the King respects him well hitherto. Mahmud Ckaune, Governor of Carwarre, (and?) his friends that were Govern-
Bijapur forces
in Kudal. ners of Ancola, Seamiseare (Shiveshswar),
Cuddrea (Kadra), etc. are all turned out.....

Wee heare from severall that Mahmud Ckaun hath left his master and is gone to the King who hath sent him down

generall of 4,000 horse that lies at Coodall gainst Sevagee; their generall, whose name was Aziz Ckaune, being poisoned by Sevegee. The new Governors that are come down are three, vizt., one of Rustum Jeammahs sonnes, who is Governor of all the castles, and two others, who are Governors of the towns above mentioned. They have promised Rustum Jeammah to bring a great trade to this port, upon condition they may have the place for three yeares, which is granted; and they will, wee beleive, comply with their words, being both persons of great acquaintance with merchants, to severall of which they have wrote to come and live here. They are both great acquaintance(s) of Philip Gyfford's; so that they will not deny him any thing he can well demand. One of

War against
Bednur.

them, whose name is Siud Jaffer (Sayyad Jafar), would not undertake the imployment, when proffered him, till he heard he was here..... Said Elasse lies hard upon the Canara Rajah, and hath taken three or four of his best castles, to wit Jerra Castle etc.; and the Naires on the Mallabarre side hath taken three castles more from ditto Nare within three days journey of Biddurree. Mollick Molla is dead of a feavour got at Goa, and the Portugalls have as yet concluded nothing with the Rajah, for feare lest, before things should be settled, the Rajah should loose his countrey.....Mollick Molla, before his departure from Goa, had brought the businesse to such a head that nothing else could well have broke it." (E. F. 1661-64,346).

10. Bijapur nobles against Shivaji

These minor changes were followed by a vigorous effort to prosecute the war against Shivaji. All the principal nobles of Bijapur were employed in this expedition. The factors wrote in their letter dated 8 August 1664 that Shivaji had plundered Ahmednagar.

¹ "The army of Orung Zeebs that lay against him is returned home; soe that hee now ranges at liberty, and hath certainly plundered Andanewgur (Ahmadnagar), and its

thought will venture hard for Dultavad (Daulatabad). Yett for all that wee, I hope, shall not need to feare him. Rustum Jammah, Fozull Ckaune, and Saddatt Ckaune (Saadat Khan) are comeing downe against him; the first of which is thought will come and see his townes; which if he doth, wee desire Your Worships etca. to enorder us how wee shall entertaine him. He hath given order aboute our howse, that itt should be built, and hath wrote his son and the Governor that, if they any waies displease us, they must look for noe favour; ney, though wee should bee the death of 4 or 5 men, they must not meddle with us."

11. Army against Bednur

Gyffard's Letter from Hubli to Surat dated 28th August 1664 records that "Serja Ckaune (Sharza Khan) lyes very hard against (the) Cunnera (Kanara) Rajah, and the King (of Bijapur) is listing 12,000 horse, which hee intends at Duelle (Divali) to lead himselfe against ditto, besides the forces of his nobles. Rustum Jeamah (as is credible reported) is arived at Cooddall and its thought will visitt us att Carwarr."

12. Repulse of the Bijapur army

Taylor's Letter from Karwar to Surat dated 29th Oct. 1664 informs us that *Vingurla was burnt to the ground and the Bijapur forces were repulsed by Shivaji*¹.

"In case I am not diswaded therefrom by any further newes of Sewagy, who this day wee are advised hath latly burnt Vingurla to the ground, and repulst the King of Decans forces that were sent that way against him.....How this may encourage the roage to proceed further downe the coast, I know not; but hope hee will not adventure soe far

1. G. Duff (Page 90) has written the following on this war: "During his absence to Aurangabad the Beejapoor army, stationed at Panalla under the command of two generals, broke the truce, made a vigorous effort for the recovery of the Concan, and had retaken several places, when Sivajee, who, as the English records of the period observe, seemed to be everywhere and prepared for every emergency, appeared in the field at the head of a large force, with which he gave them battle, and defeated them with great slaughter."

from home as hither.....I did acquaint you of the Portugalle armada sent to Bazalor (Barselore) etc.; which they reporte are delivered into possession as formerly, only Onor is denied them."

13. Shivaji, master of the coast

The Surat letter to the Company dated 26th Nov. 1664 summarises the events of the western coast.

"Decan and all the south coast are all embroyled in civill warrs, king against king and country against country; and Sevagy raines victoriously and uncontroled, that hee is a terrour to all the kinges and princes round about, dayly encreaseing in streingth. Hee hath now fitted up four score vessells and sent them downe to Batticolla and thereabouts, whilst hee intends to meete them overland with a flying army of horse; for hee is very nimble and active, imposeing strange labour upon himselfe that hee may endure hardship, and also exercises his cheifest men, that hee flyes too and fro with

Impressions
about Shivaji.

Shivaji's naval
expedition to
Bhaktal.

incredible dexterity. The news of him at present are that hee is intercepted in his journey downe to his fleete by a party of this King's army and fought; where between them six thousand men were slaine,¹ himselfe worsted and forced to flye to a castle, where this army, following in persute, hath very strictly girt him in, that hee cannot stirr. Pray

Shivaji is said
to have sustained
defeat.

God what wee heare bee true, and then his fleete will moulder away; for nothing can bee done without him, hee keepeing all in his owne breast, trusting his counsellis with none, bee they never soe neare and deare unto him. The report is hee intended to fall upon Batticolla and those countryes, and make them his owne. The King of India hath sent a great army to fall upon the King of Vitchapooore (Bijapur);

Mogul Army
against Bijapur.

and the reason is because hee sufferrs this rebell Sevagy to infect his countryes, beleeeving they understand one another and therefore

1. Shivaji was opposed to Khwas Khan. See Sarkar, p. 234.

is suffered to range and plunder where hee thinkes are the most spoiles, though it be the King's of Vitchapoore's owne dominions; which the said King submitts too, without raising any forces to restraîne him or protect his subjects. Rajapooré still continues under his government. Twas said some months since that the King of Vitchapoore had raised an

Shivaji master
of the coast.

army and sent against Sevagy; also that hee had sent severall forces to retake from him the severall port towns of Rajapore, Dabull,

Chaul, and severall others to the number of 12 or 14; but there is juggling between them, for nothing is done in it, hee remaineing possessed of all; and certainly will in a short time, if not prevented, be master of the

Shivaji's fleet
insignificant.

whole sea coast. Pray God his vessells doe not prevent the quantety of pepper expected; rather then which wee hope your ships will

make his vessells ribbs flye, for they are pitifull things, that one good shipp would destroy a hundred of them without running her selfe into any great danger."

In their subsequent letter of 2nd January, 1665, the President and Council wrote that

"Those that brought it being constrained to goe a great way about to avoyd that rebell Sevagee and his scouts, who range all over the country, makeing
Vingurla and other towns havock wherever hee comes with fire and
plundered. sword, and hath lately plundered Vingurla, a port and place of great trade, from whence, 'tis said, hee hath carryed away vast riches, serveing another towne not farr from it in the like manner; by which you may perceive that what wee have dayly brought us, that wee know not what to beleeeve; but this latter news, being confirmed by Mr. Randolph Taylor from Goa, perswades our beleife....."

Shivaji marches up to Phonda

Taylor and Pettitt wrote that "by Sewages returne, or stop at Punda castle, whither, I believe was the extent of his designed progress; but what was that of the Dutch at Bassalore I am not yet fully satisfied." (Goa to Surat, 5th December, 1664.)

14. Shivaji destroys towns

Gary, in his letter from Goa of 6th December, said that 'Rijkloff Van Goens was at Cannanore with a large fleet and 1,500 men, against the Calutra and Ally Raja, who, (it) is sayd, have made an attempt against the castle which they (the Dutch) tooke from the Portugalls.' He adds :

"Yesterday, as I was goeing downe to the Pouderhouse, I meet the Dutches Cheife of Vingorla and another comeing up the river in a great boate laden with goods, which he brought higher (as the Vice Roy tould me) to secure in this citty from Sevagees fury, who now is destroying by fire and sword all that hee can of the King of Vigapores country. Its credably reported that hee hath an army of 8,000 horse and 10,000 foote, all small shott men. I was also tould that the foresaid Dutch men were to retourne last night for Vingorla to fetch more goods." (E. F. 1661-64, p. 350.)

15. Sack of Hubli

"¹ As yet wee have not disposed of any of the Companies goods aboard us, for, in regard of the troubles Sevagy hath made in the adjacent parts, these marketts are dull. And wee feare they will now be as bad at Carwarre and those parts; for wee are now informed from thence that it's certaine Sevagy hath robb'd Hubely and many rich townes thereabouts, taken severall eminent merchants prisoners, others hardly escaping, and doubtlesse they are too much frightened to returne thither againe suddenly, although the departure of said forces should permit them. Whether he intends to march next is not yet known; but our friends at Carwarre are providing for a speedy departure thence on his nearer approach.....The blazing starre that hath appeared here these 17 dayes doth as much trouble the minds of some, to know what it should portend, as Sevagy doth them

1. Taylor's letter from Goa to Surat, 14th Dec, 1664.

of others, to know, what shall be their end; but all must await Gods time for satisfaction."

The Karwar Factors then gave an account of the sack of Hubli by the Marathas in their letter of 6th Jan. 1665.

"He (Shivaji) sent about 300 horse, robb'd the town, and carried away some prisoners; so that Hubely is but little better then spoiled.....It's generally reported that some of the abovesaid 300 horse were Rustum Jeamahs (Rustum Zaman's), and its beleived they will agree together to turne the King out and set up another. So that wee beleive it would be very necessary for our masters affairs that one of us went up with some present, to secure as well what the Company hath here, as allso to recover Mohomet Caune(s) debt, which can never be effected otherwayes. If Your Worship approve of this, then pray write to what value the present shall amount to.....Thanks be to God, at Sevagys arrivall at Hubely the Company had nothing there, only 1185 pagodas in ready mony, 500 of which wee have received and the rest wee hope there is no reason to misdoubt, the sheroffe having secured himselfe; but our broker hath lost severall things to a good value.....(P.S.) Since the writing hereof, wee received a letter from Velgy (Valji) from Batticola (Bhatkal), who writes us.....that Ally Rajah at Cannanore and the Dutch are at variance; and wee heare he hath killed above 200 of their men, and its thought he may turne them out....."

16. Shivaji's raids inflict misery on the people

"Your factory of Carwarr we doe continew. It affords not that quantity of pepper it did formerly. We conceive one reason is the inland factories buying of it up in the places of its growth and not suffer'd to transport it (as formerly) to Hubely, where the greate mart for it was; and this is caus'd by reason of the scarcity now to the northward, since the Dutch have blockt up all that used to come from the southward, which were noe small quantities. This grand rebell, Sevagy, hath also plundered the said towne of

Hubely and spoyld that trade. (Surat to London. 12 March, 1665.)

Further on, it is recorded:

"The present King of Deccan (i.e., Bijapur) is not at all regarded, being one that is neither of birth or courage, besides his unnaturall behaviour towards his subjects, who unanimously cry out against him for suffering Sevagy to forage to and fro, burning and robbing his contry without any opposition; wherefore it is certainly concluded by all that he shares with the said rebell in all his repines. Soe that the whole cuntry is in a confus'd condition, merchants flying from one place to another to preserve themselves; soe that all trade is loss'd.¹—The rebel Shivaji hath committed many notorious and great robberies since that of Surat, and hath possessed himself of the most considerable ports belonging to Deccan to the number of eight or nine, from whence he sets out two or three or more trading vessels yearly from every port to Persia, Basra, Mocha, etc.

17. Shivaji's naval expedition to Barcelore in 1665

Karwar was at that time the best place that yielded 'the biggest and weightiest pepper.' Three English factors were sent to establish a factory there in Jan. 1662. They used to record the political events happening in that part of the country. A Karwar letter of 14th March 1665 to Surat speaks of the naval expedition against Barcelore and of the march of Shivaji to Karwar where he arrived on 22nd February 1665.

"About the beginning of February Sevagy himselfe in person set forth out of Mawlanda, with a fleet of 85 frigots and three great ships; and so sayling by Goa, without any impediment from the Vice Roy of Goa, arrived at *Basselore*, plundered it, and so returned to *Gocurne* . . . There having washed his body according to the ceremony of that place, he set forth and came to *Ancola* with 4,000

¹ Cf. Surat to Karwar, 23rd March; Surat to Co, 2nd Jan. 1665.

foot, having sent all his fleet, saving 12 frigots which he detained for transportation of his army over the rivers he was to passe between that place and his own country. From thence the 22nd February he came to *Carwarre*, but, thanks be to God, he was not so speedy in his designe but wee had notice by our spies wee kept out for that purpose; and though the newes came not time enough to escape up in the countrey yet (we were able?) to clap all the Companies ready mony etc. portable commodities aboard a shipp belonging to the Hummum (Imam) of Muscat, lying here in the river, of about 100 tunns, well manned (and commanded?) by Emanuell Donnavado, who promis'd us that, as long as his shipp or attempts whatsoever should diswade him from his former resolution to keep his shipp. Besides, he promised us, if wee saw occasion, to saile out and land us at what port wee desired, Sevegee's vessells being (all but 12) passed by the day before. These things considered, wee resolved to live or die with our masters estate aboard of said vessell rather then yield it up to the said tyrant, knowing no other way so probable as this whereby wee might have any likelihood of saving our selves etc."

18. Shivaji near Karwar

"The same night wee got on board, arrived one Shere Caune, (a son of the late Ikhlas Khan), lieutenant-generall to Ballull Caune (Bahloolkhan), not knowing any thing of Seva-gees approach; but he sent to us to desire us to use what meanes possible to secure the river, hearing of Sevagys approach. The cause of his comming was to freight a shipp of Rustum Jeamahs to carry Bullul Caunes mother to Mocha and to conduct the lading of the said shipp down to this port. He fortified himselfe, with the goods he brought down, as well as the shortnesse of the time would permit. He had not with him above 200 horse and 300 foot; but wee beleive his name might well supply the place of his forces wanting of the number of Sevagees, he being a man cried up much in this countrey. That night of his arrivall he dispatched a man to Sevagy to certifie him of his arrivall

and to desire him not to passe through that towne, as he heard he intended; for if he did, he must use what meanes he could to stop his passage, having a great many goods of his masters on the bunder (landing-place: bandar), for security of which he could not admit of so potent an enemy so neare his quarters. At length, upon severall messages passing between them, Sevagy, unwilling to distast him, knowing his power with his master and the strength of Bullul Caune in this kingdome, condescended to goe a little out of his way and so came and incamped with his army at the rivers (Kalanadi) mouth; whereas before he intended to passe through the towne. At arrivall there he sent an embassadour to Shere Caune, telling him of his arrivall and that he heard that the Mascat shipp, commanded by Emanuell, aboard of which were the English, and another shipp belonging to Cong (Kung in Persia), had both prepared to resist him; therefore he desired he would either deliver us up or, retir-

The English inve-
terate enemies
of Shivaji.

ing himselfe, permit him to revenge himselfe of us, whom he stiled his inveterate enemies. This newes Shere Caune sent us on board, desiring to know our finall answer; the contents whereof was that wee had nothing on board but powder and bullets, which, if he (Shivaji) thought they would serve him instead of gold, he might come and fetch them. This our answer, being sent to Sevagy, did so exaspitate him that he said he would have us before he parted; which the Governour of the town hearing, they perswaded all the merchants to agree to send him a present, least he should recall his fleet, which lay on this side Salset. And at length wee concluded it our best way to promise our share, then runne the hazzard of the Companies estate in Carwarre, being about 8,000 pagodas. This businesse will stand the Company in

Shivaji departs
from Karwar with
presents.

neare £ 112, but (wee) hope to get some of it abated. With this Sevagy departed the 23th February, very unwillingly, saying that Shere Caune had spoil'd his hunting at his Hule (Holi), which is a time he generally attempts some such designe. By our letters from Hubely wee are advised that there is great feare of Sevagy; so that wee being safe nei-

ther here nor there, having taken a passe of Shere Caune, who is Governour in cheife at Bunckapore, so wee intend thither suddenly, from whence wee shall advise further. Wee goe thither for three respects: one, because this Shere Caune is cried up all over the countrey for a man of his word; 2ly, wee know him to be a good paymaster; 3ly,

Shivaji retires to help Bijapur against the Mogul. Bunckapore is a strong place and the owner thereof, Bullul Caune, one of the potentest men in the Kingdome. Sevagy is now at Bingur, a place within 25 miles of this place;

but it's thought he may goe against the Mogull, who approaches dayly nearer and nearer to Vizapore (Bijapur), so that the King of said city is in great feare of him. What the event hereof will be, a small time will certainly produce."

19. The Dutch Account

The Dagh Register supplies us with much confirmatory and supplementary information on the struggle between Bijapur and Shivaji on the western coast.

"The Visiapore Commander Babbulachan ordered by the King of Visiapore to make war on the country of Canara had already proceeded there." (Page 447. 13th Sept. 1663.)

"The three Englishmen who were kept in captivity by the rebel Siwasi were at last released by Pandito and kept in Ragiapore. But after having received a letter from Zuratte, they escaped to Goa and wrote from there in strong terms and with threats asking for the refund of their goods." (Page 547. 14th November, 1663-)

"From a letter written by the merchant Pieter van Santvliet residing at Wingurla dated 14th August to Mr. Van Goens it appears that Siwasi had sent some soldiers to the Governor of Wingurla to protect this place against the assaults of Lockumsant. It further appears that according to rumours there the son of Daracha had assembled an army of 80,000 horsemen on the Indian frontier and had advanced as far as Ahmadabat." (Page 578. 27th November, 1663.)

"It is considered that the valuable papers of the Company are much safer in the building than in a ship, as

Shivaji's fleet.

Siwasi has got enough ships and there is more danger from his side by water than by land, because he will always have opportunity by night and at unforeseen times to surprise and capture our ships with armed "thousand-legs"(?). Moreover, we would give a good opportunity when moving from the building, not only to that rebel but also to the dessey Lockomsant, who would readily bite in such piece, because he is rather poor.(?) More-

**Vingurla spared
by Shivaji.**

over, that destructor has spared this place in preference to many other places, especially so with regard to the queen of Visiapour whom he tries to please with his false friendship and therefore he will not easily go in for such an open deed of hostility. Besides, that robber and his rulers in Caudael have only shown great friendship towards us so far. The merchant Santvliet has been asked a few times by grand-governor Rougie Somanatha Pandito to come and see him. And because the said chief could not very well delay it any longer, he has proceeded to Caudael on 2nd December, where he was well received

**Pourparlers be-
tween Shivaji's
Commander &
the Dutch.**

by the said Ragie, who strongly advised Mr. Santvliet to establish a branch at Regiepour and even urged him to write about it to Batavia. The said Ragie also pressed him for a Dutch horse for Siwasi and although he explained to him the difficulty and inconvenience of bringing the horse out, he showed some discontent about it. He also asked him to interfere and act as a mediator between Siwasi and the English and wanted us to bring about that the English would settle down again in Ragiepour, which was declined as far as possible. They depicted this Ragie as a scoundrel of scoundrels. The town of Caudael is in a hopeless and ruined condition. The aforesaid Pandito has asked afterwards to buy some merchandise from the Company, which we have

**Reinstatement of
Lakham Savant.**

politely declined. The often-mentioned robber has reinstated the dessey Lockamsant in the possession of the villages of which he was the ruler. Saestichan has been ordered to the Court and in his

place, the son of Orangshah, Sultan Muazam Shah has been sent as Commander against Siwasi. The said Pandito Somanath Pandit has received 2 small ships back from Mocha, as a merchant. which brought him such a nice profit that he has at once made 8 or 9 ships ready to sail to Mocha, Congo, Persia, Mascata, Atsji, etc, but we shall not give passes for those." (13th August, 1664. Page 321.)

"The army of the neyk of Visiapour under commander Azizchan of the Ballagatta against the Subedar Raugi Pandito retreated on the 18th May. The latter kept quiet and stuck to defensive tactics in Ragia-
 Defeat of
 Aziz Khan. pour without attempting anything. Dessey

Lockamsant is going to meet the above-mentioned Commander. After having consulted each other where they should go, their eyes fell on the town Coudael. Azizchan left the whole siege to the dessey, while he would remain in his tents outside the fighting zone and would watch the work from far away and if he should fail, then he would assist him with his troops. Lockamsant seeing himself mixed up in this affair and realising that he had to make up for his boasting and that his honour and reputation were at stake, put up such a good fight that shortly afterwards the said town closed a treaty and surrendered to Azizchan. The besieged were allowed

to go out with full armament and everything
 Kudal surrenders
 to Aziz Khan. which they could carry. Moreover, a troop of 200 horsemen accompanied them within the

borders of Carapatnam in order to save them from the robbing and looting from the side of the dessy who is a deadly enemy of the Siwasists. During the siege the said Lockamsant has asked our people several times for ammunition, but we have refused that; and although he started bullying and threatening about this and did not get it in the end, he seems to be just as good a friend of us now as he was ever before. The Commander and also Bicasa Pandito, grand governor of Wingurla have shortly afterwards come to Wingurla and we had to offer them a present. The above mentioned Azizchan died on the 28th June and in his place Rustumsima was elected Commander. The said Bicasa Pandito has travelled on the 11th of August to Visiapour to report to

the King about the lower countries. In the meantime the new Commander will stay with his army in Houcquery and will wait till the said Bicasí Pandito comes down whose advice Rustumsima will have to follow. They will then together continue the war against the rebel Siwasi as fierce as possible. The fortress Pratapagury situated on the mountain under the Ballagatta on the road to Pattagor would come first and Carrapatan and Razjapoer would be attacked later on. This is the principal thing which has been done against Siwasi.

Rustam Zaman
appointed Com-
mander of Bija-
puri forces.

"This war which the king considers so big is, according to Resident Leenders, nothing else than a manoeuvre on the part of the neyk of Visiapour in order to please and satisfy the king of the Mogols and his ambassador¹ with such appearance. Eurenge-zeeb had written several times to the king

Bijapur makes a
show of a war
against Shivaji.

that he should bring an army in the field against Siwasi in which case he would redeem him the yearly contribution of 30 thousand pagodas and that if he refused he would even attack him in his state. That the war against Siwasi is not serious, can be derived from some circumstances and facts. When Azizchan had stayed outside the danger zone during the siege of Coudael and had placed the dessey in front, those who were in the town, made a few sallies against Lockamsant of which some were successful, however without worrying the king's army in the least. And if sometimes the dessey got a bit into trouble and the king's army started to move, the besieged went in again without firing a shot, although they had ample opportunities. The king's horsemen came often even under the town to see everything, but never had a bullet been fired at them. But as soon as the dessey's people put their heads outside their works, a lot of bullets at once flew through the air. People in Pratapagary have often behaved badly towards those of Pattagor, but they have never been punished or prevented by the king. Siwasi has

Secret treaty be-
tween Shivaji and
Bijapur.

1. Details given in B, S, P. 511.

made a present to His Majesty of 30 thousand pagodas, 2 elephants and 80 beautiful horses. He asked thereby to slacken the war against him a little. He advised the king with many persuasive words to revolt against the Mogol and offered him 30 thousand pagodas yearly if he would do that. They say that a more close and secret alliance has been made between those two rulers. And many say that the king cannot go on pretending any longer and that he would rather draw sword against Eurengzeeb than against Siwasi. But time will teach everything.

"The robber Siwasy has got 50 frigates¹ on the stocks along the straits. They are very busy building them and they are due to be ready at the end of August. Shivaji's new fleet. It could not be ascertained what the object was. In Suratte they think that it is against the ships of the Mogol to Mocha, but for several reasons we cannot believe that.

"The said subedar Raugi Pandito and Bicasī Pandito have written several flattering letters to our people in Wingurla whereby they offered every friendship and service, so that these troubles are still going on." (19th October. Pages 448-449.)

"The contents of the advices from Coromandel are as follows. The Governor says in his last letter that he has made a mistake in stating from a Suratte letter that the requested assistance for the Mogol ships would be given against the French robbers, but that it will only serve against the pirate ships which they believed Siwasy was preparing; although on the coast they heard no more about it. It is reported from Golconda that the Mogol wants refund for the damage at Suratte from Golconda and Visiapour because they had protected Siwasy. These two rulers prepared themselves for the defence against this and the king of Visiapour had thrown out the Mogul ambassador and had beaten him." (19th October. P. 451.)

"Mr. Rutsumsuma had arrived to take over from Mr.

1. Cf. Letters of 29 June 1664 & 14. March 1665, Pp. 102, 109 *supra*.

Fettechan the fortress Coudael and the war affairs. He had sent his son already earlier. But Mr. Kudal under two officers from Bijapur. Fettechan did not agree to this. After that there came orders from the king of Visiapour that Mr. Fettechan would stay in the said fortress Coudael and would not give it over. And Rustumsuma has gone up again by order of the said king. The people of Pratapagary, a fortress occupied by Siwasy's men, have therefore been given again an opportunity to start looting. The said Mr. Rustumsuma has unexpectedly arrived at Wingurla on the 3rd of October. Resident Leenders and the Moor governor went to meet him. He asked whether we were friends with Siwasy, to which he got the reply not only with him but also with all other Radjas thereabout. He said: "how is it then that you have kept him away from your house as an enemy?" The Resident replied: "not him but the soldiers who against his orders had dared to come near the building." He continued that it was a manly deed to defend oneself, especially against those who come without being asked. And with that the Resident took leave.

Seeing that he was being befooled by the king of Visiapour and that the promised help against Siwasy did not come off, the Mogol had left the frontier of Siwasy and had appeared with a big army in front of Solapour situated one and a half days journey from Visiapour. After that he would have also conquered that place. However, His Majesty still showed himself willing to make peace with the said king of Visiapour, on condition that he would bring out a big army against Siwasy. In the meantime Siwasy took advantage of the fact that the Mogol's army had retired and announced that he had united with him for 22 lacks pagodas to be paid in 10 years. His forces consisted of 50,000 footmen and 10,000 horsemen whom he has kept together in the rainy season and moreover he has got 40 good frigates, which are all lying in the rivers of Carrepatnam and Ragiapour and another 60 new frigates are on the

stocks. It is daily confirmed that he is after-something big. It appears from many circumstances that he will choose battle and that this will take place on the sea-side not far from Wingurla. On an island opposite the village Harny he is building a very strong castle and he still occupies the fortress Pratapagary, whereby he manages to warn his troops continuously of any alarm and from where he makes his profit as soon as an opportunity arises. And although the king of Visiapour has got a considerable army in Coudael, he is not strong enough to make Siwasy evacuate that district." (17th December, 1664. Page 566.)

20. Building of Sindhudurg

This letter refers to the building of the Sindhudurg or the "Sea Fort" at Malwan. Hutchinson in his Memoir on the Sawant Waree State records the following:

"Shivajee had experienced the most determined and successful opposition to his arms from the fortified islands on the pirate coast, especially at Dunda Rajapoor, held in Jageer and defended by the Hubshees, the Abyssinian slaves of the Emperers of Dehli.

Anxious to possess a similar fortified island to protect his vessels, and be a stronghold in adversity, he ordered a survey of the coast to be made by his Sirdars Tamrojee Manojee, Gungajee, and Shivajee Kolee.

After much research, the mass of rocks opposite to Malwan was fixed on in Shalivahan 1586 (A. D. 1664) as the site of Sindhudoorg (the sea-girt rock). The Superintendence of the works being committed to the Sirdar Wiswanath, and to one of the descendents of the Koodal Desae, Shivajee re-ascended the Ghauts." ¹

21. Shivaji's Relations with Bijapur in 1665—66

Shivaji hastily left Karwar to protect his kingdom from the ravages of the vast Mogul army advancing under Jai

1. Memoir, p. 155. Cf. Kavya Itihas Sangrah, 421, Shivaji Souvenir, II, 92.

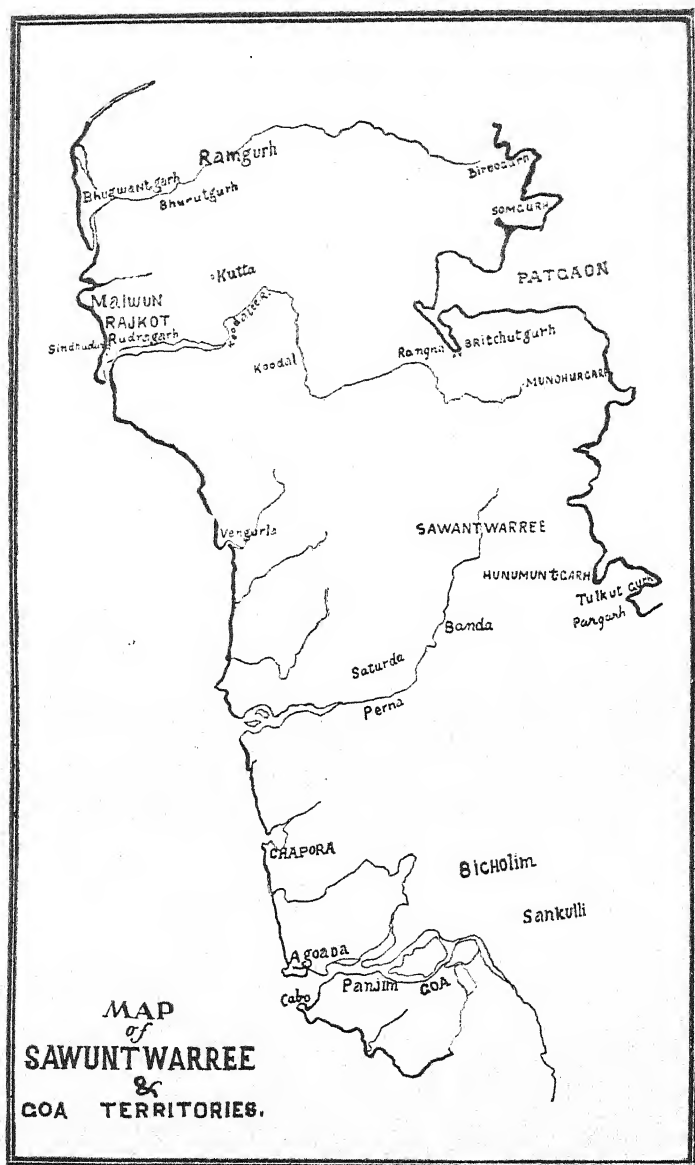
Singh who had left Aurangabad on the 13th of February, 1665 for Poona. He could not disentangle himself from this life and death struggle up to the end of the year. The Bijapur Government, taking advantage of this critical situation, captured some places on the coast. But soon the Mogul arms were turned against Bijapur itself and Shivaji was given a free hand by the Treaty of Purandhar (12th June 1665) to make conquests in the Konkan. Still he could not affect much on account of the desertion of Netaji and his own preparations for a journey to the north for an interview with the Emperor. During his absence from the Deccan up to December 1666, Ali Adil Shah's effort to regain his lost territory in the Konkan was partially crowned with success.

22. Death of Bahlol Khan and Sher Khan

"In the first place,¹ he hath given us a very good horse, valued to be worth 125 pagodas; in the next place, he hath given us 125 small pagodas out of his customes, in part of what Sevagy robbed from us; in the third place, he hath abated us one fourth of the customes for ever; in the fourth place, he hath sent down such strict order to Mahmud Caune to pay what he owes, though he sells his horse for it, that Mahmud Caune himselfe hath since sent severall times to desire our patience, and not incense his master against him, and he will pay us all he owes. He hath likewise wrote so strict a letter to his sonne, to see that no abuse be offered us, that all the people here which formerly dayly abused us stand in such feare of us that upon all occasions they strive who shall be most ready to forward our businesse. He hath sent a moldar (amaldar-an officer) also downe with us to finish the house; who goes about it roundly, though mony is very scarce with

Good treatment
of the English
by Sher Khan.

1. Karwar to Surat, 25 Aug. 1665.





them. Wee must needs likewise say something of his noblesse in entertaining us. When he heard we drew nigh Hevery, he sent to meet us some of his cheifest persons about him, very well attended with ellephant and horse, lodged us in his own garden, dayly shewed us some pastime or other, feasted us all the 11 dayes wee were there, to

Rarities desired
by Sher Khan.

the value of at least 5 pagodas per day, and after wee had tooke our last leave, sent his Pishwaes sonne through his country with us, causing us to be feasted at every town wee came, and giving us a guard of 25 men down. Now must desire Your Worshipp etc. would write him a letter of thanks. He is mighty earnest for 2 great looking glasses, which (if procurable) pray write him about them, he having been very earnest with us to sollicite Your Worshipp etc. in his favour. He is mighty earnest for a buffe coat and sute of armour, cap a pee, which he would willingly pay for; he cares not, so you will but promise him, he sayes, though it come not in 2 or 3 yeares. Any handsome pictures much please

Death of Bahlol
Khan and Sher
Khan.

him. Bullull Caune being, upon the Kings call, come to Vizapore from his Carnatick Warre, within 8 dayes after his arrivall died of a long sicknesse, leaving his sonne and brothers sonne with 9 or 10 thousand horse of their own in Vizapore; which the King being jealous of, used all meanes possible underhand to set them together by the eares; which not taking effect as long as Sheer Caune lived, he being so cunning a person that he kept all right, the King found meanes to have him poisoned. He was the only person that had the repute to be a man of his word. Wee lost a great friend; which wee afterwards found

Quarrels between
Bahlol Khan's
sons, in our journey to Hevery, being forced to travell 4 or 5 dayes journey through his countrey, where he had spoke much in our favour, that wee had much civility showed as at all townes where wee lay, and a guard from town to town to conduct us. Since his death all goes to rack between the two Bullul Caunes, who dayly quarrell, and were it not that

the Mogull was so nigh, would fight it out, The King begins to share stakes with them, having seized on some of their countrey, though darest not he to(o) bold. One of them having killed an ellephant of Sihud Ellasse, the Kings generall, when the King sent to know his reason, was answered that, if he came in such a dru(n)ken condition himselfe, they would use the same way to make him sober; which without doubt did a little trouble His Majesty."

23. Shivaji loses Mirjee Castle

Another letter of 25th Nov. from Karwar to Surat speaks of the good treatment meted out to the English by Rustam Zaman and of the surrender of Mirjee¹ Castle to Muhammad Ikhlas Khan.

"Had wee known of a Dutch warre, wee should never have gone up to Hukery, especially running the hazzards as wee did in the way. Wee are heartily sorry what wee did therein is not so well thought on as expected. Had not wee gone up, wee had been certainly liable to many abuses here dayly thrown upon us as before; whereas now wee are not in the least disturbed by any of them in power here, and should this factory continue, its more then probable that Rustum Jeamah would not be so apt as else he

Rustam Zaman
and the English.

might have been to hearken to any of the Dutches sollicitations against us. And should the King be any wayes inclin'd to favour them, wee have great hopes Rustum Jeamah would secure us, he being much in the King's bookes at present. As for Mahmud Ckaunes debt, wee could not expect he would pay it presently upon our comming down, he beeing then much necessitated for mony to pay his souldiers, to effect which the poore countrey was highly taxed and, had wee not gone up, according to the merchants opinion here, wee had been forced to pay our share. Mirzah castle hath since

1. Also called Mirjan, about 20 miles North of Honavar in N. Canara, at the S. E. end of the Tadri estuary of backwater. The place is described in Bomb. Gaz. XV, Part II, 330 ff.

yeilded to him; so that wee have sent (word?) to him about
 our mony once again... We shall sell the horse,
 according to order, though suppose Rustum
 Jeamah will be highly incensed thereat, and
 wee feare it may breed a great suspition of
 our going away. Wee could have wished you had rather
 enordered the sale of the Turkey, a very old horse, not
 worth the victuals he eates, especially now provisions are
 so deare; for by reason of two armies lying so nigh, many
 things are risen cent. per cent... If wee find any more
 affronts put upon us, wee shall, according to order, draw
 of to Goa. If wee can live quiet, wee shall expect (i. e.
 await) further directions. Our house is allmost finished.
 It will stand them in about 500 pagodas Tipke. Pray, by
 your next, advise us whether wee shall goe and live there
 or not...

Mirjee castle sur-
 renders to Muh.

Ikhlas Khan

24. Jai Singh lays siege to Bijapur

Philip Giffard and Caesar Chamberlain reported from
 Karwar to Surat on 15th January, 1666, that :

"Wee have sold neither cloth nor lead, merchants not
 daring to buy, the countrey being in such an uprore. All
 Viziapore (Bijapur) merchants are runne away, the Mogull
 having brought his army within three course (kos) of said
 citty; which hath caused this King to shut up all the gates
 but one, filling them with stones and rubbish. There hath
 been but one fight as yet, in which severall persons of note
 on this Kings side fell and 700 returned wounded. All
 townes within four or five gow of Viziapore were laid wast
 by the King before the Mogull approached so neare. Water
 in the citty is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Sung(a)r pagoda per pot allready.
 The King, its thought, is with Rustum Jeamah without in
 the camp, where (he) hath about 35,000 horse and 50,000
 foot. The King would have sent away his wives, but the
 Viziers of the countrey would not consent unto it. He
 prepaire much to fight them... Its a very sickly yeare all
 hearabouts. Wee have 22 or 23 sick together belonging to
 our house. And besides, all things are so deare and scarce

that wee can hardly get provisions. At Goa they are in the like or worse condition.

We cannot by any meanes heare what is become of Sevagy...His people here below the hill are very quiet as yet, the Kings governors being in Vingurla (and) Coodall, and his at Rajapore and Carapatan (Kharepatan). At Vingurla the Dutch and these people are fallen out, the Governor demanding their broker and they denying delivering him. The first beginning of this difference was this. Sevagy having taken their brokers shipp, Mahmud Ecles Caune recovered it, keeping it for himselfe; but since his going to Viziapore the Dutch seized on it againe; which hath so incensed the Governor that he pretends to doe much against them."

Shivaji's position
on the Western
coast.

25. Jai Singh's retreat from Bijapur

"Report¹ goes here that those of Vizapore have fallen on some parte of Rajah Jessons army, over whome they have had a greate victory, taking them upon a disadvantage, and said to be decoyed in by Sevagy, that they lost neare 14,000 men and were beaten back many myles; and this is that which [(it) is said)] Rajah Jesson is incensed against Sevagy for."

26. Shivaji's losses in the Konkan

In their letter dated 24th April 1666, the Karwar factors enclosed the following interesting paper containing 'Decan neues' for Surat.

"In our last wee wrote how report runne of Sevagys being retaken; but since know the contrary. For in a battle between the Mogulls and this countrey people he runne away, being afeard that Dillar Caune (a great Vizier of the Mogulls) would put him to death,² he having told said Vizier that he would

Shivaji's retreat
from Bijapur.

1, Surat to Karwar, 19 Feb. 1666. See Sarkar, Pp. 134-35,

2, Confirmed by Manucci, II. 137.

take Viziapore in ten dayes time ; upon which perswasion he set forwards with 20,000 horse, but to his cost he found the contrary, being forced quickly to retire, after he had first seen his only sonne¹ killed by Serja Ckauns own hand. This was the battle that wee suppose Your Worshipp etc.,

Shivaji fails to
surprise Panhala

speaks of. The Mogulls lost but about 300 men in all. Sevagy in his flight burnt down all this Kings townes that he passed through, till he came to Panella ;² which castle he thought to take by a wile, having over night sent them word within that the King was comming and therefore they should keep the gates open ; which they upon some suspition denying to doe, he thought to carry it by storme ; but being repulsed, with the losse of 500 men, he came down the hill againe to Kelnā, a castle within 5 gow or 30 mile of Rajapore ;

Netaji deserts
Shivaji for Bija-
pur service.

where Nettagee and he fell out, they say. But whether they quarrelled, or there was some other mistery in it, wee cannot tell ; but Nettagee left him, and went to the King of Viziapore ; where he having behaved himselfe outwardly to the King's content he bestowed on him three lack pagodas yearly, and sent him upon the borders of the Mogulls countrey to defend what he had given him, said doulet (daulet) or estate lying thereabouts. When he had taken said countrey into his possession, he wrote to Rajah Jessun to send him men to keep it, intending nothing lesse then loyalty. Upon which said Rajah sent him some men, which (having order from said Rajah) seized on him and carried him prisoner to the Mogulls camp, where some say that he was cut of, others that he continues still a close prisoner.³ After Nettagee had left Sevage (as wrote formerly), Sevagy sent about 2,000 men and beseiged Punda,

Phonda capti-
lates to Shivaji.

a castle of the Kings lying hard by Goa, which he beseiged two monthes (February and March) and lost about 500 men against it, but at last brought it to a composition ; the beseiged having promised to deliver it up in six houres time, desir-

1. Wrong news. 2. 16th Jan. 1666, Cf, Sarkar, 136-37,

3. Accepted Mogul service. Sarkar, 137.

ing so much to pack up what they had, which, according to agreement, they were to carry out. Now upon Sevegys running away from the Mogull, this King sent Sidde Mushud (Siddi Jauhar's son-in-law) with Sidde Joars sonne (Abdul Aziz) and Rustum Jeamah, they having in all 5,000 horse and 1000 foot, against Sevagy, who at that time lay about the top of the hill, towards his own countrey; which Sidde Mushud hearing, desired Rustum Jeamah to set forwards with him and try if they could surprize him; which Rustum Jeamah outwardly consenting to, they set forward. But when they came nigh, Rustum Jeamah beat his drums and sounded his trumpets, and thereby gave Sevegys warning time enough to looke about him; notwithstanding all which, Sidde Mushud, but with 600 choice horse, so persued him that he cut of about 500 horse and 100 foot, and so returned. In the way he met a jessud (jasud, a messenger) with letters from Sevegys to Rustum Jeamah, which he seized on and sent them immediately to the King; which when the King had perused, he wrote to Rustum Jeamah

Phonda surprised
by Muhammad
Khan.

that, by the intercession of some freinds, he had pardoned him this time, but let him looke to it; if he did not raise the seige (of) Punda, it was the last employment he should expect ever. This letter put Rustum Jeamah into such a feare that immediately he wrote to Mahmud Ckaune to leave no means unattempted whereby he might raise the seige. Upon which Mahmud Ckaune, getting together a small army, he went and sate down in a town of his masters about three miles of this castle, and sent the generall of Sevagy word he was only come to looke after his own countrey; which the said generall beleiving (as he had no cause to suspect the contrary, knowing what intimacie there was allwayes between his master and Rustum Jeamah), ventured the next day to goe to his prayers, with all his Mooremen, on the top of a hill a mile of the castle, according to their custome, it being their Cootba holliday, as they tearme it. Now this was the day (as formerly wrote) that the castle was to (be) delivered; which Mahmud Ckaune well knowing, after he thought the Moores were

gone to prayers, he set out with all speed possible and came upon the rest of the camp time enough to rout them before the other could come to their assistance; and so thereby facilitated his victory over the other part when they came down the hill; whereby he raised the seige, the poore men therein having eaten leaves for three days together. Notwithstanding this stratageme Mahmud Caune was hardly put to it, being forced to fight and retire two or three times himselfe in person before he got a totall victory.

Shivaji loses
some forts

This business, its generally thought, hath quite broke the long continued friendship between Rustum Jeamah and Sevagy. Rustum Jeamah hath taken now Punda, Cooddall, Banda, Suncle (Sanquelin), and Duchelee (Bicholin), five townes of note, from Sevagy, though as yet Rustum Jeamah himselfe is not come down the hill, but expected every day. They say the Kinge hath given him as farre as Rajapore; which if he can keep, he will quickly grow a great man. Siddi Mushud lies as yet about Collapore, to secure all the countrey thereabouts. About 20 dayes since Serja Caune set upon part of the Mogulls camp; where, his sonne being inclosed by the enemy, he, indeavouring to rescue him, saved his sonnes

News of Shivaji's
departure to
Agra.

life with the losse of his owne; which without doubt is a great losse to the King, he being the only man that hath in a manner withstood the Mogull hitherto. Generall report now goes that Sevagy is gone to Orungzeeb with very large presents; how true it is wee know not. In the time of the seige of this castle of Punda wee were severall times in great feare, there being but 30 miles between us and part of the army; whereby wee were forced to keep men in a readinesse to transport the Companies estate, (if) occasion should be."

27. Rustam Zaman delivers Rangna to Ravji

"Rustum Jeamah being made Generall against Sevagy, according to his dayly practices kept in with Sevagy and yet made the King believe he did what possible against the enemy; but underhand delivered up Reingna, a strong castle,

to Rougy Pundit, bordering upon Coodall ; which so incensed the King that he enordered him and his to be put to the sword, but by the intercession of friends he is permitted to goe to Viziapore to plead for himselfe, and wee believe it will goe hard with him. If he escapes, he hath better fortune then many an honester man. Let what will happen,

wee are glad wee are out of his clutches.
 English factors
 go to Hubli. The reason of our retiring to Hubely was this. Rustum Jeamah, having an army of about

2000 men at Punda and being in great want of mony to pay them, tooke up what mony possible he could to defray his charges of souldiery ; which proving short of what due to them, he begun to think of us, and so wrote to his sonne to borrow 1000 pagodas of us ; upon which his sonne wrote to us about it, but in such a commanding way that, according to reason, we could judge no otherwise by his stile then that, if we scrupled to lend it, he would not to take it ; which wee having seriously considered, as allso dayly hearing that Rustum Jeamah was much out of favour, durst not trust him. So the 23th of July we set out, and in six dayes got hither ; the Decy thereof dayly threatening to plunder it (but wee hope better)." (Karwar to Surat, 5th Sept. 1666.)

28. The English withdraw from Hubli

Much light is thrown on the departure of the English from Hubli by the Consultation held in Surat on 15th October 1666.

"The ill disposition of the Companyes affaires in their factories of Callicut & Carwarr occasioned in the one by our enemies the Dutch, in ye. other by the intestine broils & commotions of the Deccannees, arriving our knowledge the 13th instant by advices from Callicut dated the 23rd of June, & from Hubely dated ye 5th of ye passed month, wee met together to consult and advise for ye safetie & securitie

of our masters Estates and their servants in those ffactoryes. And for as much as wee have had divers complaints from Carwarr that Rustum Jemah, the Chiet Lord of that Port,

English factors
 withdraw from
 Karwar to Hubli.

a most perfidious person, or his sonns & servants Governours of the towne by him substituted, have frequently been at them for Loans of money, & in such a commanding stile, that they feared upon deniall the Companyes estate would be forced from them; for the securitie of wch they left the port & retired into the country to Hubely, a towne out of said Rustum Jemahs jurisdiction; where also they remaine not secure by reason of the troubles in those parts. And now Seavage is got lose againe & abroad wth an army of 5000 horse, there are greater dangers to be expected. Wherefore considering how great a stock they have, all in reedie moneys that hath Layen dead these two yeares, neer 5000 Rupees, when wee are necessitated to take up moneys at interest, the great danger it is in, the inconsiderable benefit the Company have reaped from the

From Hubli to
Goa.

ffactory, wch in some yeares doth vend but a small quantitie of our Europe commodities and at prices very little exceeding wt wee could sell them for here; on the other side what commodities have been bought there for our Europe marketts by much dearer then they have elsewhere been procured, these considerations are motives sufficient for the drawing thence the Compas estate and ffactors for the present, and the nearest and securest place for them to retire to is Goa, wch to effect, in regard they upon the place will be best able to contrive for the securitie of the Compas estate, wee have left it to them, either to remitt it by Exca. to Signr Joan de Prado in Goa, if bills are to be procured, or to accompany it themselves thither, or otherwise as shall seeme in their Judgements best, being very cautious yt the people have no knowledge of their designe and intentions to desert ye place."

After mentioning the escape of Sivaji from Agra and the alarm excited at Surat by his renewed activity, the Surat letter of 17 October 1666 stated that this

"Gives us cause to doubt whether some thing of this nature may not allsoe reach you; to prevent which, and those other inconveniencys you are exposed to by the civell comotions in those parts, wee have resolved to draw

you off, together with the Companies estate, for the present, and allsoe pitcht upon Goa to bee the nearest and convenientest place most secure and free from danger. Whereupon, at receipt of these, wee require you to enter upon contriveing the safest and securest way to convey your selves and the Companies estate to Goa."

The English
factors ordered to
move from
Karwar to Goa.

The factors had already departed before the preceding letter arrived. Writing to the Company on 24 November, the President and Council said that the factors

"Have bin forced to flye thence; elce they had bin plundered by the necessities of the partie that ow(n)es the porte. To prevent which they escaped to Hubely, and there, finding themselves in noe better condition, the countrie being all in flames, they were forced to escape with their lives and your estate (which is to the amount of 50,000 rupees) to Goa, where they are now, awaiting our order, which is sent them, to make over the monies to us by exchange (the better to ease you at intrest) and contrive the safest meanes to convaie themselves to us with what hast they can. For the whole coast alonge is noe place to trust either your servants or estates, but must waite for more peacable times; and then they are soone resetled, if the trade bee worth it, which this factorie hath not deserved since wee came last to India; (so) that glad wee are in your behalves to finde our selves soe well acquitted of it."

Karwar factors
to Hubli and
Goa.

We learn from a letter of 26 March, 1667, that the Karwar factors had gone over to Surat, and that there was no government on the Karwar Coast."

"Your servants Mr. Gyffard and Mr. Chambrelan, that were at Carwarr, are retourned to us. They saw cause to leave that factory, the disturbances in the country arrising to a greater height then other every day, insomuch that there was no government left amongst them, but that hee who is strongest might plunder any towne or village and not be questioned for it. Besides, all those parts thereabouts are des-

Karwar factors
to Surat.

troyed, that the whole course of commerce is quite lost. Wee have received bills of exchange upon Cambaya and this towne for the amount of what moneyes you had in cash; which, when due, wee hope, will be honestly paid us."

29. The Dagh Register of 1665

"The said president says that he is robbing continuously and he does not keep his promise or oath, whenever he can make money by it. His booty since the last letter was estimated at 28 tons of gold. Lockomsant who had been sent down again by the king and who ought to protect Wingurla was more tyrannic against the inhabitants than Siwasi himself. And as the "resident" did not consider the merchandise of the Company safe at Wingurla any longer, he made up his mind to go to Goa with the spices and tin and to store it there. For that purpose the viceroy had also given him a house. (Page. 142.)

The "resident" had reinforced the lodge at Wingurla by 9 Dutchmen and besides that he had engaged 10 peons. With that garrison and some Arab merchants, some Christians and a few natives they would be able to resist a rather strong attack of Siwasi. (Page. 142.)

The "resident" Leendersz writes from Wingurla that Siwasi was still going on robbing and looting. Since the last letter he had invaded the country of Canara and made a booty there of not less than 80 thousand guilders. He had also robbed 500 pagodes from the well-known Wingurla merchants Cassiba and Santubassinay, which amount they had sent to Bonsemœder for the purpose of buying cotton yarn on behalf of the Company. Moreover, he had robbed 50 corge (old weight) cangi chadder and 27 candy (old weight) cotton yarn, which had also been bought on behalf of the Company. The said merchants had asked the Company for refund of these losses, considering the fact that the pagodas were sent and the merchandise bought on account of the Company. (Page. 166.)

The governor of Surat, Gaesdincham had informed the Director that he had received instructions from the king Orangcha to induce us with promises of a substantial reward to destroy the naval forces of Siwasi. The Director had replied to this that in the first place it would not suit the Company and moreover that they had not yet received a stuyver (penny) compensation for the big expenses incurred by us during the siege of Daman. He had informed the governor that if the king would give us a contract for a perpetual free trade in Suratta and Brootchia and moreover would pay us for the expenses that we would have to incur in destroying Siwasi's forces, he would propose the matter to His Excellency. (Page. 176).

The Dutch assistance asked for by Aurangzeb against Shivaji's fleet.

The Director had done well in declining to allow the assistance asked for against Siwasi. (Page. 227.)

To Wingurla His Excell. writes as follows:—

"That it is a questionable practice that the Rulers and nobles in the government also live on the robberies of Siwasi and get their share of the booty ;

that the "resident" has done well in storing the principal merchandise in Goa, but that now on account of the war with England it will not be advisable and that in case of danger

Shivaji's plundering expedition.

they will be sent to Suratta, Cannanor or Cochin ;

that an account must be opened in the books in the name of Siwasi and that he must be charged for the damage to the Company and also the under-dessey Lockkumsant for 219 cows and 55 sheep which he has robbed for him. This should be done to keep the matter in mind. That the request of the Benjaen merchants for refund of the goods robbed by Siwasi and which they had contracted to supply to the Company, is absolutely unfounded and is therefore refused. But towards Siwasi the resident may pretend as if the goods belonged to the Company, if this can facilitate the refund of them. But no hard measures will be taken against Siwasi ;

that we must apply means to remain neutral, as Siwasi has promised us." (Page. 265.)

CHAPTER VI.

Shivaji and the English at Rajapur.

1. The English factory at Rajapur plundered

The English merchants at Rajapur supplied mortars and shells to Siddi Jauhar for the reduction of Panhala fort. After its surrender to Bijapur, Shivaji took the earliest opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the English for such an active assistance to his enemies. Then the immense wealth of that prosperous port was an object of attraction for one whose resources had been exhausted by a long war with Bijapur and the Moguls. According to the Shivabharata,¹ Rajapur was a wealthy emporium, as the merchandise of Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Africa, China, Europe, etc, was imported there for sale. Shivaji suddenly appeared before Rajapur in the beginning of the year 1661. The account of the plunder of the town is preserved in the Dagh Register, 1661. (11th July. P. 215):—

“Concerning the English, the Resident (at Vingurla) writes that……they have received no compensation for the munitions² of war which they lent to the King of Bijapur for use against Sivaji; but they have suffered great damage from that rebel on this account. For he, so soon as the old Queen had departed for Mokha, raised his head once more, and, reflecting on the injury he had received at the

1 Chapt. 30, 1—26.

2. It is now evident from the English and Dutch Records that Revington supplied ammunition and ordnance to Siddi Jauhar during the operations of the siege. But G. Duff has exculpated the English merchants from this charge. “In the beginning of the year 1661, he, (Shivaji) again appeared before Rajapoor, which he took and plundered. On this occasion the English sustained some loss, and several of their factors were seized and confined in a hill fort for two years, on an accusation, never substantiated, of having assisted Seedee Johur with mortars and shells, at the siege of Panalla. In a note the author adds that ‘the unfortunate Englishmen were not finally released without paying a ransom. There appears to have been some reason for Sivajee’s suspicion, though the fact was never fully ascertained.’ It is clear that G. Duff is wrong in this statement.

hands of the English about the middle of March, sent 1000 horse and about 3000 foot-soldiers to take possession of Rajapur. This force, on reaching the town, invited the principal inhabitants to come out and escort it in, according to custom, promising to do no harm. These simple men, suspecting no evil, went to the place of meeting, accompanied by the English Resident, Revington, with two or three other Englishmen, who thought it well to pay this mark of respect. They were all immediately seized and their property confiscated, after tortures had been inflicted. Revington and those who accompanied him were placed in one of Sivaji's fortresses; while the Englishmen who had remained behind in Rajapur were likewise imprisoned, and one died under torture.¹ Their factory was entirely stripped, even the floor being dug up² in search of hidden treasure. The robbers also plundered many foreign merchants, who yearly bring goods to Rajapur from Persia and Muskat. Several Rajas and others gathered troops together; but Sivaji's men satisfied with their plunder, made off without awaiting the attack."

2. Means of release of English prisoners

A letter, written at Vingurla on 29 July 1661, speaks of the imprisonment of the English merchants. (*Ibid.* p. 448.)

"The English resident, Revington, is still imprisoned with his colleagues by Sivaji in a certain inland fort, named Soangur. Salabat Khan (Siddi Jauhar) has sent an envoy to obtain their release, and is himself at present in the field with a great army against Bahlol Khan³."

Detailed information on the means of release comes from a letter sent to Surat by Revington and his fellow prisoners (the two Taylors and Philip Giffard), dated at 'Soangur', 10 June, 1661.⁴

1. No one was tortured to death. The English factors Napier and Barnard died of long sickness.

2. The same statement is made in the Shiva Bh. 30. 5—6.

3. Regarding the battle between Bahlol and S. Jauhar, see p. 75 *infra*.

4. "No contemporary version is available, and all we have to go upon is a transcript with altered spelling made by Robert Orme in 1785 from a volume now missing. This transcript is to be found in the *Orme MSS* in I O. Library, vol. 155.p.1. The original letter was written at intervals (as here numbered), and the date refers to the last section only." Foster,

"(1) Yours of the 2d. of May I receiv'd in Soangur¹ Castle the 8th June, unto which I reply. The original of our disaster adds no fuel to our discontent, it being first our duty to our masters to stand or fall with their estate, and innocency in ourselves, which made us fear no evil, that we did not run away (although we could have done it) at Sevagee's approach.....God be thanked, we are not in fault, but in misery for our sins towards God, not Sevagi, out of whose hand pray God deliver us by His provident and our own endeavours; which prompted us to write to you before from Waysetty² Castle, and now we are further encouraged by your letter to write agin, which we accept of, in hopes you, following our advice in this particular, will be a ready way to gain our liberty, vizt. Sevagi, you may please to know, was the only person we had to work withall about Danda R(ajapore) C(astle) and to that purpose talk'd with Dowrowgis³ (Daruji), his chief servant, the last year about it, and understood that, if that castle were taken from the Siddy, all this country about it would fall into Sevagi's

The English to
assist Shivaji in
capturing Danda
Rajpuri.

hands, and that, if we assisted him in that business, there would be nothing in reason either for money or port towns, but should be given or granted. Upon this subject his Braman at Rajapore, when we were prisoners,

talked with us something, promising us a handsome seat, called Meate Bunder,³ upon the coast; but at this time we told him our intentions was lost through his imprisoning and robbing us.....After this he set a (lakh?) of pagodas on our heads to gain our liberty, and so sent us prisoners to Waysetty Castle. Now his reason for this is meerly arbitrary, and more we know not what to say, unless you can give

Ransom from the
English & others.

yourselves a reason why he robbs all Banians, Moorsmen, Persians, and Arabians, and afterwards imprisons, frowns and drubbs them for

more money.....Here are several brave Persians and Arabians, that he trapaned from aboard ship this year, who

1. Songarh, three miles N. W. of Mahad, Kolaba Dist,
2. Wasota, about 20 miles west of Satara,
3. Some salt-port ?

suffers worse than we do; and the only reason, we (beleive, is?) he hopes to have our assistance against Danda Rajapore Castle; for we beleive his demanding a (lakh?) of pagodas from us is only to bring us to secure him in that particular."

They¹ advice, therefore, that the following proposals be made: (1) that Sivaji should grant the prisoners their liberty,

Terms proposed
by the English
for assisting
Shivaji.

and restore what has been taken from them ('or at least our liberty'). (2) That he should undertake to pay the charges of the English ships engaged in the reduction of Danda Rajapuri. If he omits to inquire how much this will be, a means will be provided 'to creep out of our obligation, if we please, by asking more than he will give'. If he does ask, the reply might be 10,000 pagodas for each of four ships. In that case, 'we have another hole for to creep out at, for we demand all the money beforehand, which he will never do.' (3) That he should give the Company a convenient port town, with liberty to build a fort, he providing the labour and materials. (4) That he should allow the English to receive half the customs revenue of that town, their own imports and exports being duty free. (5) That he should consent to the establishment of 'a tanksal' (taksal: mint) for a current coining of silver all over his country, and that no Mallabars shall be countenanced by him which we think fit to put in, because at Rajahpore he told us he was a Mallabar himself and has of them at command. (6) That the English should be allowed to buy saltpetre freely. (7) That a warehouse should be given to them in the port town to be ceded. These are the lines they propose to go upon in any conference with Sivaji, and it would be well if the Surat authorities would write to him to the same effect. It is possible that, 'being a perfidious man himself', he may doubt whether the English will perform their promises, once he has released the prisoners. The answer should be that, as the grant of a town, &c., is to be contingent on the English carrying out their contract, it would be more reasonable to expect security from him.

1. We reproduce the summary given by Foster in the Eng. F 1661-1664, 6-12.

"If he should be insolent, and say we were now in his hands and he would keep us and our money till the business was done, (the reply is?) that keep and kill (us?) he may, but for money and service he never would have from us so long as he kept us. We expect every day to be called by () Rowgee Punditt (Raoji Pandit), who is sent by Sevagi to examine us, we having not seen Sevagi since we parted Rajapore...

Shivaji to be threatened by the idea that Englishmen would transport a Mogul army into the Deccan.

This day the Braman enordered a Moorman to be tortured with stripes before our face, we suppose to terrify us; and this day we have privately given it out, to one that is likely to tell him again, that if we are not released, there were those in Surat that would grant Oranzees desire in transporting an army into Decan; which hitherto the English would never do, because they were friends with the Queen of Decan, but she being now deposed and gone, it would be as little prejudice as trouble to us, were it be revenged; and this, we beleive, will fright him more than the stick did us. And let us tell you a profer to Shasta Ckaune, who lies about the hill not above 7 gow or 40 course off us, would be very acceptable to the C(kaune?), as the business may be carryed, and then Sevaji may be soon routed, for all the difficulty is in Chasta Ckaunes coming down the hill; but of this let nothing be said or done before we advise you to it...If he (Sivaji) writes for money, please to tell him (as we have done by letters) our masters will never pay a pice for our liberties and although you have money of theirs in your hands, yet you dare not pay 1000 pagodas, much less a greater sum. And one thing more we must give you a caution of, not to beleive any report that speaks we should do or say anything contrary to this; for it is possible they will write to you we have agreed to pay so much money for our liberty, to hear what you will say."

"In writing about Danda Rajpuri, it would be advisable to leave Revington some latitude 'to steer another way', if necessary. It would be best to tell Sivaji that the negotiations are left to Revington and his associates.

"Our granadoes were not sold to the Sciddy of Dandah, but to Sciddy Joar, the Kings General, who hath now Carapatán (Kharepatan) and the island too, and himself gone to his country. Our cosset (messenger: kasid) in his way saw Rustan Jemah, who told him he (had) written three letters to me to go away. I am glad to hear so much, for by that he must know of Sevagi's intentions; but he speaks a gross untruth."

Sale of
granadoes.

(II) On reconsideration, they think it advisable to name no precise sum to Shivaji as the expense of the ships. 'Pray prefer our liberty before anything else; which when he hath granted, then tell him you will confirm what we shall have concluded with him; otherwise not'. Should they write for money, 'let it signify nothing, and let the Rajah know so much'. To their letter the Portuguese Captain of Chaul has replied evasively, referring them to Goa as being nearer to them (which is untrue), but saying that, 'if he hath your order, he will send what we want'. Napier died at Rajapur (about a month since). A merchant who owes money to the Company has been 'drubb'd to death in Kelna.' He has money in Persia, the proceeds of which may be returned in the Bijapur junks. These should be seized.

Bijapur affairs
after the
departure of
the Queen.

"They will pay the Company etc. all they have lost, with advantage for this affront. For now the Queen is banished, most of the Umbraws (nobles: umara) make it their business to rob and spoil this part of the country; and they only keep the bastard king a time for name's sake, because they know not who else to set up, Shasta Ckaun having taken Durveice, the heir to this crown, in one of Sevagi's castles."

Revington begs for some shirts, breeches, and cotton waist-coats; also 'a small tooth comb, for among 70 prisoners he cannot keep himself so clean as he would do.' Any goods bought this year should be brought down to Karwar.

"We hear of an army coming from Agra; and Sevagi is providing for them, and hath lately enlarged and strengthened his country by overcoming the two Rajahs of Dulvice

and the Rajah of Singapore¹ (Srīngarpur) by which means he commands all the coast from Danda Rajapore Castle to Carapatam, which he threatens and resolves the next monsoon to command as far as Goa, and then farewell Goa in a short time."

The losses of the Company and of the prisoners amount to 12,000 pagodas, of which Company's share is from two to three thousand. The latter sum is almost covered by debts due in the country; 'so that the Company will not be much losers, but we shall, if our masters right us not.'

(III) The Brahman has not yet spoken to them. Several prisoners have been cruelly tortured. 'I pray God deliver us from the hell we are in, and from another'.

(IV) They have now had an interview with the Brahman. He demanded money; to which they replied that they themselves had none, and that their masters would sooner spend money in taking vengeance for their wrongs. He then asked 'what business we could do for his master.' They made their proposals about Danda Rajpuri, suggesting that they should be released immediately, 'and after the rains were over, we would send to Sevaji to conclude the business'. He professed to mistrust them; whereupon they suggested that he might keep the money of which they had been plundered; 'to which he answered, when we were gone, we should not value the money'. After further talk, he said that his master might assign Dabhol to the English. They replied that it was useless to speak of any business unless he were ready to give them their liberty. He next objected that the English, if they took Danda Rajpuri Castle, might keep it for themselves. Reply was made that the ships would only beat down the defences and the actual assault would be left to Sivaji's men. Finally, he came back to the question of ransom.

"He must have money; for his master Sevaji could not attend the other business. Therefore bid us sit down

1. It should be "Dalvies of Srīngarpur, west of Jayli in the Ratnagiri Dist."

quiet for a month or two, and afterwards it may be his master would look upon us; (upon) which we rose, telling

**Threat that D.
Rajpuri would be
taken for
Aurangzeb.**

him his master might slight the business, yet the Mogull would give the English three lack of rupees to take it (Danda Rajpuri) for them? therefore bid him chew upon that cudd; upon which he said How, how, how, what's

that? and sat down again. And we told it him again, and went away; while he only said he would give us a jebob (answer: jawab) for that too. Two days after, Sevagi came to Marr (Mahad) town, below this hill, where he staid about two days, called for the Persians and Arabs, and demanded money from them; and so commanded them to the castle,

**Prisoners
handed over
to Raoji.**

and hath delivered them and all the prisoners into Rowgie Punditts hands, to do with them as he thinks fit, which is very bad. But for us we are to sit still till his return from Cullean Boondy (Kalyan-Bhiwandi), a town which the Mogul took lately from him, which he hopes to retake this rainy times, and then we shall hear and see him."

The factors went to the Brahman and desired to know what answer Sivaji would give to the Surat letter. He said 'he had little to reply unto it,' but would write. He bade them send for money, as without that they would not be released. They asked what amount they should

**Negotiations
about ransom.**

say; to which he replied 100,000 pagodas. On their telling him that the Surat factors could not raise such a sum, he answered, 'let them write what they will give, and I will tell you what I will take'. They assured him that nothing would be offered, but he insisted upon their writing. In replying, it would be well to claim only the amount lost by the Company, rating it at about, 3,500 pagodas; they themselves 'shall be content to loose the rest', if only their release can be obtained. They send a draft of a letter to Sivaji for this purpose.

"Vauggee is dead, and severall vessels cast away upon the coast. All the Umbraws are divided, and we beleive Vizapore (Bijapur) will be plundered."

An offer might be made to 'Rowgy Pannditt' of 666

rupees which Revington claims from the Company as wages; but Surat should stand firmly against paying anything more. The letter should be sent by somebody 'who knows how to speak the honour of our country and the English, and how willing we were to make Sevagi our friend'; for this 'Hossan' might do, 'having learned his lesson'. Some money and clothes should be sent for the prisoners as well. Whoever comes must try

Bait of
D. Rajpuri.

to persuade Sivaji that the English are in earnest about Danda Rajpuri, for that 'is the only aim he hath'. If the Council disapprove of the conditions, 'let not him know so much, for if you do not like them, you may make some evasion or other when we are at liberty'. In any case, the English cannot take the castle for themselves 'without good store of men, and where will you have them but from Sivagi?' The envoy should be careful to deliver the letter into Sivaji's own hands, 'for we fear these Brahmans make letters to speak what they please'.

The records are then silent until 7th December, 1661, when the President and Council wrote to the Company, referring to their previous letter (now missing) despatched in April:

"From whence now we shall begine, ending that subject where then we concluded, which was with Mr. Henry Revingtons imprisonment by Sevagy, a rebell unto the King of Decan; who kept him and seven more English in prison six months demanding a vast sum of money for their releasement. Though we writt many perswasive letters unto him for releasement, yet they would not be taken notice of, till

Revington and
his surgeon
released.

Mr. Revingtons sickness (being a dropsey) caused a feare of his death, that upon his peroll (i. e. parole) and promise of returne when well, leaving all the rest but his chyrgurion behind him, he was sent away from him, and came to us the 17th of October passed, in a weake condition. Noe meanes nor care was nor is omitted for the restauration of his health, but (we) feare his recovery. The rest are all in prison, and (we) have not heard from them since Mr.

Revingtons arrivall. The country all in a cumbustion; no tradeing nor civill commerce. The rebell on one side, the King of this country for the other, and divers discontented nobles within the kingdome, rent it all to peeces. What will be the end, God knowes; but to gaine the other Englishes liberty we shall use all meanes possible."

3. Commission for capturing ships

The remaining English factors of Rajapur were still in confinement, as the terms of their release could not be settled. The Surat Council decided to retaliate upon Shivaji and others for the imprisonment of their colleagues by the seizure of the enemy's ships.

"Commission and Instructions &c. to Edward Callard, Swally Marine, 23rd Septr. 1661.

Only take care to be well provided both to defend yourselfe from Mallabarrs and also to seize on so many as you can master. As also all Deccan vessayles (that is) that belong to any part, between St. Johns and Goa, let none escape you, that you can take, and secure the Mallabarrs set on shore, fire the vessayles as formerly directed: the Decans bring up with you, using Civilly, unless they fight, and then you may use them as they deserve but take great care unto your owne security and to make hast up so soon as you are laded at Cochin, not staying for the *Constantinople*, your deligence in quick Dispatch wee earnestly desire and hope you will answer expectation¹."

"Commission and Instructions &c. to Capt. Robert Brown for capturing the Malabar and Deccan vessels. Swally Marine, 23rd Sep. 1661, by the President and Council of India, Persia, etc.,

The Mallabarrs are our ancient enemies and therefore there will be no need to put you in mind of our desire to seize whatsoever vessayles you can possible master, as also to show no mercy in sparing or letting goe any that you

1. Surat Factory Diary No. 1. 1660--1696. P. 45,

shall take, but bring them up hither unto us, setting the men on shore, at next Convenient place after seizure. But wee have now also a quarrell with the Decan's Vizt. all vessailes yt. belong to yt. Coast, from St. Johns¹ unto Goa, as Rajapore, Carrapatam, Dabull etca. small Ports, Choule &c, whatever on that Coast that are not Portuguese, wee enorder you to doe your utmost to be Possessor of them, for Accot of the Honble East India Company and that you bring the vessails yt you can take hether unto us, not sett- ing the men on shore but so securing them, yt they may not give you the slipe after taken: wee earnestly recom- mend this Affaire unto you, it being of great consequence for the releasmt of our Honble Employrs servants yt are prisoners in Deccan, and obtaining of the Estate those People have seized on belonging unto our Masters etca: And for your encouragemt: we shall cause to be delivered you as a reward $\frac{1}{6}$ part of wtsoever you shall so seize, provided nothing be imbezzetled in the hold of the any ves- saile you shall take, nor above any deck: unless shee shall make a fight, and then whatever is out of hold, wee referr it to you to be distributed as you shall see occasion of encouragement. But if shee yeild without fighting, then ye men on board to be used civilly, and nothing embezzelled but all brought safe into Swally hole, where you shall be thankfully rewarded.

MATTHEN ANDREWS,
JOHN LAMBRON."²

The news of the grant of the commissions is conveyed to London by the Surat Residency in a letter of 10th April 1662.

"Pepper also, from Carwar; for none cann bee gott at Rojapore, nor the English released. Wee intend, if possible, to take some of their jounckes from Mocho, and gaine their

1. Sanjan, 90 miles north of Bombay.

2. Surat Factory Diary No. 1, 1660-1696. P. 434.

liberty and restitution of estate of Your Worships etc. taken from Mr. Henry Revington; for many letters wee have sent to Sevagee that declared it, and received noe answeare; and shall now send unto the Kinge of the country; wishing our endeavours may bee more effectuell."

4. Shivaji justified in imprisoning Rajapur Factors

Whilst¹ thus the ordinary business of buying and selling was going on at Surat, Randolph Taylor and the other survivors of the Rajapur factors were pining in a Maratha prison. They had now been removed to the hill-fortress of Rairi, which Sivaji about this time made his capital, renaming it Raigarh ('the royal fort'). Their position may well have seemed to them hopeless, for the Maratha chieftain would not hear of their release except upon payment of a heavy ransom. They were allowed to send letters and to draw a bill of exchange (probably for current expenses) upon the Surat factory, where it was promptly paid; but the reply (10 March) of the implacable President afforded no consolation. Though some peevishness on their part might well have been excused in the circumstances, Andrews soundly rated them for their 'disrespect and abusive language', and pointed out that had they obeyed his orders to leave Rajapur, they would not have been in their present predicament. As for writing again to Sivaji, the Council had too much work on hand to spend time unnecessarily.

"In inditing and sending costly letters to a rogue that takes noe notice of them, for never yet any answeare was returned...It may bee your closer imprisonment, caused by the nonsucceeding of your designe, hath made you more impatiently abusive, as you were in your last letter; which wee shall wave...Knew wee how probably to obtaine it (i.e., their release) without answering the demands of those

Surat President
reprimands the
prisoners

1. E. F. 1661-64, Pp. 86-88, as given by Sir W. Foster.

unreasonable men, wee should not faile to put it in practice; but our answeare to you, and them also, is to part with noe money; for though the good opinion you have of your selves have caused you to set a vallue upon your selves, yet indeed wee knowe not for what, unless disobedience to orders, abusing superiours, bee commendable...How you came in prison you knowe very well. 'Twas not for defending the companies goods; 'twas for going to the seige of Pannella and tossing balls, with a flagg that was knowne to bee the Englishes...It (i. e. Shivaji's action) was but as any other would doe, having power to revenge himself of such affronts; for merchants are not to sell their goods, when if of that nature as granadoes, to goe and shoote them off against an enemy; for merchants while trading in a strainge country and may live quietly, if not meddling, must looke for a requitall of their deserts...None but what rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment; Mr. Revington himself having mentioned the comands of Savagee (not?) to sell any....."

Shivaji's action
justified.

5. Various means of release

This was cold comfort for the unhappy prisoners; and not much encouragement was afforded by a later communication, dated 17 May, if it ever reached them. By this time the President's anger had abated, and he spared them further reproaches. He enclosed a letter for Sivaji on the subject of their release, and intimated that one was being sent to the king of Bijapur for the same purpose; but if the ransom demanded was a large one, 'wee have it not to spare.' Failing the success of these methods, it was proposed to employ force, by blockading the coast towns and seizing any vessels returning from Mokha or Persia.

"'Tis reported the ould Queen is to returne; and if it bee our good fortune to light on hir, surely the King will not faile to procure your release for hir, beside a returne of satisfaction.....Wee most willingly would procure you freedome; but how to treate by sending a person into soe

Proposal of
capturing the
Queen of Bijapur.

remote a country and into an enemyes (wee know not whether), is most (un?)certaine. Knew wee but any certainty of attaining your desires, and our expectation answeares such a mission, wee would not spare (*sic*) a parcell of money that wee could disburse....."

In accordance with the promise thus given, a consultation was held at Surat on 21 July 1662 to discuss the blockade of the Malabar Coast. The *Royal Welcome* and *Hopewell* had been instructed to proceed from Gombroon to Goa or some adjacent port and there to spend the rainy season. It was now decided to employ them in seizing any junks returning to Malabar ports from Mokha, and instructions were accordingly sent to their commanders for one vessel (the *Hopewell*) to cruise off Rajapur and Kharepatan, while the other watched Vengurla, Dabhol, and the neighbouring harbours. The blockade was to last until 20 September, when both ships were to proceed to Karwar to fetch the pepper accumulated there. A particular watch was to be kept for the 'Queen of Decan' who, if captured, was to be brought to Swally, care being taken to 'use hir with all the respect requisite to bee showed soe eminent a person.' (Cf. Commissions to Capts. Mason and Snow. F. R. Surat. Vol. 85.)

On 6 August 1662 a few lines were written to the prisoners at Rairi, acquainting them with 'our indeavours for your libertys'; and a longer letter was sent on 19 August to the following effect:

'Wee received a letter from the marchant unto whome wee writt in Rajapore for the delivery of our letter unto the King of that country; who, according unto our desire, delivered it, and received a verball answeare that for him to write to Savage was to noe purpose; hee would not regard it; but an army of his was proceeding towards him, and he hoped that might accomplish his and our desires, for soe soon as able hee would set you free; and promised further hee would write in a few dayes unto us. Upon the receipt of his letter wee shall againe adresse our selves unto him; and

Englishmen to
seize Deccan
ships.

The Bijapur king
implored for
release.

hope, the monsoon being neare ended, some oppertunity will offer to put in practice our desires for your liberty, either by some person falling into our hands or procurey of them from the shoare. Our endeavours shall not bee wanting."

The prisoners' letter to Surat arrived on 7 November, 1662 and a week later a reply was sent, assuring them that efforts were being made to obtain their freedom. The President and Council had already arranged that

"¹ Bennidas should use his contrivance, by a Braman to be sent to Sovagee to deale with his Bramans, if by this way he may be prevailed with; which wee are assured carries good probability with it. And Vealgee hath commission and order to doe what ever may be sutable to your release. Hee is voyadged downe the coast in ship *Richard and Martha*. And last of all, wee are our selves in action for your redemption by this Governor, who is become highly civill unto our nation since the President arived, granting all whatever is desired from him with the greatest freedome imaginable, that wee live now in good reputation, being encouraged to make new requests. Wherefore, it being accustomed that all Presidents that are new commers doe present the Governor etc, the Kings ministers of this towne, which wee are in hands to doe; at which time wee are invited to make our request in your behalves that this Governor, with some other of the principall officers, would wright to his Kings generall, Shasta (Ckaune), who is reported to presse hard upon Sovagee; which being effectually importuned hence in a letter, may worke for your libertieses."

At the same time Oxenden deemed it only right to inform the imprisoned merchants that the Company at home regarded them as having brought their afflictions on themselves, and were disposed to claim from them compensation for the losses suffered through their 'rash undertakings.' They must be prepared, therefore, to justify themselves

1. E, F. 1661-64, Pp. 107-8, 14 Nov. 1662.

when released. As regards their letter to Lord Marlborough, the President and Council had entreated him to do anything in his power to effect the release of the prisoners ;

“But the dissatisfaction His Lordship received at Bombay from the Vice King hath wrought upon him soe passionately that he came thence directly to Swally whence he is resolved not to stirr, noe, not out of his ship (though all possible perswasions have most urgently been used), but weights the season for his returne for Europe againe.”

Release through
Lord Marl-
borough.

The captives had asked leave to arrange terms of ransom ; to this the President and Council agreed, ‘if an ordinary summe will redeeme you.’

To this letter the two Taylors and Giffard replied from Rairi (20 December, 1662), on a scrap of paper, intimating that

“As yet there is no alteration in our condition...We dayly expect the returne of the Governor of this castle, and then hope to conclude on somthing. God grant us once free of this misery ; for the effecting of which wee purpose to enorder Herjee (Harji) at Chaul to voyage to Rajapore and try if the merchants there can prevaile with Rougy Pondit, Governor of those parts, to write to his master in our behalfe ; which if that rogue will be perswaded to doe, it will be very advantageous to us.”

Attempt through
Raoji.

In the beginning of 1663 Messrs. Giffard, Ferrand and the two Taylors still remained in captivity. All the peaceful means had been tried, but the prisoners could not be released. On 3rd February, 1663, the Surat Council commissioned Captain Tinker of the *Convertine* to capture the two ships which Shivaji was fitting out at Jaitapur for Mocha and loading with “such goods as were driven by storms upon his coast, which was of considerable value.” Care was to be taken that their cargoes were not interfered with, as it was intended to make full restitution if the captives were released ; and should

Pressure by
reprisals.

Tinker be doubtful whether he could restrain his men from plundering, he was to desist from the enterprise.

6. Factors released by Shivaji

Fortunately the employment of force proved unnecessary, as on his arrival off the port Tinker found that the factors had already been released. By the mediation of Shahji Bhonsla (his father), Sivaji had come to terms with his nominal overlord, the King of Bijapur, with the result that Rajapur, amongst other districts, had been recognized as part of his territories¹. He had thus a direct interest in developing the trade of that port, and this was impossible so long as the English were hostile. He was inclined, therefore, to listen to the representations of the Rajapur merchants in favour of a reconciliation, the first condition of which was obviously the release of Taylor and his companions. The beginning of the story was given in a letter from them of 17 January 1663, which unfortunately is missing; but it is continued in one of 6 February, dispatched from Rajapur to Surat by an express messenger. This runs as follows:

“The 17th past month wee wrote you from Raire, and therein advised our being sent for by Rougy Pundit to Rajapore. Said day wee set out from Raire, and the 29th ditto arrived at this place, where wee were gladly received by all the merchants etc. inhabitants of the towne. Notwithstanding, our irons remayned still on us, which the timerousenesse of those that brought us would not admit should be taken of untill they had delivered us to Rougy Pondit; and he being gone to Carapatam, wee remayned four days in the

English prisoners brought to Rajapur.

1. ‘The Bijapur government, granted all Shivaji’s demands (A. D. 1662.) He was left in possession of his conquests from Kalyan in the north to Phonda in the south, and from Dabhol in the west to Indapur in the east, and his complete independence was acknowledged. Both parties undertook to defend the other from foreign aggression. And Shivaji took a solemn oath not to molest Bijapur during Shahaji’s lifetime’. (A History of the Maratha People, by Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. i, p. 175.)

towne in said condition, untill Rougy came, who then presently caused our irons to be knocked of.....He told us that he had wrote a letter to the President, and the contents thereof as allsoe of the answer returned thereto, which he sayd gives hopes of an accomodation between his master and the English, which he declares to be very desirous of, and therefore sent for us to treat about the businesse; which that wee might the clearlier doe, wee told him it would be necessary he declar'd us freemen and gave us liberty to speak our minds freely, which he accordingly did before many

Prisoners set at
liberty.

auditors. Then wee told him what wee had severall times done formerly, that wee were but inferiour servants and therefore could doe nothing of this nature without special direction from Your Worshipp; but this wee were assured of by former experience, that our masters would never consent that an agreement should be made with any persons that their estates and servants have suffered by, without reperation be first made for the losses sustained;.....and that wee should but deceive him and abuse our selves to say any thing else to him. But he told us what was past must be forgotten, and that for the future never any such thing should happen againe, nor should wee ever suffer by his master to the value of a corne of rice losse; giving in severall reasons for what had happened.....as, his master then having warr with the King of Decan (which since is ended and they now certainly at amity), and therefore he robd his countrey; as allso the great necessity that then were upon him, occasioned by his warring with two potent kings and Oran Shaw having spoild him of great parts of his dominions etc., but now his master

Englishmen per-
suaded to trade
at Rajapur.

had no such great necessity depending; but although any such should happen again, yet he now was fully resolved never hereafter to commit the like outrages as formerly, and would give us his inviolable oath wee should never be any wayes injured againe; shewing us withall a writing from his master with his owne chop (*i.e.* seal) and others accustomed to it, as allso the print of the Rajah's hand on the top of the paper, done with sandall, declaring his resolve to tend

as prementioned. To all which wee answered that, in confidence of the truth of what he had alledged, wee did beleive our masters would be perswaded to trade againe to these ports, that are now in the Rajah's possession, provided reperation be made to their former losses; which wee hoped would be done, and assured him his master would not be a looser thereby. This was

Compensation
demanded by
Englishmen.

the substance of our discourse at first meeting; so he wisht us to returne againe to our lodging, and at night he would send us home to our owne house handsomly; which was performed last night accordingly. But before wee came from the Durbarr, where all the merchants were met, together with the chiefe officers of the towne, he obliged us to sweare that wee would not attempt to goe from Rajapore without his knowledge, untill the difference between his and our masters were composed; and that after he had promised to doe what in him lay to effect the same, he ingaged us to doe the like; which once being done (as wee hope speedily it will), he assured us of as great priviledges in all kinds as wee enjoyed formerly.

Rejoicings at the
release of the
English.

Wee then parted, being accompanied by all the merchants and most of the eminentest persons of the towne to our owne house with horses, trumpets, flaggs, and great concourse of people, all discovering great satisfaction for our happy returne."

7. An envoy for negotiations

The factors then ask in their letter of 6th Feb. 1663 that some one should be sent down, armed with full authority to conclude an agreement; and for this purpose they suggest the employment of Valji. No danger need be apprehended, as Raoji Pandit has given assurances on that point.

"Wee are thoroughly possest that, freindshipp being once concluded between us, wee may afterwards trade with safety in all Sevagys ports (having satisfaction for our former losses); for now it is certaine that the King hath given Sevagy a phirmaund for Rajapore etc. places that he is possest of, to enjoy the benefit thereof. But for our better

Phirmaund for
trade to be
obtained from
Bijapur.

security wee may get the Kings phirmaund to secure us in all parts of his dominions, and that (then?) wee shall be safe. At leastwise, if any thing should happen not suspected, the Company will have wayes enough to satisfie themselves, this being still part of the Kings dominions and Sevagy his subject; who, allthough (he) should be the veriest rogue in the world and have no regard to oath or promises so solemnly made, yet thoughts of their owne convenience will diswade them from breach thereof: for, if ever these should be violated, no persons would ever after beleive them or remaine in his country."

On Valji's arrival, Randolph Taylor proposes to reaire himself to Surat to give fuller information. It would not be wise to press for this at present, much less for their all being allowed to go. The factors believe that Shivaji would willingly allow the English to settle in his territories, if they would assist him in taking Danda Rajpuri. The two ships for Mokha will not, they hope, be interfered with, as it would be unwise to excite Shivaji's resentment; however, the factors do not wish their personal danger to be weighed against the general advantage, if unreasonable conditions should be demanded. They have drawn a bill on Surat for 200 rupees (at 360 rupees to 100 pagodas) to meet current necessities. They suggest that Valji should be sent down in a small vessel, and should bring a handsome present for Raoji Pandit, to be delivered privately.

"But¹ of this, and what else may be necessary to be treated of with said King, wee shall say more hereafter, or if your Worshippes will licence the same on Volgees coming hither and our concluding the businesse with Rougy, Randolph Taylor will reaire to Surat and discourse his knowledge in all things unto you. This he would gladly have done now, but it would not be admitted of readily, and wee thought it not convenient to presse much for it, much lesse for all

Valji to be sent
to Raoji.

1. Rajapur to Surat, 6 Feb. 1663, S. F. Rec. Surat, vol. 103.

our going to Surat, as your Worshippes of the 8th January, delivered us by Rougys, directs, to which letter wee have nothing else to reply. Wee beleive the Rajah would gladly afford the Company any place convenient for them in his possession, with severall other advantages, if they would assist him in the taking of Danda Rajapore Country, which if commanded by you, wee will discourse with Rougy about, but as yet have not said a word of that nature. There will 2 ships sail hence for Mocho, wee think both on the Rajah's

Resort to reprisals unnecessary.

account, unlesse the merchants purchase one of them and her lading, which we hear some talk of, and think they may lawfully doe, but wee hope thoughts of this apprehending will not diswade your Worship from a speedy conclusion of all things, least the Rajah should be incensed at any delay when he appears so willing of a reconciliation between us; but when it happens that things reasonable cannot be obtained, you shall find wee will not be afeard still to hazzard our lives rather than to consent to any unhandsome articles; but wee hope all will have a faire and happy conclusion, which God grant. The merchants of the Towne have appeared hugely zealous in our businesse, and therefore merit your thanks, which if given in a few lines from the President privately, it will be

Thanks to Rajapur merchants.

very well taken. They all desire to have their service presented to the President, and having heard of his fame and great esteeme of all men, are glad they have done anything that gives them hopes to partake of his friendship. It will be necessary that the copy of last Rajapore Bookes be sent us that wee may know the amount of the Companys losse, to which wee shall add all particular mens which there is occasioned, to discover the amount of all losses.

* * * *

If a small vessell can be spared to bring Velgee or the person that is sent hither, it will be more credible, and a good meanes to hasten the agreement; therefore wee hope one will be sent, as also that a handsome Piscash will be sent, on her for Rougy, which may not be lost in making up of

the businesse; but let it come privately and not to be delivered until wee find it convenient. Here is severall other officers in the towne that will expect something from us, which is but customary; therefore wee hope you will please likewise to send what necessary to give them, as allso household stuff, what may be necessary for our owne use. Wee are wholly disfurnished of all things, having not pots enough to boile our victualls in, and wee are unwilling to buy any thing here. What sent may remaine on the vessell untill our order for their disimbarking. All goods that usually vend in these parts will now sell very well. If you please to send any they may remaine on board untill the businesse with Rougy be concluded, or when it is not speedily effected and no safety for the landing here, they may be sent a little lower downe the coast and landed there; but wee doe not feare there will bee any occasion thereof."

8. Negotiations for compensation

Three or four days after this letter was dispatched, news reached Rajapur that the *Convertine* had arrived in Jaitapur Road; and thereupon Randolph Taylor and Giffard repaired to that vessel, leaving Richard Taylor and Ferrand behind as pledges for their return. Captain Tinker showed them his instructions regarding the seizure of the two ships in the river; but they pointed out the inadvisability of thus rupturing the negotiations for an agreement, and the danger to which Ferrand and his companion would be exposed by such action. These arguments, reinforced by consideration of the difficulty of the task (which involved the sending of boats some distance up the river) and the assurances the factors were able to give that as yet the vessels had nothing in them of value, induced Tinker to abandon the scheme much to the satisfaction of Taylor and his colleagues, who in reporting these events to Surat in a letter of 18 February, 1663, urged that a breach with Sivaji might endanger the factory at

Karwar. Valji, whose name had been suggested by the Rajapur factors as a suitable intermediary, was found to be on board the *Convertine*, having been sent by Oxenden to assist Tinker in the event of the ships at Jaitapur being captured. He had, of course, no authority as yet to negotiate; but he consented to accompany Taylor and Giffard to Rajapur, where he had an interview with Raoji Pandit. Valji affirmed as the factors had done, that no agreement was possible which excluded compensation for past losses; adding that the President and Council were determined to 'exact satisfaction and had given 'very severe orders' to the *Convertine*, which would have been executed but for the more favourable turn events had taken. After this interview at which Raoji Pandit was very civil, Valji returned to the *Convertine*, which then sailed (13 February) for Karwar.

"The 9th instant arrived the *Convertine* in Jettipore Road; there, understanding by a letter wee had kept below to be carried aboard any English shipp that was discovered neare the Port, of our being in Rajapore, they wrote a letter to us to come all aboard said shipp. The merchants understanding wee had a letter come, came to us, whom wee examined a little to learn Rougy's thoughts of our going downe, and gathered that he would not willingly consent to all our going untill the difference between us were agreed

Two factors go
with merchants
aboard the ship.

on, which was our thoughts too; so in short, two of us went downe, Vizt, R[andolph] T[aylor] and P[hilip] G[yfford], together with the merchants of the towne. At our coming aboard the Captain shewed us the commission he had for surprising of the two vessailes that are lading in the river, wherein, being no provision made for any accident that might intervene, he urged the necessity for following the same; to which wee answered that beside the discredit that would reflect upon our nation, if such a thing were done, after wee had past our words to indeavour a reconciliation between our masters and Sevagy (which all these spectators would think wee had falcified in procuring what

now should happen, seeing no such thing was acted before our release and Rougy having promised to doe the same, nay absolutely that wee should have satisfaction, wee say besides this (which your Worships may say is only to shun the appearance of evill, which is not discommendable), wee alledged two English mens being aboard, which in our judgments would loose their lives if this were practized (as wee might all have done, had not our accidentall letter prevented the execution thereof), which to your Worshipps reason may seeme improbable would have happened; but our opinion is as prementioned. But the most diswasive argument was the small matter the vessailes had then in them (omitting the danger and difficulty there would have been in taking them with boates), being very inconsiderable, having only some rice for ballast, and litle sandall wood and some coarse black cloth, all the fine goods being ashore at Rajapore, and 20,000 Pagodas worth not then come downe, which together will make the shipps very rich, they say worth 50 or 60,000 Pago: But then having so small a matter aboard as aforesaid, it was by a generall consultation concluded best to desist from thoughts of taking the vessells, since there might be farr better oppertunities for regaining our right, in case it could not be procured by faire meanes, which if could, wee are sure would be much better, seeing there appeares no improbability of Sevagy's gaining further on the coast, and then without freindshipp with him there will be no safety in staying at Carwar, for that traitorous blade Rustum Jeamah (who is owner of that towne as he was of Rajapore) will easily consent to the robbing thereof as he did of this, and then the English if not at amity with Sevagy, must suffer amongst the rest, and afterwards Rustum Jeamah laugh in his sleeve, as now he doth, that he can finely play the rogue underhand and thinks no body dessernes his villany; but this may be said to looke a great way of [f]. However, if satisfaction can be had on peaceable tearmes, wee conclude it will be best pleasing, and therefore advised Velgy to goe upp with us to Rougy and talk with him about the businesse, which the merchants assuring he might safely doe, he accompanied

us up, where Rougy was civill to him and discourst to him what he had formerly done to us, and Valji visits Raoji. Velgee answered much to the same purpose as wee had done, that our masters must and would have the mony, and added that in default thereof and the provocat-ions given them by so many abuses offerr'd their servants, the President had given very severe orders unto that shipp he was come on, but in regard they had notice of his intentions to make satisfaction for all, the execution of part thereof was suspended, but that would fall the heavier on him and his countrey, if a speedy conclusion were not made to satisfy the President, and to that end had wrote to him, whose answer might come in 20 dayes, at which time if he would call here againe, hoped, all things might be composed, and so Velgy, staying only a few houres with him and being civilly treated, departed, and the 13th in the morning the shipp set saile in prosecution of her voyage.

"Wee have since the shipp's departure had some dis-
course with Rougy at what time have told him how
necessary it will be for him, if he desires the
good and settlement of the countrey, to conclude
this businesse; in answer to which wee perceive
his drift is to perswade us to receive satisfac-
tion out of the customes of the towne, wee to receive half
and he half, untill wee are satisfied; but wee tell him wee
are sure this proposition will not be accepted, and unless he
thinks of some other way, you will goe a nearer way to
work; which if happen so, he must not blame us. He bids
us stay untill the President's answer comes, and then wee
shall conclude on something."

"In the meane time, before the *Convertine's* returne
wee beleive his vessells will be gone for Mocho, and not
knowing if they returne safe, whether he will
afterwards be brought to reasonable condi-
tions, it would be hugely necessary that they
were laid out for. If this be concluded on (and against
their returne) there must be at least two or three vessells
employed in the business, for it's probable Rougy may
enorder their returne to some other port and not Rajapore,

Proposal of shar-
ing the Rajapur
customs.

Raoji's ships to
be seized.

as Carapatam, Sattolly, Dabull or Kelsy;¹ but if two vessells could be appointed to ply before Carapatam, Rajapore and Sottoly, and another before Dabull and Kelsey, in all likelihood they would be met with, which if should happen soe, it would be convenient a perfect list were taken of all things that are found in any of them, which may be had from the cheife, of the shippes and vessells by demanding one of him, and telling him that if afterwards any more or lesse be found than what he gives account, it will be worse for him. And having thus obteyned a perfect account, if there be occassion for restoration, nothing can be demanded more than said list or account specifies.

“Wee heare there is three vessells from Dabull and one from Achara² for Persia and Muskat, and should be glad if any of them could be met; for, if the businesse with Rougy be not speedily concluded on, wee hope to get all away before notice comes, of anything that is done, and that without falcifying our words unto him. But for the better effecting of that wee hope the *Convertine* will touch here againe at her returne... Wee hope the President will be positive in his answer to Rougy's letter, in case he sends no man downe to treat so the businesse. Wee beleive the whole amount of what lost will be 23 or 24,000 pago(das)...besides interest, the losse of two mens³ lives, and our two yeares imprisonment.”

Seizure of Dabhol
Ships.

9. Removal of English Factors from Rajapur

A Surat letter (Surat to Co. O. C. Vol. 28, No. 2975) to the Company, dated 8 April 1663, after narrating the *Convertine's* visit to Jaitapur, makes the following observations:

“As wee design'd it, the *Convertine* putting into Rajapore Road, blockt up the two vessells that were to voyage for the Red Sea, which brought the Governor and the rest

1. Kelshi, 15 miles north of Dabhol.

2. 10 miles north of Malvan.

3. Refers to the death of Richard Napier and Samuel Barnard who died at Rajapur.

of the inhabitants of the town to suffer Mr. Taylor, accompanied with some of them, to goe aboard the shipp, indeed to prevent their vessells seizure,¹ which Mr. Taylor did perswade for; so she sail'd thence, and at her returne brought of both Mr. Randolph Taylor and Richard Taylor, leaving Mr. Gyfford and Mr. Ferrand behind, but at liberty to keep house in town, that our next care must be to get them to us, wherein wee will use our indeavours."

Taylor's departure is mentioned in a letter from Giffard at Rajapur, dated 30 March 1663, which shows also that Oxenden had promptly answered the appeals addressed to him.

"Yours of the 24th February...came to my hands the 18 March, with the inclosed letters to Rougy and the merchants, which immediately delivered them; upon perusall whereof they seemed much satisfied. I likewise told him (according to your order) you did not think us free till wee might come and goe when and where wee pleased, or, where ordered from Surat, without any ingagements; upon which he declared before the merchants that, if you did not think us at liberty here, wee might goe, upon your next letter, where you thought wee might be more at liberty, but he hoped that Mr. Taylor's going to Surat would remove all such suspicions; protesting all his aime and desire was to settle this port, which he hoped was your intentions likewise. He propounded, as the speediest way likewise to end differences, that a Banian might be sent with full power to treat on the businesse. Yesterday Rougy Pundit went for Chiploon; but before he departed he deliver'd me the inclosed for the President...He said, at his going out of towne, he would returne in four dayes; but its thought he intends to visit his master at Raihgur before his returne."

We are aware that Revington was set free on account of his illness and he returned to Surat ruined and broken in

1. These statements are unwarranted by the letter of 18th Feb. given before. The Surat Councillors evidently desire to win the appreciation of their masters by putting this interpretation.

health. Unfortunately he did not survive long and died at Surat within a short period. On 12th December 1662 a consultation was held at Surat where it was recorded that he had died intestate and heavily indebted, by reason of his losses in the Deccan.

It has been seen that in January 1663 the other English merchants were set at liberty at Rajapur and in March the two Taylors were permitted to go to Surat on the *Convertine*. Sometime after, Messrs Giffard and Ferrand, the remaining two prisoners at large at Rajapur, escaped to Goa whence they went over to Surat.¹ The news of their release and the condition of the Rajapur trade in the beginning of 1664, is conveyed to the Company in the following letter:—

“What² you write us of Mr. Revington wee have in a former long since spoake too, and by what wee can gather there was more of passion then reason in the differences that did arise; but death hath parted them and therefore have only this to say that the surviving person hath the advantage as uncontrould, whereas, if God had pleased to spare the other, by what wee can learne, hee would have approved himself deserveing your service. Those surviving, as Mr. Randolph Taylor, Mr. Richard Taylor, Mr. Gyfford and Mr. Farrand, wee have since redeemed. The condition of Rajapore and the inland marts being now in a confused manner in the possession of rebells and dayly new commotions in the land doth dissuade us from engaging our selves in commerce, for wee can have no other assurance then the word of a Theife or a Rebelle; and so wee leave them untill wee shall have a further occasion to speake of those people and the condition they are in at present.”

The same complaint as to the dullness of trade is made again in the Surat letter to Co., dated 28th January 1664.

“The condition of Rajapore and the inland marts,

1. Pp. 148 ff. *supra*.

2. A General Letter from George Oxinden and Henry Gary to the Company, dated Swally Marine, 28th January 1664. O. C. Vol. 28. No. 3019,

being now in a confused manner in the possession of rebels, and dayly new commotions in the land, doth dissuade us from engaging our selves in commerce, for wee can have no other assurance then the word of a theif or a rebell."

It is now evident that the quarrel between Shivaji and the English could not be amicably settled by the end of 1663. The Surat Council commissioned Mr. Taylor to capture Shivaji's ships, but at the same time they felt that they were incapable of avenging themselves upon him.

10. The English helpless against Shivaji

The commission delivered to Taylor, dated 9 October, 1663 is an interesting document. It begins by referring to his sufferings at the hands of

"That perfidious rebell Savage, against whome as yet wee have not had either conveniency of force or tyme, since you were all freed from your bonds; which is the reason wee have desisted from calling him to an accompt. But forbearance is no acquittance. Wee are resolved to vindicate our masters wrongs and your sufferings so soone as wee can be provided for them; for as yet wee are altogether uncapable, for want of shipping and men necessary for such an enterprize. Wherefore *Patientia*."

The English were consequently forced to rely on peaceful negotiations for obtaining compensation for the losses suffered by them at Rajapur during the loot of the town. These were, however, protracted over the unusually long period of twenty years and more. The documents relating to the various stages of the negotiations will be given in subsequent chapters.

11. Confirmatory Evidence

A few more extracts from Original Correspondence at the India Office throw light on the topics dealt with in the previous pages.

"Yesterday came to my handes the inclosed from Mr. Randall Taylor &c., prisoners in Rair Castle, which I communicated to my Lord Marleburg who with myselfe much condoles their condition, and would give any possible assistance to their enlargement, but as the case now stands, he conceives our handes to be bound, that wee cannot act anything, but if wee shall receive any orders from you upon our returne from Goa, hee will be willing to doe anything, that may bee, in the meantime they shall not want anything that wee have to supply them, thus begging pardon for my prolixity I humbly take leave to remain.¹"

"I have now only to add that yesterday there came aboard us one Mr. Mathew Noele from Chaull who tells us that hee was sent thither by Mr. Andrewes in order to the reliefe of Mr. Randall Taylor &c., the Company's servants at Rojapore. Hee brought us letters from the said Mr. Taylor giving a relaçon of their imprisonment, and likewise a way proposed for their release by intercepting the Queen of Vizapore, remaining now incognita at Chaull. My Lord, being unacquainted with the nature of this affaire and unwilling to doe anything without your Worship's advice, hath sent you their papers under Captain Browne's covert, expecting your Worship's answer; having his hands full of his owne busin ess and little inclination to embroyle himselfe in such a concernment. I have taken care to send them those necessities they write for and should bee very glad to serve them in any thing I could, both as my Countrymen and fellow servants.²"

"For what concerne the prisoners at Rojapore, I have answered Mr. Nowell that I must bee advised by you concerning that and other matters, I have willed Captain Browne to inlarge to you I would I were with you or at least from hence, where I can neither eat nor drinke, our men alsoe fall downe apace.³"

1. Extract from O. C. 2939, dated 20th September 1662, from Arnold Browne per ship Dunkirke in the road of Bombay.

2. Extract from O. C. 2941, dated 26th September 1662, from G. Aungier aboard the ship Dunkirke in Bombay Road.

3. Extract from O. C. 2942, dated 6th Octr. 1662. Copie of the Earl of Marleburgh's letter Recd. 8th Octr, 1662.

"To our great sorrow our Rojapore Friends are betrayed into the hands of a Tyrant Rebell for whose Redemption wee would gladly use all possible meanes and doe heartily recommend to your Lordships their deplorable condicon beseeching you to use such indeavours as they propose to you, onely that a respect may be had to the expence of time which is very pretious, and will wast apace, therefore wee not further enlarge, that wee may hasten these to you with the tender of the services of my Lord. ¹"

"And for Phillip Gifford, Mr. Toylor &c., who were in hold by that Rebbell Sevagee, wee hope you have found some way to release them from their bondage, which if you have not alreadie done, wee seriously recommend it to your care, and effectual performance. ²"

1. Extract from O. C. 2949 dated 8th Octr, 1662, Swallie Marine from Geo. Oxinden, Jo. Lambton, Jo. Goodjer, Hen Gary

2. Extract from L. B. Vol. 3, page 292, dated London 10th August 1663, from the Court of Directors,

CHAPTER VII

The First Sack of Surat, 1664

1. Description of Surat

Surat, the "city of the Sun," or the "gate of Mecca," was the premier port of the Mogul Empire in the latter half of the 17th century. It was the greatest commercial centre in India for the distribution of the Persian, Arabian, Egyptian, African, Chinese and European commodities. Besides, it was the principal entrepot for the products of Gujerat and the Malabar coast on the one hand, and for the inland produce as far as Patna, Agra, Lahore, Cashmir, Golconda, Bijapur, and the Carnatic on the other. No other port could rival its traffic, wealth, prosperity, and culture. Copland (1611-14) found in it many stone and brick houses which were fair, square, and flat roofed. The city was adorned with goodly gardens full of various fruits continuing all the year round. The people were "grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly, clothed in long white callico or silk robes." Surat could use everything from whatever quarter of the globe it might come. Hence, it was "one of the most eminent cities for trade in all India."¹

2. Preliminary remarks

To take revenge upon Aurangzeb who had sent his foremost generals with vast armies to crush his rising power, the despised "Mountain Rat" proved himself to be a veritable "Mountain Lion". While Raja Jaswant Singh, the leader of a hundred thousand Rathor soldiers, was battering the frowning rocks of the "Lion's Fort", Shivaji, despising his timid and

1. Author's Commercial Relations between India and England, p. 17.

tardy methods of warfare, pounced upon Surat¹. One of the richest and fairest cities of the Mogul Empire was plundered, devastated and left in ruins within a week. Thus 'Surat' (fine figure) was made "Besurat" or disfigured. Shivaji had long wished to pull Aurangzeb's beard and now his wish was fulfilled.

It seems passing strange that an army of 8,000 men should continue to plunder and burn the city for four days, without the least opposition from a large population of two lakhs. The Europeans alone defended themselves against Shivaji's troopers. The Moslems, both Indians and foreigners, including all the Moslem officials, were so much terrified at Shivaji's appearance, that they either fled away or tamely submitted themselves to pillage and maltreatment. The remarks of Guarda do not seem to be exaggerated when he says that "at the break of dawn Shivaji divided his army into four parties and ordered them to attack the city on all sides shouting his name, which was the most formidable battery. He was not mistaken, for it was heard (with the same terror as is excited when) a furious tiger enters a herd of cows."

The sack of Surat is really remarkable for the secrecy of execution, the intrepidity of the invader, and the brilliant success of Shivaji's strategy. It can well bear comparison with the loot of Delhi by Nadir Shah, though there is one striking difference between the two sacks. Nadir Shah, at the least provocation given him by the murder of his few soldiers, ordered a wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants of Delhi, but Shivaji was himself attacked by an assassin employed by the cowardly Governor and he rolled with his murderer together on the ground in a pool of blood, yet

1. For Marathi accounts see Chitnis, p. 72; Sabhasad, 53-4.

he was the first to forbid the slaughter of the few prisoners who were in his camp.

It should be remembered that Shivaji sent two envoys and a letter to the Governor inviting him to come to him with three prominent merchants of the city and settle the terms of ransom with him. The Governor and the citizens did not accept this offer and therefore Shivaji gave the town up to plunder.¹ It was not, however, an indiscriminate pillage, for Shivaji spared the monastery of the Christian² fathers and the mansion of the late multi-millionaire, Mohandas Parikh³ who had won fame by his liberal charities.

3. Preparations for the defence of the English Factory

When the hot alarm of the approaching army of Shivaji, the grand rebel of the Deccan, was brought to the English Factors at Surat, Sir George Oxinden and others held a meeting of the Council on the 6th of January, 1664. The minutes of that day's consultation give us an idea of the preparations made for the defence of their Factory.

"When⁴ wee were in good forwardness in the dispatch of the Europe and Bantam ships.....the 5th of this month comes an hot alarme of that grand rebell Town deserted. Sevage's approach to Gundave, and expected hourly to fall upon the towne. The President thereupon called his Councell and with as much composedness as the distracted time would permit, made these propositions, the people in the town having already left their houses and fled in clusters, with their wives and children, to secure their lives and what they could carry away with them:

1st. Cojah Minaz having made his request to the Presi-

1. Sarkar's statement that the governor sent out an agent to treat with Shivaji for terms of ransom, is not borne out by any document. Escalot puts that interpretation upon the visit of the agent.

2. Escalot, Thevenot and Carre have referred to it

3. Bernier, 188.89.

4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 2. Consulation in Surat the 6th January 1663-4.

dent to receive back againe the broad cloth which hee had
 Goods of Cojah repacked and sorted ready to transport up
 Minaz taken into into the country, and then lay before the
 the English Custom House it was debated and held to
 Factory be our safest course to consent to his pro-
 posall, in regard our howse was better able to preserve
 it then his was; in the interim he giving us an instrument
 under his hand that in case wee should be, by the force
 of enemies, plundered, the loss of the broad cloath should
 be upon his account and not on the Companys, but he
 notwithstanding should be liable to make satisfaction,
 according to the bargaine made with him.

2nd. The President propounded it necessary to write
 to the severall ships in Swally-hole to send
 us what men and armes they could spare
 by their long boats and the Companys hoighs,
 for our better defence, which was readily
 consented to.

3rd. The severall dyers and beaters having brought to
 our gates sundry percells of cloth, entreating
 the President to receive them, it was con-
 cluded reasonable; first, in regard wee had
 imprested money on them; and secondly,
 because our howse was better able to secure them from
 fire then theirs.

4thly. It was unanimously resolved without delay to
 fortifie our howse and to hazard the last life in defence of
 our Honble Masters estate. And having re-
 commended ourselves to the protection of
 the Almightie (who only was able to deliver
 us), the President employed his utmost care and prudence
 in strengthening all defective places, quartering his people
 in the severall avenues where the enemy could most offend
 us and appointing a strict watch day and night.

All which being consented to with one heart by the
 subscribers, every one betooke themselves to their respec-
 tive charge, humbly beseeching the Almightyes assistance and
 blessing on their endeavours.

4. Diary of the Loyal Merchant

We first give the account of the surprise attack of Surat to be found in the Log of the Loyal Merchant¹ then lying at Swally. It is partly, of course, based on hearsay.

"Januarie 5. This day at 3 after noone came downe newes from the President of Savages, a great robber, being within 10 or 12 miles of Surat; soe required English soldiers called up from Mr. James to desire the commanders to send up 40 men armed to guard the Companies stock. Soe we sent up 10 men compleately armed.

January 6. This afternoone at half past two another boate came from the President that life and goods are all at stake; so desired to send up all our men Plunder of Surat. except 10, with our longboats and skiffs; but by consultation did not think that fitting, so sent up 20 men more armed, and out of the other ships 22 more. That night the rogue gott into the towne and began to sett itt on fire, and fell to plundering. The men gott all safe into the English house: with those that were above before, (they) made up some 150 English and some 50 peones; (who) were resolved to defend the towne, the cowardly Governour haveing ranne into the English Factory. Castle and left the towne to be plundred, there being some 20,000 men and upwards in the towne, none standing to there defence butt the English and Dutch.

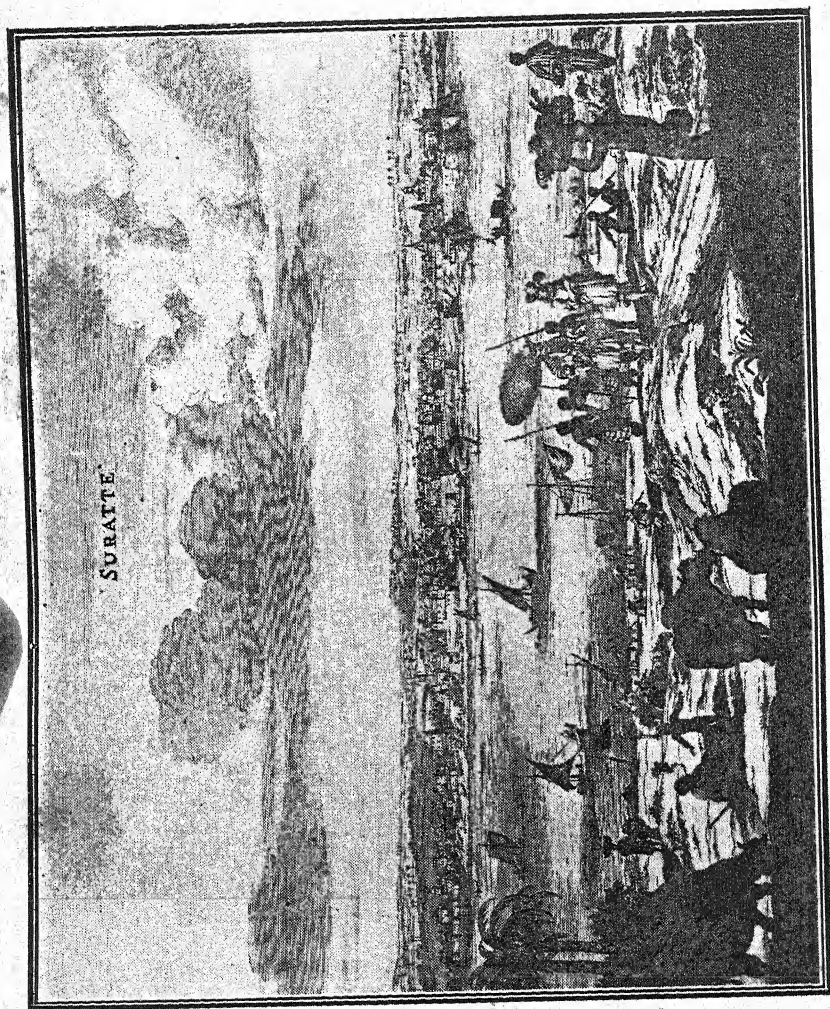
January 7. The enemy fired and plundered the towne; and comeing to fire aboute the English quarter, the English sallied out and killed three men and a horse; Skirmish between the English and Maratha soldiers. and from that time they forbore any more to molest the English; wee and the rest of the shipps haveing sent up 100 men, and there was in the English house some 50 English and some 60 (sic) peones; soe that there was in all some 210. In

1. Orme MSS. No. 263, pp. 23-4.



Shivaji, the Indian Hannibal.

(From Orme's Fragments).



Surat about 1680

(From Baldassus' East India, 1708).

all the English did behave themselves gallantly, which made the Armenians and other strangers stand on their defence; butt amongst them all noe party soe considerable to sally out to repulse them, hee wasteing with fire all the towne except the English quarters aboute them, and soe continued plundering without resistance, scorning to carry any thing away but gold, silver, pearles and diamants, and such pretious wares. The 10 at night, after (hee) had committed many cruelties, haveing destroyed $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the towne with fier and cutt of severall heads and hands, haveing had Mr. Anthony Smith prisoner, whom after 3 daies hee released for 350 (sic) rupees, haveing certified him that hee would cutt of his head, and hee had surely dyed, if a plot¹ had taken

An assassin attempts to murder

Shivaji.

effect, which was murthering of Sevagee, a Moore stabbing att him, whose hands was cutt off before (hee) could give the blowe; hee closeing with the Generall, being all bloody, they tumbling downe, blooded the Generall; soe his men thought hee had been slaine, and the word was given to kill all the prisoners; butt the Moore being killed immediately, the Generall forbad the execution, Soe at night;

Shivaji forbade the execution of prisoners.

hee having notice of some forces that were acomeing against him, haveing sufficiently enriched himselfe, haveing by report carried away with him above a million and halfe of mony (Suratt not having been soe rich, not in many yeares before), hee departed, with the curses of many undone people. This unhappy disaster did obstruct all our businesse wee being forced to lay aside all businesse, haveing spared most part of our men.

The 17th, the King's army being in the towne, the President came downe with the applauses of all the townes people, the Governour of the towne being as much derided and scorned; for if hee had not gon into the Castle, hee might in all reason have saved the towne. At his comeing out of the Castle the people derided him and flung dirt at

Governor scorned by the people.

1. The Bhakkars don't make a mention of this plot.

him; for which his sonne shott a poor Bannian that was just come over the water with his packe on his backe, with an arrowe in at his mouth and killed him; sheweing the insulting pride and basenesse of those people, that Bannian that durst not doe him any injurie. The people of Suratt (were) still terrefied with fresh alarums

Exploits of Mala-
bar pirates.

of the rogue comeing; all being ready to leave the towne, and would, were it not for the English and Dutch. The Dutch had two peons killed; they not vent(u)ring themselves out, but sent out there servants. There was in this season the Malabars came up to the rivers mouth and tooke a boate (in) which a Moore had saved his estate; wherein they tooke much wealth; which caused an alarum by the feare of those poore Bannians that Sivagees men had sett the Buzar on fier, Soe I had 40 men, well armd, ashoare, but found no opposition, there feares not giveing them leave to beeleeve what they saw with there owne eyes was not soe."

5. Account by the Surat Council

Here ¹ is a short account of the exploit given in a letter of the President and Council of Surat to Richard Cradock and factors in Persia, dated Swally Marine 22 January, 1663-4 with Postscript of 4 February.

"The *Loyall Merchant* and *Affrican* are now almost in a readinesse to saile, who undoubtedly would have had a more timely dispatch, had wee not been **Losses of Surat.** impeded by an incursion Sevagy made lately in this place, where hee by fire hath destroyed thousand(s) of houses and robb'd many of these people (it is generally reported) to the amount of a Crue (*sic?* crore) of rupees in money, goods, pearls and jewells.

Wee soe defended our selves and the Honble. Companys house, as that not only it escaped that Feinds fury, but likewise all the part of the citty round **Company's loss.** about us, though wee cannot but acquaint you that our Masters will bee losers, who haveing at that time

a great many goods upon Castle Green, divers of their bales were stolen away from thence before wee could send men to secure them...*Postscript.* The vessail that carryed these unto you,

Ships delayed. though ready to saile from date of the preceeding part hereof, hath been here thus long retardated giving us oppertunity to acquaint you that the ships *Loyall Merchant* and *Affrican* had their dispatches, and sailed hence for England the 29th of the passed month, whose late dispeed hence, hath been occationed by the devastation of this City of Surratt lately per Sevagy, as prementioned in, obstructing all trade for many days and caphilaes from bringing down our goods. And since our former date, upon a rumour that Sevagy was

Rumour of Shivaji's return. returning thither againe, the people all fled out of the towne in a greater flight then at his first comeing, secureing their moneyes and goods in the Castle and Castle ditch, and vessailes in the river. His cruelty hath been soe great in cutting off hands and heads, that the terrour of his name is become soe great to these people, that upon every rumour of his comeing, the people will bee apt to leave the towne, if the King take not care to secure them with an army."

6. Gary's Description

A brief relation of the exploit from a letter of Henry Gary written to the Earl of Marlborough, dated Surat 25 Jan. 1663/4, is interesting for its brevity and lively indignation of the "Fiend's fury." We shall see how later on Gary himself extols Shivaji to the skies.

"I shall not omit to acquaint your Lordship what lately happened to this place. Savagee, the grand rebell to the King of Decan, came here the 6th of this instant, with a considerable army, horse and foote, entring the Towne before the Governor scarce had any notice of his approache. He made a great destruction of houses by fire, upwards of 3000, and caryed a vast treasure away with him, it is credibly reported near unto ten millions of rupees. He summoned us to compound with him for our lives (as he

did the Dutch), but Sir George returned the messenger with an answer that he scorned him and that if he sent him any more messengers, they should never return again. Both the Companys house and my own (which adjoins unto it) were well furnished with mariners, well armed, who divers times sallied out upon his people that came to set fire to our neighbours houses and killed divers of them, by which means our own houses were not only preserved from the fiends furie, but likewise all the part of the Towne round about us, which hath got us much honour, divers of the great ones having advized the King Orangzeb thereof, as on the contrary they have complained of the Governor, who so soon as he had brought him the news of this rebells approach, shamefully run and hid himself in the Castle. The Dutch never sallied out though kept their house stoutly. This villain had the plunder of this place for four whole days, from Wednesday morning untill Saturday at four in the afternoon, in which interime he committed many cruelties by cutting off of mens hands that could not give him so much money as he demanded; six and twenty did one of our principall Factors (that was then his prisoner, but escaped miraculously, Mr. Anthony Smith) see cut off in a morning, besides many heads."

7. Narration of events by Sir G. Oxenden

The full description of the attack on Surat is to be found in the original letter¹ from Sir George Oxenden, the President, and his Council (28 January, 1664.)

"Just as wee had proceeded thus farr, being the 6th of January, the day appointed for our going to Swally to hasten the ships dispatch, some 3 or 4 houres before our intentions to proceed on our journey, was brought us a hot alarme that Sevogee, the grand rebell of Deccan, was within 10 or 15 miles of the towne. This sudden surprise stricke such a terrour to all, both men, woemen and children that the Governour and the rest of the Kings ministers and eminent

People flee in
consternation.

1. E. F. 1661-1664. Pp. 298-304, and Forrest's Home Series, Vol. I, p. 24

merchants betooke themselves to the Castle; which the townes folkes perceiuing left their houses and whatever belonging to them and fled with their wives and children, some upon the river in vessayls and boates, some to the out villages, that in a few howers the whole towne was dispeepled, excepting that part of the towne about us, in hopes of our protection. Wee presently sent for forty men from the ships to our assistance, that came to us the next morning early, with whom wee your factors (and) servants joyned,

The English
make a show of
their strength,

and haveing drawn them out in ranke and file, with drum and trumpet, your President in the head, march(ed) through the body of the towne to the green before the Castle,

where the Governour was, ready to pop in upon the first notice of their approach. Wee past close by him and soe marcht on, taking a great circle round, that the enemy was at the gates before wee could reach our house¹. The next newes was the rebell had sent two men and a letter, requireing the Governour, Hodgee Zaed Beague (Haji Said Beg), Virgee² Vorah, and Hodgee Cosum (Haji Kasim),

Shivaji demands
ransom for the
city.

the three eminent merchants and mony'd men in the towne, to come to him in person immediately and conclude with him else he immediately threatened the whole town

with fyre and sword; which hee presently put in practice, not receiveing a present answer, and that day being the 5th (6th?), at night uninterrupted

On not receiving
any reply, Shivaji
opens fire on the
Fort.

comes before the Castle and entrencht himselfe, and with his musketeers began to play upon the Castle, wee beleive with no expectations to take it, but to keepe in and frighten

the Governour and the rest that had got in, as also the souldyers of the Castle from sallying out upon them, whilst the others plundered and fired. In this interims

Pourparlers with
the English
Factory.

Mr. Anthony Smith, coming from Swally, was met with and carryed to Sevagee (for it is

certainely believed it was hee in person), who tooke 300

1. Cf. Dagb Register, *Infra*,

2. Cf. O. C. 3157—16th March, 1665-66,

rupees ransome of him and sent him the next day to menace us. But before that wee had received many threats, but wee still bid him keepe his people out of the reach of our gunns, else wee would shoot them. Hee retourned answere wee were friends. Wee replied: if so, why did (hee) detain an English man, take a horse out of our stable, and make fences of our goods that lay before the custome house, and also suffered them to bee plundered? All these things speake him an enemy, and therefore the

Shivaji demands
homage from the
English.

President retourned answere wee would not trust him, or admit of any further treaty, and therefore hee should send us no more messages; if hee did, wee would kill the messenger. Wee had almost omitted to let you know, amongst these embassies hee sent to us to demaund homage, which wee presently concluded was to surrender all wee had and that a part would not serve his tourne, and that if wee refused it, hee would raze our house to the ground and not spare a life. Wee replied wee were here on purpose to maintaine your house to the death of the last man, and therefore not to delay his comeing upon us. By this time hee had broken open Hodgee Zaeds house and had one nights plunder out of it; which being soe very neare us, as one wall to part both houses, wee feared they would strengthen that place and afterward annoy us and by their multitudes force their way or undermine and blow us up, and that seeing they did begin with their horse and foote to surround us, some of them then standing under our ewes for no

The English
sally out.

good. Wee caused a party of foote to sally forth the house and fight them, in which scuffle wee had three men slightly wounded, our men slew a horse and man, some say two or three, but wee routed them; this good success animated us yet further to clear our quarters of them, and heareing that they had taken up their randevouz in a muskeet (masjid) or Moores church joyneing close to our house, and also in Hodge Zaeds house and warehouses (haveing out of feare of us not done him the quarter of the mischeife they intended him,) whilst our men were cleareing the muskeet, they in

the house and warehouses opened the doores and fled. Soe wee shut up the doors and barracadoed them and made a passage from our into his house, and kept a garri-son in a belcony that cleared all the street, and guarded all the other house of this Hodjees. When the rebell had heard what was past of the killing and routing his guards, hee falls at threatening Mr. Smith, sometimes with the losse of his head, and sometime to cutt of his hands, and at last causes him to write a note to the

Shivaji and
Mr Smith.

President that, if wee persisted in fighting against him, hee would raze our house to the ground and bee our destruction. By this time wee had more assistance from the ships; wherefore the President wrote (wee would persecute what wee had begun, and not at all moved at his threate requireing him to save the labour of his servants running too and fro on messages and come himselfe with all his army. The next day hee sent) Mr. Smith upon his peroll, with an Armenian that hee had plundered and another of his servants, with another message to us and the Dutch, with offers of peace, promising to accept of what wee shall present him with; which if wee shall not accept, first hee will plunder and fire the towne, and then set upon us: to which wee retourned answere that Mr. Smith belonged to us and wee would not part with him now hee was in our custody, and that there was neither faith or trust in him, but a perfidious rebell, and therefore, wee would not trust him. From that time none of his party dared to come neare us, but continued a

great deale of tyranny and cruelty to the
Plunder of Surat. townes men, cuting off the hands of some and the heads of others,¹ day and night robbing and burning downe the citty, untill the 11th, which day hee made a generall fire round about the towne, which had likely to have destroyed the Dutch house, it standing amoung tyled and thatcht howses more then your doth, that they were surrounded with flames;² but they escaped, now standing quasi alone with

1. Takakhava and Keluskar defend Shivaji's conduct as a retaliatory measure and usual practice in that age.

2. Confirms the Dutch account.

but a very few houses neare it. But our quarters are all preserved neare a quarter of a mile round, soe fearefull were the villaines of comeing neare our house againe after the first. (losse) they sustained. Soe that you may please to take notice that the greatest part of the towne is burnt to the ground, but what wee preserved; for which the inhabitants are very thankfull in their acknowledgements, blessing and praiseing our nation, ascribing all to the valour of our companyes, who now and then did sally out even to the gates of the Castle.

'The 12 (of January) by the comeing in of his spies that brought him intelligence of an approaching army, hee left the towne and retourned the way hee came, guarding his spoile from the persuite of anythat should follow him. Hee hath carryed away in gold, pearle, precious stones and other rich goods to the valew of many hundred thousand pounds², and burnt of other goods and houses to the amount of as much more, so that the towne is utterly ruin'd and very little left either of riches or habitation. The Rogue was very cruell. Mr. Smith, in the time

1. E. F. 1661-64. Pp. 301-306. Forrest's H. S. I. 25-6

2. Kincaid is grossly inaccurate when he states that 'property worth several thousand pounds' was gathered by Shivaji. Vol. I, p. 206.

i. The *Sabhasad* says that in all goods worth five crores of Hons and 4 thousand horse had been carried away". P. 66. *Chilnis* (72)—"worth crores of rupees,"

Rawlinson quotes the *Sabhasad* with approval. P. 71.

ii Henry Gary in his latter dated 25 Jan. 1664 writes that the amount of plunder carried away was 'credibly reported neere unto tean millions of rupees.'

iii Consul Lannoy at Aleppo heard that the amount was 'above one million of pounds sterling.' (Report of Finch. Mss. Vol. I, 313)

iv A letter of 28th Feb. 1664 speaks of "many hundreds of thousand pounds," as in Bernier p. 188.

v 'A crore of rupees' is the sum mentioned in the letter of 22nd Jan, to Persia.

vi The Log of the Loyal Merchant has the words 'above a million and halfe of money.' Orme Mss.

vii Khafi Khan writes: "Shivaji took from Surat an immense booty, in gold and silver, coined and uncoined, Millions in money and goods came into the hands of that evil infidel."

of his imprisonment, was present when hee cut of more then 26 hands in one day, and many heads. Who ever hee was that was taken and brought before him, who could not redeeme himselfe, lost either his hand or his head; and his manner was first to plunder and then to cause the owner of his house to give him something over and above to redeeme his house from being burnt, and yet the perfidious villaine would fire it afterwards, although hee had obliged himselfe to the contrary.

Wee are now endeavouring to improve this skirmage of ours to your proffitt by the acclamations of the townes people, as well they that are sufferers as those whose houses were preserved; who, laying aside their owne losses, cry out in thousands for a reward from the King to the English, that had by their courage preserved them, when those to whome they were entrusted, as the Governour etc., dared not shew his head.

The English endeavour to make the best of the incident.

Wee were with the noblemen of the army that came to our releife, from whome wee received great thanks for the good service wee did the King and the country; whereupon your President, haveing a pistoll in his hand, laid it before the Chiefe, saying with that hee did now lay downe his armes, leaveing the future care and protection of the citty to them; which was exceedingly well taken, telling the President hee did accept it, and in reward of the good service hee must give him a horse, a vest, and girt a sword about him; but your President told him these were things becomeing a souldier, but wee were merchants, and expected favour from the King in our trade. Hee replied what hee spoke of was intended from himselfe

viii. J. Ovington:—This was the unhappy condition of Surat, An, 1664. When Rajah Sivagy plundered it for Forty Days together, carried off in Gold, Silver and Jewels *an infinite Sum*, without sparing any part of it, but the habitations of the English and French, and the Castle, who defended themselves with their Canon, "A voyage to Surat in the year 1689," P. 187.

ix. *Valentyne*.—The loss was three crores of rupees...Shivaji carried away an immense amount of plunder.

x. *Guarda*.—Plunder was carried away on 900 bullocks,

ix. *Orme*.—A million sterling. P. 13

xii. *Carre*.—Found in only one city all the riches of the East.

as a souldier, and that hee did not doubt but that the King, when hee should bee advised of the service wee did him, would gratifie us to our content. Whereupon your President hinted to him his expectations to have the Customes remitted you, as a signall of the King's

Proposal of
having the
custom duty
remitted.

grace and favour; and it would animate us hee yet further serviceable to him upon all occasions. This wee have with a petition sent up to the King, backt with the affirmations of the Generall of the Army; the

King's publique and private intelligencers (for hee maintains both in towne), the Shawbunder, etc., and also taken care that it bee inceased from the Governour of Ahmada-bad, who is this King's uncle; besides severall letters your President hath wrote to his friends at Court, as Mustapha Ckaun, Rozon Zemeir (Raushan Zamir), etc.; which being finished (furnished?) and sent away, the 16th, wee repaired to the Mareene for the dispatch of the Europe ships; who lade very slowly, notwithstanding the goods lay ready upon the Mareene; but indeed they were hindered sometime for want of their men which they sent to our rescue; wherein they were very forward and liberall, which will deserve not only to bee gratified, but a perticular acknowledgement in Court to the Commanders for their future encouragement, whenever your occasions shall require their compliance in this nature; for if they had confined themselves to Charger party and spared us no more men

The stock in the
English Factory.

then these they contracted to spare, you might have been great sufferers, you haveing then in cash in your warehouses upwards of

100,000 rupees, all your ellephants teeth, all your broadcloth though sold, retourned againe, which wee thought it as good to receive as that Merchant (that bought it), if plundered or burnt, might breake and runna way, a cargoe of 40,000 rupees

The loss of the
English.

from Bantam, Virmilian, Perpetuanas, and a great many other goods, as well for sale as bought for Europe, that wee cannot compute

your house to bee lesse worth to you then fourescore thousand pounds sterling, besides your President and Councill,

which were intended should be dead corpses, knoweing hee would vallow us at more than wee and all our families are wourth. But blessed bee God, that hath delivered us and you from soe great sufferings; and yet your losse will amount to nearest one thousand pounds, in mercoolees that lay before the Custome house to bee sent downe, and lead that was intended to bee weighed out to the King; all which wee have advised of to court and required satisfaction."

Later on in the same letter the President and Council reported a fresh alarm, which ultimately proved groundless.

"Wee have had second alarmes of Sevages retourne to Surat; which did soe scare all the inhabitants that they all fled, some in boats and some into inland villages, to preserve themselves and their families from his cruelty; that the flight was worse then at his first plundering and burning the towne, and hee become so terrible that report of his approach is sufficient at any time to dispeople the small remainder of the city.

Alarm of Shi-
vaji's return.

Newes is arrived from Amadavad, that Mohobutt Ckawne¹ that Governour, who is the King's uncle and lord of all these provinces, wee heare, is much troubled at the ruine of this *City, as the choicest flower in his garden*. Hee made what expedition possible after hee heard of Sevages approach. His army hath been here these three dayes, but hee himselfe hath not reacht further then Broach, and its thought will come no further, now this second fright is over. Wherefore wee have sent Mr. Goodyer, Mr.

Mahabat Khan
marches to the
rescue of the
City.

English deputa-
tion to the
Governor.

Aungier and Mr. Rolt, fittingly accomodated, to him to procure his letter to the King for a reward for our good service done him; which wee are much encouraged to beleive wee shall obtaine, his Grandees here being soe thouroughly possest of our good service in preserveing not only the greatest, but the best and richest part of the towne, that wee hope by our next to give you a good accompt of this businesse."

1. Forrest's Home Series, I, p. 30. Swally, 28th Jan. 1664.

8. Description by the Surat Council

'To all admiration and wonder, Sevagy, that grand
 Rebell of Deccan, hath so privately conveyed himself into
 those parts with a force of 6 or 7000 horse
 Shivaji in Surat and foote, so neer as Gundavee, that is not
 above 20 miles from hence, before the Governor or any of
 these townes people had the least inckling of his approach,
 which sudden newes that he was to come to the Gates of
 this towne the next day, instantly drove the Governor and
 all his retinue together with the eminences most considerable
 persons that were inhabitants into the Castle, the other more
 inferiour people, all of them forsook their houses and fled
 with their ffamilies, some by water and others by land,
 leaving their houses and whatever of estates and fortunes
 they had exposed to the cruelty of this rogue, who put so
 great a terrour into them, through his tyranny
 to those that were taken by his scouts in
 their flight, by cutting² of the hands of many,
 and the heads of some, that the terrour of him rained to
 this day in the hearts of the people, that notwithstanding
 here is now left by Mohabut Ckaun, the Governor of Ahma-
 dabad, an army of 1,000 horse and 500 foote, yet are the
 Inhabitants soe feare stricken, that hee may
 returne againe, that the greatest part of the
 townes people, are since fled. From the first
 of this allarme (which was the 6 January)
 wee sent downe to the severall commanders in the Roads,
 and the next morning had 50 or 60 of their seamen sent
 to our aid, well armed for our assistance. That day, being
 the 7th, hee entered the towne with fire and sword, hath
 rob'd and plundered Virgy Vorah, (Baharji
 Borah), Hodjee Zaide Beague (Haji Sayad or
 Zahid Beg), those great and eminent merchants
 of the greatest part of their riches, with many more,
 though inconsiderable to them, yet of great estate and

Terror of
 Shivaji.

The English get
 soldiers from
 their ships.

Plunder of rich
 houses.

1. Forrest's Home Series, I. 34-5. 2. The three Dutch accounts given
 in this volume do not mention it, though the Eng. letters are unanimous on
 the point.

fortunes all lying in gold, silver & jewels, dug all their houses and when they had possessed themselves of all, fired their howses downe to the ground; all but Hodjee Zaid Beagues our neighbour, and that wee preserved in defence of our owne. Hee sent many messages to us. The first was that hee demaunded a liberall gift from us towards the maintaineance of his army, haveing been at great expences to come soe farre, which (as hee was a rebell and a thiefe) for our owne safties hee expected wee should beare in some measure. This allarmed us to stand upon

The English
Factors threaten-
ed by Shivaji.

our guards, concludeing that lesse then the whole would not satisfie him. Whereupon wee gott to us a second supply of men, that wee were (the Companies servants included) one hundred and three or foure score strong; till when hee (wee?) demur'd our answer, and then sent him word, by another massinger hee sent the next day, that wee knew no obligation wee had to give him anything, or hee any reason to demaund it, and that wee were resolved to maintaine our owne with our lives. Hee replyed that, if hee had not what hee expected, hee would raise our house to the ground and not leave a man alive; at which wee sent away the messinger and bid him assault us if hee dare; wee were ready to oppose him; and that hee send no further message or messinger, resolveing to treate no further with him; which if hee did, wee would shoote the messinger dead in the place; requireing him, and all that belonged unto him, not to come in the reach of (our?) gunns. The next day, or the day afterwards, hee sent a party of horse and foote with combustible stuffe to fire the severall Banians houses that were joineing to ours, hopeing thereby to doe as much

Scuffle between
the English and
Maratha soldiers.

to us. That they might not bee discovered, they kept under the eves of the houses, that wee could discerne only the blades of their lances; whereupon wee sent a party out to fight them, that in a shorte time routed them out from thence; in which conflict there fell of theirs to the ground a horse and man and one of their foote, besides what wounded; our people comeing of againe with one wounded deeply in the shoulder and another shott in the legg with an arrow. After which

they came not more neare us, but minded theire plunder and firing the towne at distance, untill said rebell had heaped to himselfe vast riches, to the amount of many nundreds of thousand pounds; which hee had gott together

**Pussilanimity of
Mogul armies.**

by the 13 in the morning and marcht away without any opposition or any ones lifting their hands against him, except our selves, in the whole time of his ransackeing the towne. Since here hath arrived severall armyes out of the country, who served to no other end then to behould the ruine and desolation that hee hath made, the greatest part of the towne being burnt downe, and laid in ashes... Wee had allmost forgott to tell you that Mr Anthony Smith in the time of

**Treatment of
Mr. Smith**

troubles was so inconsiderate as to come from Swally hither alone, and was snapt comeing through the towne and carryed to the said Sevagy; who, after hee had threatened him with the losse of his head, caused him to bee bound with his armes behinde him amoungst the rest of the prisoners, demaunding 3,00,000 rupees for his ransome, but by the freindshipp of an Armenian that was of his acquaintance, of whom Sevagy asked his quality and condition, who assured him that hee was a common man, the next day tooke 300 rupees and sett him free, sending him to us upon his peroul, with a message full of threats and menaces; but haveing him in our possession wee were resolved not to suffere him to returne, but sent our answere by those that came with him, that hee was a rebell and a theife and therefore valued not his threats, and that Mr. Smith was our servant and wee would keepe him..... and this is what hath passed with us here, to the astonishment of all, as well sufferers as those that came from other parts."

9. Sir G. Oxenden's relation of events.

The story was repeated in a letter to Bantam of 19th March, but the only additional details given were that, in addition to the supply of men, the English received from their ships 'some brass guns, which wee mounted before

our doore and other convenient places' and that Shivaji's design was judged to be 'not altogether riches but a revenge upon this King.'

1 "We have been obstructed by an (un?)expected assault made upon this towne by a Rebell of Decan that arriv'd with an army of 6 or 7000 horse and foote, within a few miles, before any notice was given, entering the place with fire and sword, that struck such terrour in all the inhabitants that put them all to flight, some (as the Governour, and others of the poorest sort) escaped by land and water, that the

Sudden appearance of Shivaji.

Towne was in very few houres totally dispeopled and left to the cruelty of the enemy; at which time wee had of the Honble. Companys estate in goods from Europe ships, what ready monys, together with the Carga: you sent

Value of goods stored in English Factory.

us, and what wee had provided for the ladeing hence of our Europe ships, upwarde of 80,000 li. sterling, besides great riches brought in per the merchants and shroffs

of the towne that were our acquaintance. To preserve which wee got together what English wee could from the severall shipping in the roade, wherein Mr. Grosse was not backward to supply us with what hee could spare, which wee desire you to take notice of, that it may (be) added to his other good services. Haveing gott what assistance wee could, and some

Preparations for defence.

brasse gunns, which wee mounted before our doore and other convenient places, wee stood upon our guard. Several messages wee had, one for a present, or rather something considerable towards the defraying the

Demand from Shivaji.

charges hee was at in bringing so great an army hither, which hee said hee lookt that

wee should beare in some measure; but wee returned his messenger empty, with our resolutions that hee should have nothing from us except hee would force it, which should bee upon his owne perill. His answer was that hee was come with thousands, and therefore if wee did not

1. The President and Council of Surat to Bantam, dated Swally Marine, 19 March 1663-4. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 86.

redeeme our house by what hee should expect, hee would race it to the ground and leave not a man alive. Whereat wee againe returned the messenger with a caution to him selfe that if hee returned with any further message, hee should bee shott dead in the place, and that hee should tell his Master wee feared not his threats, but if any from that time of his souldyers came within the reach of our gunns, wee would doe our best to destroy them. These interchanging messages continued 3 days, all which

The English
threatened with
fire.

time hee advanced, plundering and firing; at last sent a party of some 50 horse and foote to veiw the place where our house stood, which comeing about per the severall houses joyning to ours, had placed them selves under the ends of the house, that we could deserne noe more then the tops of theire lances, haveing brought combustibile stuffe along with them, resolveing to fyre our end of the towne, which they had not till then attempted. Whereupon wee thought it high time to sally out, which wee did with a party, and routed them, in which conflict wee had 3 men wounded, and they lost upon the place a horse and horseman, who by his acoutrement appeared to bee of quality, and others dead and hurt, that soe frighted them as from that time they came no more neere us, by which meanes wee did not only preserve that part of the towne w(h)ere wee live, but our selves, haveing many neighbours joyning to our walls that were made up of bamboes and other stuffe

Revenge upon
Aurangzeb.

apt to take fire, which must certainly have very much annoyed us, if not endangering the burning of our own house, which and the Hollanders excepted, *the greatest part of the towne lyes now in ashes; for his designe was not altogether riches but a revenge upon this King.* From whomsoever hee took, were they banians or others, if they could not redeeme themselves by paying a summe of money, soe much as hee demaunded,

Effects of
Shivaji's attack.

hee presently caused the hands of some and the heads of others to bee cut of, continueing thus untill hee had gott vast riches in gold and silver, and departed without any opposition, to

almost the totall destruction of this place, which his action soe amazed the people that all trade and commerce was at a stand. And this succeeded the more unhappily by the necessity it was upon us for the detention of our Europe ships longer then accustomed, even to the hazard of the losse of their voyage home, it being the 29 January before wee could dispatch them, by reason of a caphila of goods that were for their ladeing being then upon the way, and when, being advised by the people that fled hence that the said rebell was fallen upon the towne with fire and sword, carryed the goods backe againe to the (?) townes and villages where they might bee secured, and before wee could retreive them againe, notwithstanding, it was too late."

10. Smith's Plot.

A different story is told of Mr. Smith's plot with Shivaji, in a Surat Letter of 31st March, 1665 to the Company in London.

¹ "A more atheisticall wretch never was suffer'd to live on the earth...Att the rebell Sevagys being here fell he into his hands; and after his releasment would (as we are credibly inform'd) have betrayed your house, estate, and servantts up to him; and this is avowch'd by him that was appointed to write the letter, which was intended to be sent the rebell...For these, and other misdemeanours too tedious to enlarge on here, we warn'd him home to answer to you; which he promis'd to doe, but intended it not, exempting himselfe, at the ships departure; whereby he hath also despis'd our commands, and now talkes of nothing but serving the King at Bombaim, which we perceive will be the receptacle of all those that abuse you and your servantts, presuming that entring themselves in His Majesties service will be sufficient defence for them against you; and therefore it will concerne you to take timely care to prevent it before you become too great

Mr Smith plots
with Shivaji.

1. E. F. 1665-67. P. 13.

S. 24

sufferers. And also send your order how we shall proceed against this Smith.

11. Account sent to Bengal

The letter of the President and Council at Surat to Mr. Blake etc. in Bengal, dated Surat, 30 April 1664 contains a faithful summary of the famous *coup de main*.

¹ "Here in January last happened a very strange surprise. Sevagee, the grand Rebell of Decan, conveying himselfe with 6 or 7000 horse and foote within a very few miles of this towne of Surrat and in a short space enterred with fyre and sword, burnt downe the greatest part of it and carryed away vast riches in silver, gold and jewells. The Townes people, man, woeman and childe, leaveing their houses, fled to secure their lives. Wee were also sent too for a present which, refusing to give, had many threats that hee would race our house to the ground and not leave a man alive. But in dispight of him wee maintained our owne without sustaineing any considerable losse except in the hinderance wee had in the dispatch of our Europe ships, being forced to make it the 29th January before the *Loyall Merchant* and *Affrican* went hence for England.

This King, for the encouragement and satisfaction of his merchants for the losse sustained, hath given and graunted one yeares customes free."

12. Remission of customs duties

In a letter ² of 4 April 1664, sent via Aleppo from the Swally Marine to the Company in London, we find the following account of the remission of customs duties for one year and the special reward of the English:—

"This King hath taken very heavily the plundering and burning of this towne and port of Surratt, and hath vowed

1. Factory Records, Surat. Vol. 86.

2. Forrest's Home Series, I, 42 E, F. 1665-67, p. 311.

revenge upon the rebell. Our last acquainted you how that wee were then in action, by solliciting the severall Commanders of armies that came downe (though too late) upon

**Aurangzeb vows
revenge.** notice given them of Sevagees approach; also that wee were then writteing a petition to the

King for a reward for our good service done him; which since wee are informed was by our freinds in court (to whom your President wrote) delivered into the Kings hand; wherein wee hinted our expectations that hee would remitt us all your customes. Whereupon the King, after hee had taken it into his most gracious consideration, hath sent downe an order that the whole customes of all merchants

**Customs remitted
for one year.** should bee remitted for one entire yeare. The benifitt wee hope you will reap in your

next yeare(s) ships out and home; and Mohobutt Ckaun, the Governour of Ahmadahad and Generall of the province of Guzzerratt, adviseth your President that, upon his request to the King on our behalves and the solicitation of freinds at court, it is resolved, upon the expiration of the yeare, the King, in leiw of our good service, will give us the $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of all your customes free; and this when by our endeavours wee shall effect, wee shall hope for a suitable reward from you our masters; whilst the thing it selfe shall remaine as a lasting memoriall of our active willingnesse to promote your interest."

On 19 May, 1664 the President and Council, in a letter to Madras, said modestly ¹ that their action

"Truly hath had the good hap to bee famed to deserve much beyound our merritt... The King hath graunted to all custome free for one whole yeare for all that shall bee either exported or imported in this port; and since wee have received a letter from, Gaffere Kaune (Jaffar Khan), the King's Diwan, which is called, a Husbull Huckum or the Kings special command, that acquaints us, the King received our letter and petition of the accompt of the fight, and read it with soe great content, and soe much satis-

faction that hee had those in his country that faced his enemy, that thereupon hee gave to all the favour exprest of a yeares custome gratis, and for our further encouragement, from the expiration of the yeare the halfe¹ our customes for ever. This improvement wee have already made and are yett in expectation of greater honors; for wee strike whilst the iron is hott, verifying the old proverb: tis good to fish in troubled waters some times."

Later in the year (26 November 1664), the President and Council repeated to the Company this news, and gave some additional information as to the course of events.

"Wee² are dayly in feare of Sevagees comeing againe, and soe have (been) ever since hee was heere; for hee dayly threatens heartily to visitt this towne once more, except the King will give him peacible(y) the fourths³ of what hee receives of the towne and country yearely; which is too dishonourable for the King to except

Shivaji's
demand for
Chouth from
Aurangzeb.

(accept).....Wee are in a peacible condition at present. All things goe on in an even channell. Pray God continue our quiett, for wee are dayly alarm'd, and the townes people are frighted and unsettled. Our Governour is a very good man, who is wonne by your Presidents late

Immunities
granted to the
English.

services done the King and him (by his ship *Royall Welcome*) to doe from time to time whatever your President moves for, and hath exceedingly earnestly wrote to the King in favour of our nation to bestow on us some further favours and immunities in recompence of the service done, thereby to expresse his princely favour. You have this whole yeares customes, both out and in graunted you free, and, as an addition of honour, the Governour upon your Presidents request, suffered all your Europe goods and moneys to bee transported in your boats directly to

1. It should be 'half per cent' from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. O. C. 3025 and 3594, E. F. 1661-64, Pp. 314—5.

2. E. F. 1665-67, p. 312.

3. This is the famous Maratha *Chouth*.

your house, without comeing neare the custome house and without any notice taken of the goods by either Customer or weighters; which was not only admired at by all the towne, but many were disgusted at it; unto whom the Governour replied that wee had soe deeply engaged the King and him that hee could in reason refuse us nothing wee could aske..... Wee have recieved from court a letter to your President from the King's Dewan, wherein you have graunted you the halfe of your customs for ever. Wee doe endeavour (and this Governor labours with us) to procure all under a phirmaund immediately from the King; which will bee much more authentique to any Prince or Govenour that shall come after."

13. Company's appreciation of the Factors' services

The Directors of the Company warmly appreciated the services of their Factors in their Letter to Surat, dated 11 August, 1664.

"Observe¹ the hazard of our Estate by the Attempt of Sevagee and hope that you will improve it.

"We observe the great hazard that our Estate was in at Suratt by the attempt of Sevagee, and of your great care, courage and discretion in the defence thereof; and as we desire to retourne praise to God for his goodnesse in his preservation, soe wee also acknowledge your endeavours therein, and shall allwaies bee sencible thereof, and shall consider those persons whoe you write were serviceable to you therein. And wee hope you will endeavour to improve it (as you write) to our best advantage with the Natives."

After the lapse of four years, the Proprietors honoured Sir G. Oxenden, President of the Surat Factory, with a present of £. 200 and a gold medal as tokens of appreciation of his signal services to the Company. He did not, however, survive long after securing this mark of honour, as he passed² away at Surat on the 14th of July 1669.

1. Letter Book, Vol. 3, p. 425.

2. Bomb. P. Unav. IV. 1,

Thus the Company lost a wise, tactful and faithful servant who had been President of the Surat Factory and all other factories to be found in the East Indies from Ceylon to the Red Sea.

"Wee ¹ have taken into our consideration, your great care and courage in the defence and preservation of our Estates, in the time of Sevagees invasion (although you did it in the discharge of your trust) and as an acknowledgment of our sense thereof, and your good service therein, wee have now sent to Sir George Oxinden the value of £. 200 in gold, with a Medall of Gold put up in a box delivered Capt: Whitehorne."

President award-
ed £ 200 and a
gold medal by
the Company.

The Company was very slow in recognizing the services of other officers who had risked their property in defending the Surat Factory against the Maratha plunder. At last, orders were sent for distributing certain sums as stated in the following letter:—

"Wherein is also two seales for Bombay. To Mr. John Goodier £. 100, to Mr. Henry Garie whoe was then with you in counsell £. 60, to Mr. Gerrald Aungier £. 60, made up severally and directed to each respective person. And wee hereby order for your disposure £. 400 to be distributed among such persons as you know were active in that service amongst whome in perticular wee preferr Mr. John Pettitt. As it pleased God to bless your endeavours and to preserve you and our estates in that time of eminent danger, so wee desire that you will unanimously agree together, the better to settle our affairs, not only in Suratt, but in Persia, Bombay and all other places under your Presidency." ²

Recognition of
the services of
the Factors by
the Company.

1. London, 27th March 1668 to Surat, L. B. Vol. 4, p. 146, Bombay Papers Unavailable, Vol. 2, p. 109.

2. See also p. 315 of E. F. 1661-64. Bomb, P. Unav,

14. Dutch Sources on the Sack of Surat

(Translated through the India Office for this Volume).

The salient portions of the account given in the preceding pages from English sources, are confirmed by the Dutch letters. But these differ on a few points such as the following :—

(1) Shivaji is said to have made his sudden appearance on the 15th of January and not on the 5th as unanimously recorded in the English letters. Similarly, it is reported that Shivaji retreated from the town on the 18th, but, according to the English evidence, the Maratha army retired on the 10th of January. The Dutch calendar was ahead of the English one by ten days and hence there is no real difference in dates.

(2) All the three accounts allege that Shivaji surprised Surat to wreak vengeance upon Aurangzeb, and that he had come down with the cowl of Prince Shah Shuja who had made him a present of the town.

(3) These make no mention of the cutting off of hands and feet of the people, nor of the murderous attempt on Shivaji's life.

(4) There is an unanimity in the account of the three documents that fire was not first started by Shivaji's men, but broke out of itself in the town on the 8th, while on other days, the Marathas did add fuel to the fire. On the evidence of Carre, the town was set on fire by the cannon fired from the castle.

(5) The strength of Shivaji's force varies from 8 to 12 thousand men in these three letters, and the number 10,000 horse and foot seems to be the average of each. But the English Letters do not go beyond 8,000, and waver between six and eight thousand men.

The first extract is taken from the important Dutch

work entitled the 'Old and New East Indies,' written by F. Valentyn who has written a very reliable and voluminous history of the trade, industries, customs and religions of the people of Asia.

15. Account by F. Valentyn

“¹In the year 1664, in January, he [Shivaji] made first for (or aimed at) the important trading town, Ahmadabad, with an army of 10 to 12,000 men, which caused such dismay in Surat, and especially in the heart of the cowardly Governor of that place, that though he was put there to protect those who traded in the town, he came in great consternation to the Dutch and English for help. They, however, had enough to do to look after themselves, for they each had only some 30 or 40 fighting men, and as such a small force was not of much use. On the 15th of January they each took 70 or 80 Moors into their service.

On the following day tidings came to Surat that Shivaji with his army had arrived at the village of Utena, scarcely 1½ miles from the town. The Governor sent a servant to beg him not to come any nearer since it would cause great dismay, and the Prince who according to his statements had sent him elsewhere, would be much displeased. Shivaji paid little heed, but quietly took the man prisoner and carried him along with him the better to watch his opportunity in the attack on the town. The same fate befell two servants of the Dutch who were sent out to get information², but they were released towards evening and returned to their comrades without their weapons. They confirmed the news that it was really Shivaji and his army.

Towards noon a terrible fire was seen to break out in the town, while Shivaji's men burst into it at all points and

1. Ouden Nieuw Oost Indien. Book IV. Part II, pp. 265-6.

2. They were arrested, as they were spies.

began to plunder in the Custom house. The terrified Governor immediately took refuge in the citadel together with all the Mogul servants, with whom he could have kept the marauder out for a long time. Shivaji finding no resistance, did nothing but plunder and burn till far into the night, and had the effrontery even to approach the citadel. It is true that the Governor fired his guns the whole night long, but he did more harm to the town than to the enemy.

Governor seeks
refuge in the
Castle.

A lamentable wailing of women and children for the loss of their menfolk, houses and property, was heard continuously, so much the more because everyone, by reason of the advance of the fire, was at a loss what to do. None dared to put it out, though it seemed to get quieter at night with the dying out of the conflagration.

Sufferings of
the people.

On the 17th January, however, the fire broke out in several places more violently than before.

Shivaji sent out Nicolaas Kolostra, a Greek merchant in Surat, to the Dutch and English Chiefs with an announcement that Shah "Sousa," his ally and friend who was with him, had made him a present of the town, and he had therefore thought fit to claim in all courtesy a considerable sum of money from us to pay his army. Otherwise he would sacrifice everything in the town to his rage and the flames.

Shivaji's demand
for money refused
by the English
and Dutch

Although it was notorious that his assertion was false and that Shah "Sousa" had long been dead, nevertheless it was necessary to speak fair to Shivaji and to put him off with the pretext that traders have no ready cash in hand and that therefore no help could be given him.

Meanwhile, the burning and blazing, the shrieking, screaming and lamentation of the unhappy people abandoned in the town was terrible to hear, and although the conflagration was already dreadful enough, Shivaji's men nevertheless fed it constantly with fresh fuel. Everything in Surat that had been beautiful,

The plunder of
Surat.

was reduced on that day to ashes and many traders of good standing lost everything that the enemy had not seized as loot in this frightful fire, even saving their lives with great difficulty. Two or three Banyan traders lost several millions and the damage on the whole may certainly be estimated at 30,000,000 [rupees?].

On the 18th January, having wreaked his will, Shivaji left the town with his men, carrying off an immense amount of plunder. They took away only the most valuable things ; the less important, which might only have hampered them, they distributed among the poor, many of whom in this way obtained more than they had lost through fire and pillage.

Departure of
Shivaji.

At first Shivaji encamped half a mile from the town, as if he intended to remain there for some time, but when least expected, he silently stole away, delighted that he had torn such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail."

16. History of the Sack by Iversen

The next account is from the pen of Volquard. Iversen. It is included by Adam Olearius in his "*Reise-Beschreibungen: Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung.*" Pp. 167-169. The writer was an eye witness, as he adds this note: 'I was myself a witness of his [Shivaji's] conduct towards the town of Surat, and have extracted the account of the event from our Dutch Assistenten Journal.'

"In the year 1664, on the 15th January, about 9 a. m., the Mogul's Governor, "Enachat Chan" (Inayat Khan), received tidings in the town [Surat] from one of his sergeants who was quartered about two miles off, that a great army was on the march, the leader of which refused to give his name except as a servant of the Great Mogul, and that he intended to go to the town of Ahmabad with 10,000 men. The sergeant, however, found out from the troops that their General was said to be the freebooter, Shivaji, though many of them refused to believe it. The Governor was not a little alarmed and ordered the bridges to be demolished. However, most of them

were in bad repair and very dry and there were nowhere

Shivaji on his
way to
Ahmadabad.

any guns for defence. He sent to the Dutch and English to entreat them to give him a helping hand in this danger. It appeared strange to us that a Governor, whose duty it

was to preserve a town and protect the foreigners in it should himself ask help from foreigners. However, since our Factories had only a force of 40 men, each Factory took 70

The English and
the Dutch refuse
to help the
Governor.

to 80 Moors into its service for purposes of defence. When next day, news came that the army was at the village of Utena, a mile and a half from Surat, the Governor sent one of his most important Ministers to Shivaji

to beg him, since he was the King's servant and, as he said, sent by "Amoran" or Duke "Mober Chan" to put down the

Governor's
envoy to Shivaji.

tumult arisen in "Patan," not to approach this town, because the inhabitants having evil suspicions [of his intentions] were taking

to flight, a fact which the Great Mogul would take ill. Shivaji takes no heed, keeps prisoner the Minister who had met him on the way and suffers no answer to be returned. The Dutch also sent two servants in order to learn the condition of the army. These, too, were captured, but released in the evening. They returned to the Factory without their weapons, and brought word that the leader was certainly the freebooter, Shivaji. Towards noon a fire was seen to break out in the midst of the town and it extended further and further. Shivaji's men marched in companies into the town, meeting with no opposition, and made for the King's Customhouse, where they obtained their first booty. They might, however, have been easily kept back.

The Governor, for whom 1,000 horse were maintained by the Mogul, hurried with all his cavalry to the Castle and left the horses standing under the guns.

Governor seeks
refuge in the
Castle.

He was followed by all the royal officials who lived in the town, abandoning everything there to be plundered and devastated.

Then began unhindered looting and devastation until night-

fall. Moreover, the fire gained ground, because there was none to put it out or to make a stand against the robbers. The enemy became so bold that they actually came right up under the Castle and examined the horses. The men in

Sufferings of the people. the Castle wishing to make their manly courage heard from behind the walls, fired the whole night through down into the town and

caused more damage to the houses than harm to the enemy. It was lamentable to hear how they broke in doors and windows and chests, to the accompaniment of terrible cries of murder from women and children. Although on this night the flames diminished somewhat, they broke out again on the following day, viz. the 17th, and in several places.

Shivaji sent a Greek merchant, Nicolaus Kolostra by name, an inhabitant of Surat, whom he had fetched from

Shivaji's demand for money refused by the English and the Dutch. his house, to our Factory and also to that of the English with orders to inform us that the town of Surat had been presented to him by the Mogul's youngest brother, Prince Chasousa, who was with him; that he was

now in need of money to maintain his army and that a considerable sum must be advanced to him. Failing this he would set fire to the whole town. But it was well known that the statement about Prince Chasousa was an invention, for we had absolutely certain news that he had fled from his brother's pursuit three years before to the town of Arakan and had there met his end. The Dutch and the English therefore gave Shivaji this answer: that they were only traders and not accustomed to let their money lie long in the cashbox, for the demands of trade occasioned its being laid out at once; they could not therefore help him on this occasion.

The looting and burning continued till nightfall again, since new and fierce fires arose in the East and North, so that it was as piteous a sight as one pictures Sodom or Troy to have been.

On the 18th the secretary of the Court of Justice sent

a letter in Persian from the Castle to the Dutch, asking

The plunder of
Surat.

them to rescue a chest from his house and take it into the Factory for safety, but the

following answer was sent to him: he must defend it himself, so that no claim might be made in the case of harm coming to it. At night once again there was heard beating of drums, blowing of pipes, firing, burning and screaming. In the morning many disconsolate women and children were seen miserably wandering in the streets, their homes having been burnt and their menfolk killed. The enemy adopted the following device to increase the fire. They ran into the houses where distilled and other oils were on sale; took these, poured them over doors windows and walls and hung flasks full of oil on the floors so that they took fire the more readily. Two rich traders took refuge in the Castle abandoning their homes and goods. The most magnificent house of a

The loot from
Virji Vora and
others.

very rich Banyan merchant, Virji Vora by name, was also reduced to ashes and with it six barrells (tons)¹ of gold, money, pearls, gems and other precious wares. Shivaji had demanded the surrender of this merchant and another from the Governor, two days before, and was willing to let them suffice as ransom for the whole town.

Two other rich Banyan merchants, when the tumult increased, wished to cross the river with their valuables and goods, so as to escape the looting and the fire; but the Governor refused to allow it, and in consequence they lost, in Dutch reckoning about 30 casks (tons) of gold, thanks to the Governor. That afternoon, when half the town was already reduced to ashes, Shivaji with his army withdrew two marches off and encamped. In order to learn whether he had fixed his camp there or intended to proceed further, a peon (that is, a lackey) informed the Dutch that he intended to go to the enemy as a fakir or mendicant

1. 'The Dutch ton represented 100,000 gulden, and at this rate Virji Vora's loss would be about 50,000 £.; but of course all such statements were based on guess-work' *Foster*.

monk. He actually passed through the whole camp without being suspected. Shivaji had not had a tent pitched, but only a cloth hung from a tree for protection against the heat of the sun.

Shivaji under
a tree

The booty on oxen and horses had been brought in and laid before him. The money, gold, silver and pearls, and also the valuable stuffs he had kept for himself, and the rest he had distributed among the poor people standing by. His followers had obtained enough plunder for themselves.

A week before an Ethiopian ambassador, sent to the Great Mogul, had arrived and was staying in an old *sarai* in Surat, awaiting orders as to how he should be received by the Mogul and sent on further.

Present from
the Ethiopian
ambassador.

This man Shivaji had taken to his camp and demanded from him the presents that he had brought for the Mogul. If he refused, Shivaji threatened to make him prisoner and carry him off. The good man was confounded, and because he had no protector, was obliged to allow Shivaji's servants to seize the presents, although the Governor might have rescued them by taking them into the Castle.

With this immense booty Shivaji took his departure saying: 'I have long wished to pull Aurangzeb's beard

Departure of
Shivaji.

and now my wish is fulfilled,' for the rich and beautiful town of Surat has been called by the Moors the King's or Mogul's beard, by reason of its charm and grace.¹

17. Story given in the Dagh-Register

Brief references to the loot of Surat are met with on pages 111, 163, 195, 277, 371 and 461 of the Dagh-Register of the year 1664, but a detailed diary of the day to-day events from the pen of the President of the Dutch-Factory in the city, must be of more than a passing interest:

"On" the 15th of January of this year news came to

1. The last paragraph is so coarse as to be untranslatable. It has therefore been paraphrased.

2. Extract from *Dagh-Register*. Batavia. 1664. Page 196 et seq.

Surat from Gandivy, 15 *kos* from Surat, that a General had suddenly arrived there, declaring himself to be a servant of the King, but not giving his name, accompanied by 8 or 10,000 horse and foot, on the pretext of going to

Ahmadabad to assist the noble or Duke "Mobotchan", against the rebel prince Suppersecour in "Pattan."

The whole town of Surat was thereupon in an uproar. The English President wised to go to Swally, but the Muhammadan Governor prevented him from doing so, saying that

The English and the Dutch not allowed to leave the town, if he and the Dutch Director fled, not a man would remain in the town. The English, therefore, prepared to defend themselves.

The Director, van Adrichen, wished to send his wife, mother-in-law and children on board

a ship, but the aforesaid Governor would not permit him to do so, declaring that the Dutch and the English ought to assist him on this occasion. The Director managed with much difficulty to enrol 50 or 60 Moors [Muhammadans] into his service making, with our own people, 80 men well-armed, to whom 15 armed sailors from the flagship *Léerdam* were added, together with three free Europeans who offered their services. The enemy approached; the house servants fled. The next day news came that this General was within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the town and that he was the renowned Shivaji. The Governor sent him a request not to advance any further. The Director also sent two messengers

(spies) to him. Shivaji detained these messengers, giving no answer, but eventually released the two Dutch servants and sent them without their arms or rifles. Meanwhile, all the dyers, starchers, weavers, beater's, etc., brought their goods and the cloth they had in preparation into our Factory. The English President, well provided with men, ventured to pass

Messengers
detained by
Shivaji.

through the town and came to our Factory intending, with 200 English and Moor sailors, to offer resistance to Shivaji. Our ship *Macassar* went to the yacht with the

aforesaid Dutch ladies whom the Director had sent on board without the Governor's knowledge; and the Factory

was closed. A fire broke out in the town. The King's custom-house was first affected. The Governor betook himself with 100 horsemen¹ and his suite to the Castle, abandoning the town to the mercy of the plunderers, who came right upto the

Castle walls. On the 17th of the same month
 English proposal to the Dutch to resist Shivaji. Shivaji sent some men to our Factory and to the English demanding money, declaring that "Chahsousa" still lived and had presented him

with the town of Surat, adding a threat of setting fire to the whole town, if the money was not forthcoming. The Director

Flight of the Governor and officials

put them off politely, giving them a present of cloth and spices and showing them the usual further civility. The robbers dared not pass our Factory since it was

protected with our guns. The fire broke out again and would have affected our Factory, but the wind veered suddenly from East to North, so that the flames were turned back a musket-shot from the building. The English made

Money demanded from Europeans

two or three sorties, killed two of the freebooters and a horse; they also took two prisoners. Our people further secured

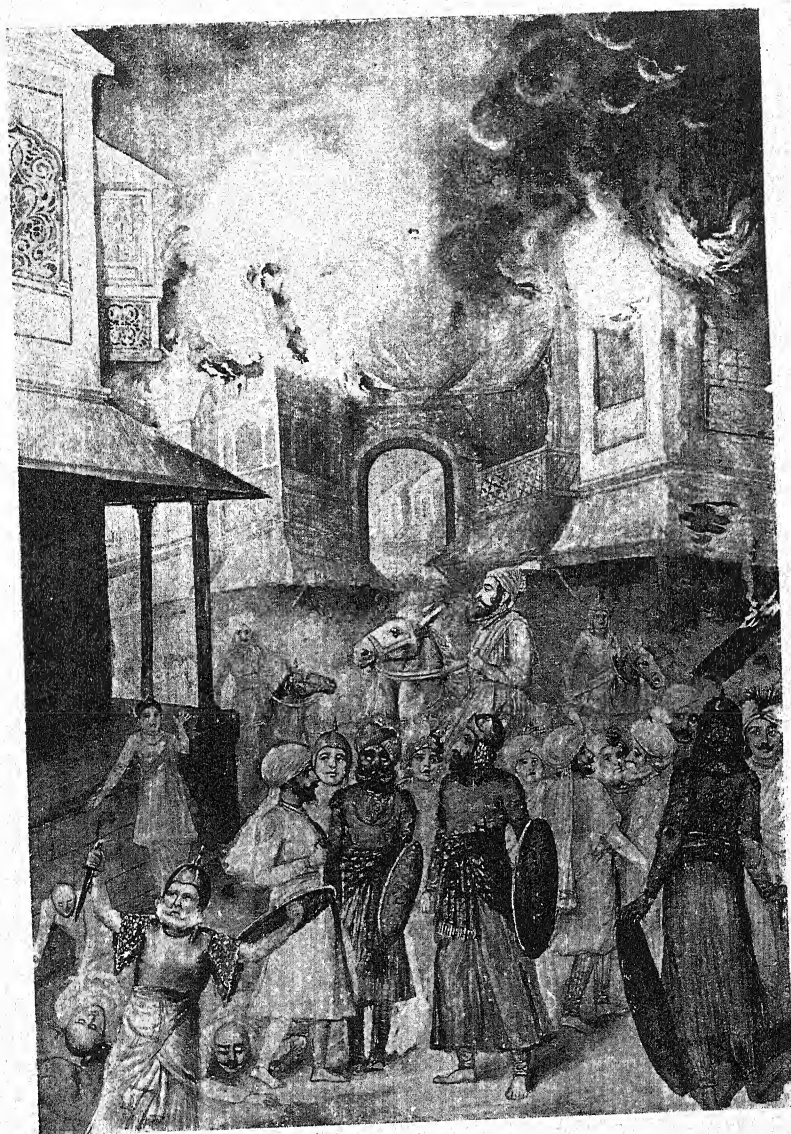
themselves from attack by landing four or five sailors with some guns from the ships. Moreover, they were provided by the Governor, on his own accord, the next day, with two bags of powder and some bullets. Shivaji now lay with the bulk of his army two *kos* from the town, threatening to attack us, because we gave him no money, but none of his people ventured to come even in sight of our Factory. The Governor sent a troop of 40 Moor

Scuffle between the English and Marathas.

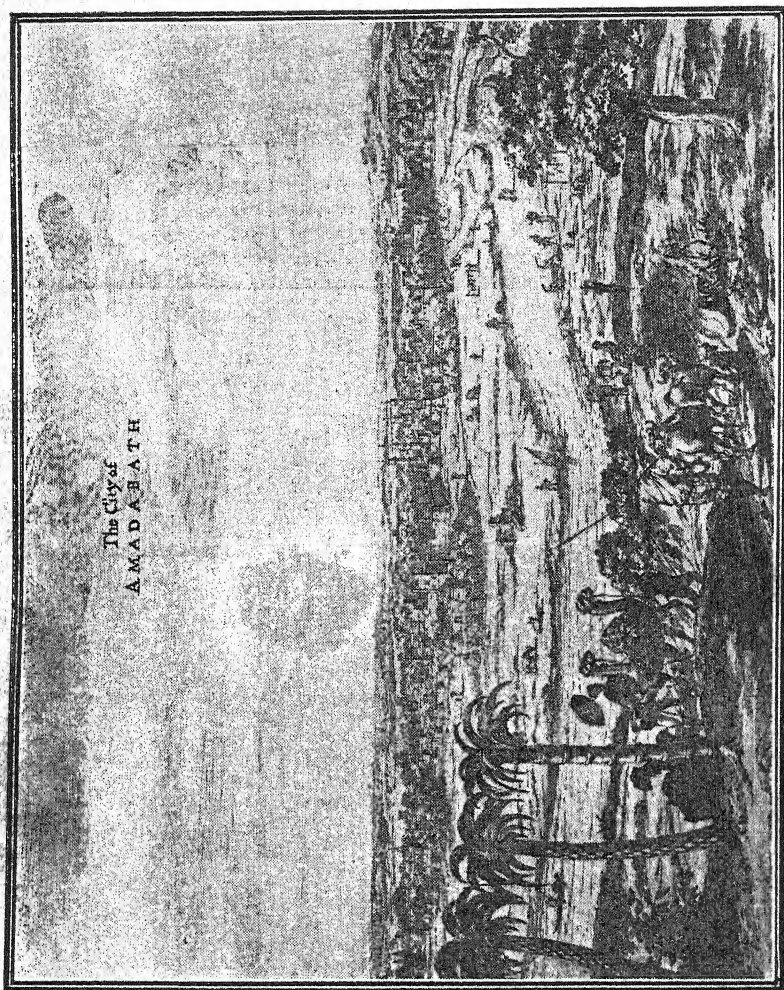
horseman to the Director asking him for a reinforcement of Dutch to attack the robbers, since they were quiet and the fire was for the most part extinguished. The Director

refused, believing that this cessation of hostilities had no good foundation, but was aimed merely at renewing the attack next day with greater force, as actually happened, for on the morning of the 19th January the fire was seen to break out again in the town in nine or ten places at once. The wailing of the inhabitants, on the one hand, the blowing of trumpets and beating of drums by the robbers,

1. Confirmed by the Surat Diary P. *supra*.



Sack of Surat.



View of Ahmedabad.

(From Baldaeus' East India, 1703)

on the other, was more deafening than ever before. The Moors showed their effeminacy in face of these marauders and the marauders their fear of us, since they dared not pass the lane flanked by our guns. There was a strong north wind blowing. The fire increased and approached to within a pistol-shot of our Factory, so that our people, feeling sure of its catching them alive, made ready for flight, collecting the Company's necessary papers with the intention, when the flames came nearer, of coming out and doing their best to extinguish

**The Dutch refuse
to assist the
Governor.**

the fire and also to show the marauders that they had others than the Moors to deal with. But when the water had come as high as the lips,.....it happened that the North wind veered to the South, so that in less than half an hour's time it went round a quarter of the compass. It was a remarkable kind action of Him who produces the winds from his treasures and guides them as He likes. By reason of this, our Factory was out of danger, while the fire destroyed everything near and around us. The English, seeing our people in these straits, offered their help but, thank God, that we did not want it. Thus was this great trading town plundered and burnt without any resistance being made. The next

**Fire near the
Dutch Factory.**

day, being the 20th January, all was quiet again. No tumult was heard and the fire slackened and expired, for Shivaji had broken camp in the night and departed, carrying away much booty with him, but leaving behind a rearguard of 4 or 500 horse, who showed themselves once, but shortly after also went away. Half the town was burnt to the

Loss to Surat.

ground. Besides our Factory and that of the English and the new Sarai, a house where some Turkish and Armenian merchants live, there were scarcely ten houses that were defended. Shivaji contrived to get "Hagie Siaesbeek" and Virji Vora, two renowned Banyan merchants, into his hands. The Ethiopian ambassador was captured and taken before Shivaji, but secured his release with presents. The warehouse

The Dutch loss. rented by the Company, opposite the "Alfandigo" or King's Custom house is intact, being apparently too

unimportant in appearance to be touched by the robbers, much more so because the Company's goods had been taken out of it and brought to the Factory. However, as some of our purveyors, who were somewhat in arrears, have been carried off as prisoners, the Company will not, it seems, come off quite without a loss, the damage to stock amounting to about 20,000 rupees for which a claim has been sent to the Court. 14 days after these robbers had left, the grand-duke Mobetchan arrived in Suratte from Amadabat with 4 or 5 thousand horsemen and restored order. After that orders came from the Court. Governor Anajetchan (Inayat Khan) was departed. Moreover, the governor of the castle and the commissioner were called for, because they had not sufficiently acted against Siwasi. The king has further decided to build a wall round the town of Suratte and has released the Company, the English and other merchants of a year's toll in Suratte starting from the 16th March of this year, the fruit of which the Company has tasted already."

Two more extracts from the Dutch Records throw further light on the subject.

17. Dutch Governor-General's letter on the sack.

"Letter from the Governor General Joan Maetsuycker and Council for India to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664.

SURAT. On May 15th the flute "*Leerdam*" returned from Surat.....The "*Leerdam*" brought us letters from the Director, dated March 15th, mentioning a fearful catastrophe which has befallen the town. On Jan. 15th the town was suddenly invaded by the outlaw Sivasi, pillaged, and for the greater part, destroyed by fire. The Company's property had not suffered in any way. However, as a great many creditors of the Company have been carried off by the invaders, it is very doubtful whether they will ever be able to pay their debts, but the loss is far below fl. 20,000

1. Dutch Records, (Translations) Vol. XXVII, Letters from India, 1662-1665. No. 711.

(£. 1,700) at which it was calculated. King Orangzeeeph has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a stone wall, and has granted a year's exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th, 1663 and we calculate that the Company will thus gain a sum of fl. 50,000 (£. 4,200), so that in fact this catastrophe has brought in profit. Governor Arrajet Chan (Inayat Khan) had been ordered to appear before the King to answer for his want of vigilance. Another Governor named Geedishan (Ghiyas-ud-din) had taken his place."

18. The Dutch Diary on the Invasion

"Extract from the Day Book at Surat referring to the invasion of Sivagie and his presence (departure?) there from.

Jan. 15th to Jan. 21st. 1664.²

"Jan. 15. On Tuesday morning, whilst engaged in the unloading of the "*Haarlem*," we heard that the Governor Analet Chan (Inayat Khan) had received tidings from Gandivie, a place about 15 Cos from here, that last night a great general pretending to be sent by the King to Amadabath, had presented himself there with an army of about 10,000 men, and that he was thought to be the redoubtable Sivagie. As we are accustomed

Alarm at the
approach of
Shivaji.

to all sorts of distressing rumours which generally prove false, we did not attach much importance to the report, but unfortunately we soon learned it to be true. Numerous fugitives rushed into the town. The Director was informed that the English President, Mr. George Oxenden, had requested permission from the Governor to remove to Swaly, and that the Governor had angrily refused it, saying that if the English and Dutch were to leave the town, nobody would feel safe, and the rush would become general. All this increased our alarm, for the "*Leerdam*" had been

The Europeans
not allowed to go
to their ships.

entirely cleared and the Company's stores were full of valuable goods. Director Van Adrichen at once went to the docks in order

to reship the goods on board the "*Haarlem*," and ordered two cannons to be brought on shore, and applied to the Governor for permission to place his wife and children in safety on board one of the Company's vessels. The Governor was not at home, being engaged in taking all possible measures to prevent the invaders' progress. Later on, the Director received the same answer as the English President, the Governor begging him to lend him all the assistance he could in this fearful predicament. However, as the danger was becoming more imminent, it was decided to engage about 60 Moorish soldiers for the protection of the factory. We were fortunate to secure them, although we had to spend a large sum of money. In all we had now 80 men all provided with arms. A letter was at once despatched to Resident Coenradt Roermond at Sualy with the request to send 15 of the most able sailors from the "*Leerdam*" with muskets and ammunitions. Eight European freemen also offered their services. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Governor, the Director decided towards evening to send his family on board the "*Macassar*," giving orders to the captain to keep his vessel anchored in the middle of the river and carefully watch the signals from the factory, and in the event of danger at once sail for Sualy. Having terminated these arrangements, the Director divided his party into three divisions and despatched information to the Company's agents at Amadabath of the state of affairs.

Wednesday 16th. Nothing of any importance happened during the night. The mate of the "*Leerdam*" came in the early morning to advise of the arrival of the 15 sailors. Soon after we heard that Sivagi was coming gradually nearer. He was now at Oudena, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Surat. It was rumoured that Governor Ajete Chan (Inayat Khan) had sent one of his chiefs to Siwagi to request him not to disturb the peace of the country. This message had so irritated the rebel chief that he had kept the messenger a prisoner. He had also detained two of the Director's servants who had been sent to investigate the true position of affairs,

Governor's agent
imprisoned by
Shivaji.

but they were released in the evening and returned to the factory. They reported that it was really Sivagy, for one of them had seen him once in Rajapour. About 7 o'clock the mate brought the sailors within the town with two metal guns. The Director, without waiting for the Governor's permission, ordered some goods which had arrived from Brotche to be brought into the factory. He also sent messengers to the weavers and dyers with orders to bring the goods in hand at once to the factory, which they did in the greatest haste and confusion. Whilst fully occupied with these several arrangements, the English President, at the head of some 200 men, marched through the town, declaring that he meant to withstand Sivagy with this handful of men. He called upon the Director to know his intentions. The Director replied that he did not intend to make any demonstration unless he was first attacked, but if so, that he was prepared to defend the lives and property of the Company. About midday Sivagy had reached the gates of the town and the Director signalled to the captain of the "*Macassar*" to proceed to Sualy. Scarcely had the precautions been taken and the outer gate closed than we saw great flames rising from the centre of the town. The

Governor took
shelter in the
Castle.

troops of Sivagy, whose progress no one opposed, then marched towards the King's custom house which they plundered. The Governor who has a troop of 1000 horse, never attempted to stop their depredations. With 100 of his horsemen and with his whole retinue, he took shelter in the castle where the principal inland regents had already sought refuge, leaving the town a prey to the rapacity of these mercenaries. The invaders, meeting no resistance, ventured even under the walls of the castle. A constant firing was kept up, but the guns inflicted more damage on the town than on the assailants. That day and the next the plunder continued, but the fire did not seem to increase. In the morning of the 17th, a Greek who had formerly lived in Surat, called Nicholas Calotha, came, accompanied by a horseman, and demanded to see the Director. When admitted, told in Portugues that the rebels had seized him

and forced him into their service. He came in the name of Sivagy to inform the Director and the English President that Prince Siasausa (Shah Shuja) had formerly given Surat to him, and as he wanted money to pay his troops, he asked to supply him with it, but not naming any special sum.

Money demanded
from the
Europeans.

As it is well known that Prince Siaousa had lost his life in Aracan more than three years ago, the Director at once saw through the subterfuge. He replied that the Company were merchants and that they did not keep their money lying idle so that there was very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spices would please Sivagy, he was willing to give him some. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Wingurla he had never troubled the Company, but rather shown himself friendly by giving them free escort, and that therefore he quite hoped that Sivagy would protect the Company's servants in Surat against the evil-minded. In the afternoon we had again a false alarm, but the menacing attitude of our guns kept the marauders

The Dutch
Factory saved
from fire.

away. However, the flames broke out with redoubled force at several places at once, and it was evident that the fire was intended for our destruction, but when the flames

were rapidly spreading towards the factory, the wind suddenly changed and the Company's property was saved. Having heard that the English had already made several sorties, the Director sent a note to the English President informing him of the reply given to Sivagy's messenger and asking for news as to their position. The answer was that they had given the marauders a warm welcome and killed several of them. For fear of the fire extending to our store houses, order was given to pull down the roofs of adap(sic), and as a protection against an attack on the gates, we were busy inside raising barricades of all sorts of goods. The King's secretary, who had also sought refuge in the castle, sent a written request to the Director asking him to remove two chests with valuables, which he had left in his house, to the factory and keep in safety for him. The Director replied that he ought to have done as we had, and defended

his own property, and that if we did as he asked, he would probably later on demand compensation from us, if his property became a prey of the flames as well as ours. Our uneasiness was further increased, because we knew that the "*Macassar*" owing to the low tide, proceeded but slowly on her way to Sualy, and it was rumoured that Sivagy had about 40 frigates in the river also intent on plunder. About nightfall we received the joyful intelligence that the "*Macassar*" had safely reached Sualy, that the ladies had gone on board the "*Leerdam*", and the goods were transhipped. Although we were kept in a constant state of excitement by the noise the marauders made, for some cause or other they did not come too near.

Jan. 18th. This morning the Governor of the Surat castle, sent a message offering if necessary to send us some ammunition, which was gratefully accepted. As the tumult seemed somewhat to subside, it was supposed the invaders were preparing to withdraw. In order to ascertain this fact,

The Dutch & the
English refuse
to give presents.

one of our soldiers volunteered to investigate. He was at the same time entrusted with a note to the English President, to which we received an answer later in the day. The President proposed that should we receive another demand from Sivagy, we should inform him that we intended to put our forces and those of the English together and conjointly defend our rights. He had been informed that our answers had made Sivagy furious. The Greek who had delivered his claim (sic), has been assaulted and wounded and had taken refuge in the English factory which was nearest. Our spy returned in the evening. He had been over all parts of the town. The houses of the principal merchants had been laid in ashes. He had also gone to the camp outside the town, where he saw Sivagy sitting on the ground and his creatures bringing him the plunder. As there were no tents for the army, it was supposed that their stay would only be short.

Jan. 19th. The Director received today a proposal from the castle to join in the dispersion of the plunderers, but the Director sent a reply that the men he had were

necessary to defend the factory and could not leave it, that it was the Governor's duty to free us and the town from these

The city in
conflagration.

rough hordes. The news then spread that the regent of Brotcha was approaching with a considerable force to relieve the town. The plunderers thereupon renewed the fire and the blazing was fierce and spread so quickly that it was resolved to move the greater part of the goods and the books of the Company on board one of the small vessels lying in the river. But again the wind veered and we were saved. The English President, seeing we were in danger, sent a messenger with the offer of assistance, for which we were very grateful, but there was no necessity of accepting it. We continued in the greatest anxiety for another day.

Jan. 20th. This morning news came that Sivagy with his plunder had left the town, which was soon confirmed. With a view to the loss and expense the Company has suffered through the weakness of the Governor, the Director decided to remove the goods from the "*Leerdam*" which had been placed in the temporary storehouse, and on which no duty had yet been paid, and to refuse paying the King's toll on these, at least deducting the expense for the defence of the Company's property. In a letter from Brotcha, factor Wagensvelt informs us that thousands of fugitives have arrived at that place, that trade is stopped and that Duke Subirdes Cham was preparing for the relief of the town. He will come too late.

Monday 21st. Peace is restored. We have sent a report of the events to factor Clant at Brotcha and Mr. Wagensvelt. It was soon evident that Sivagy and

Loss suffered by
Surat and
Dutch Co.

his troops had really withdrawn, for the poor people soon came out of their hiding places. Many found their houses burnt to the ground. Half of this opulent city has been destroyed. Only a few houses close to the European factories have been spared from plunder, as the robbers dared not venture too close to our cannons. If the rich merchant princes had only been willing to spend a few thousand rupees for the defence of their

property, they would not now have to regret their immense losses. The house of the Company's agent Kistendas with all its contents has also been destroyed. We fear that this will entail further loss on the Company. The ambassador from Ethiopia, who was on his way to Delhi, was also taken prisoner, but as he had no other valuables but the presents intended for the King, he had been released."

19. Extracts from Guarda's Sevagy

Guarda has devoted Chapter VIII to "How Sevagy sacked the city of Surratte and of other things he did at this time". Only those portions of this chapter are reproduced here wherein he throws new light or differs from the other authors.

"None of them, however, knew that Sevagy was not merely very intrepid but tireless (as well) and he demonstrated it very soon. To show how little he cared for Sextaghan and the army with which he sought him, Sevagy resolved to sack the great city of Surratte, the greatest emporium of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol, situated thirty-six leagues north of the place where the (two) armies lay. For this purpose he took eight-thousand cavalry and thirty-thousand infantry with him.

"But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy that unless resistance was offered, no one should be killed, and as none resisted none died.

"Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by nine hundred bullocks is credible. He immediately gave signal for retreat without attempting anything against the fortress, for his main object was nothing but to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the East to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army." ¹

20. Escaliot's History of Shivaji

It has been seen that Surat was being plundered by Shivaji for five days from the 6th to 10th January. Rev. John L'Escaliot was the chaplain of the English Factory at Surat in these days. He wrote a very long letter detailing incidents of the loot of the town. Much of the information is not given in the preceding documents.

The letter was communicated to L'Escaliot's friend, the celebrated Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Browne, who caused it to be copied into one of his note-books, now in the British Museum (Sloane MSS. No. 1861). This transcript was published in 1836 by Simon Wilkin in his edition of Browne's works; and the portion relating to Shivaji's raid is here extracted from the London Edition of 1846.¹

His account bears the date of 26th Jan. 1664. In many essentials, it confirms the English version of the sack, yet it bears imprints of originality and undoubtedly forms an interesting reading.

"Thuss farr, deare Browne, I had wrote on Tuesday, the fifth of January, about ten in the morning, when on a sudden a strong alarme was brought to our house from the towne with news that Seva-Gee Raya, or Shivaji's principall governor, (for such assume not the approach to Surat name of kings to themselves, but yet endeavour to bee as absolute each in his province as his sword can make him,) was coming downe with an army of an uncertaine number upon Surat, to pillage the citty, which newes strooke no small consternation into the mindes of a weake and effeminate people, in soe much that on all hands there was nothing to be seene but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates, the richer sort whose stocke of money was large enough to purchase that

1. The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Vol. I, pp. 426—437.

favor at the hands of the Governor of the Castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe, wick they might well enough have defended with the rest of the towne had they had the heartes of men. The same day a post comes in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course or (?) English miles, and made all hast forward wick put the cowardly and unfaithful governor of the towne to send a servant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Sevagee retaines the messenger and marches forwards with all speed, and that night lodged his camp about 5 miles English from the city, and the governor perceveing well that this messenger returned not againe, and that Sevagee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craves admission into the castle and obtaineth it, and soe deserted his towne.

The city of Surat is the only port on this side India, wick belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon a river commodious enough to admitt vessells of 1000 tun, seven miles up, at wick distance from the sea, there stands a reasonable strong castle, well manned and haveing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the river. At a convenient distance, on the north, east and south sides of this castle is the city of Surrat built of a large extent and very popelus. Rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contrived into narrow lanes and without any forme. And for buildings consists partly of brick, (soe the houses of the richer sort) partly of wood, the maine posts of wick sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed together with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed over with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, these bamboo houses are increased unmeasurably, soe that in the greater part of the towne scarce two or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for

many streets together; those houses which are built of bricks are usually built strong, their walls of two or two and a half feet thick, and the roofs of them flat and covered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, which makes most commodious places to take the evening air in the hotter seasons; the whole town is unfortified either by art or nature, its situation is upon a large plain of many miles extent and their care hath been so little to secure it by art, that they have only made against the chief avenues of the town, some weak and ill built gates and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch, easily passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside, the rest is left so open that scarce any sign of a ditch is perceivable; the people of the town are either the

Inhabitants of
Surat.

merchants, and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jews, Indians, of several sorts, but principally Banians, or else Moores the conquerors of the country, Hindues or the ancient inhabitants, or Persees, whose people fled out of Persia ages ago, and here and some miles up the country settle in great numbers.

Parsis' reverence
for fire.

The Banian is one who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least possibly they might be the death of their father or relation, and the Persee doth superstitiously adore the fire as his God, and thinks it an unpardonable sin to throw water upon it, so that if a house be fired or their clothes upon their backs burning, they will if they can hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores are troubled with none of these superstitions, but yet through the unworthy covetousness of the government of the town they had no body to head them, nor

Defenceless Surat.

none unto whom to join themselves, and so fled away for company, whereas if there had been 500 men trained, and in a readiness, as by order from the king there ever should, whose pay the government puts into his own pocket, the number to defend the city would have amounted to some thousands. This was the condition of the city at the time of its invasion.

The invader Seva Gee is as I have said by extraction a Rayar or a governour of a small country on the coast southward of Basine, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an aspiring and ambitious minde, subtile, and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the king, and partly by fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the kings governours of the kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands, and withall parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogol. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to endeavor his suppression, or els all would be lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe every where by the rebell, that he is forced to conditions to release homage to Sevagee of those lands wich hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could. After some tyme of forbearance, the Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that they were detayned from him by his rebbell who was grown too strong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both upon the King of Vijapore and Sevagee, but as yet without any considerable success: many attempts have been made, but still frusterated either by the cuning, or vallour, or money of Sevagee: but now of late Kuttup Chawn, an Umbraw, who passed by Surrat since I arrived with 5000 men, and 14 elephants, and had 9000 men more marched another way towards their randevouz, as wee hear, hath taken from him a strong castle, and some impression into his country, to devert wich, ware it is probable he took this resolution for invation of this country of Guzurat.

His person is described by them whoe have seen him to bee of meane stature, lower somewhat than I am erect, and of an excellent proportion. Active in exercise, and when ever hee speaks seemes to smile, a quicke and peercing eye, and whiter then any of his people. Hee is distrustful,

Parsonal character of Shivaji.

seacret, subtile, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomsoever he getts into his power. Absolute in his commands, and in his punishments more than severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence, if necessity require venterous and desperate in execution of his resolves as, may appeare by this following instance. The King of Vijapore sends downe his uncell a most accomplished

Murder of Afzal Khan.

soldier, with 14000 men into Sevagee's country: the knowne vallor and experience of the man made Sevagee conclude that his best way was to assassinate him in his owne armye by a sudden surprise. ¹ This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would have been undertaken by

Surprise of Shaistakhan.

many of his men of whose conduct hee might have assured himself, but it seemes he would have the action wholly his own, hee therefore with 400 as desparate as himselfe enters the army undiscovered, comes to the generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the generalls sonne, wounds the father, whoe hardly escaped, seisseth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole army, and returnes safe without any considerable loss, and afterward in dispiight of all the King of Vijapore could do, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seised our English merchants, Mr. Rivington, Mr. Taylor, and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the marchants in prison about 8 months.

Wednesday the 6th Janu: about eleven in the morning Sevagee arrived neere a great garden, without the towne about a quarter of a mile, and whilst hee was busied in pitching his

City set on fire.

tents, sent his horsemen into the outward streets of the towne to fire the houses, soe that in less then halfe an houer wee might behold from the tops of our house two great pilliers of smoke, the certaine signes of a great dissolation, and soe they continued burning that day and night, Thursday, Friday and Saturday: still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer approaching

1. Here Escalioth mixes up incidents of the murder of Afzal Khan and of the surprise of Shaista Khan.

our quarter of the towne. That the terror was great, I know youe will easly belieue, and upon his first begining of his firing, the remainder of the people fled as thicke as possible, so that on Thursday the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are exceeding thicke with people, and we the English in our house, the Duch in theirs and some few marchants of Turkey and Armenia, neighbours to our English house, possessed of a Seraw or place of reception for strangers, were left by the gouernor and his people to make what shift we could to secure ourselves from the enemys: this might the English and Duch have done, leaving the towne and going over the river to Swalley to our shippes, which were then riding in Swalley hole, but it was thought more like Englishmen to make ourselves ready to defend our lives and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leave mony, goods, house, to merciless people, and were confirmed in a resolution that the Duch alsoe determined the same, though there was no possibility of relieving one another, the Duch house beeing on the either side of towne almost an English mile asunder.

In order therefore to our better defence, the president, Sir George Oxinden, a most worthy, discreet, courageous

person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley
 The English of our condition, with his desires to the
 preparations for Captains to spare him out of their ships
 defence.

what men they could, and wee in the meane tyme endeavoured to fitt our house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantity of provision of victualls, watter and poudre we could gett, of wich wee gott a competent store. Two brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne, of about three hundred weight a piece, and with old ship carriages mounted them, and made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to scoure a shorte passage to our house; that afternoone we sent aboard a ship in the river for guns and had two of about six hundred a piece sent up in next morning with shott convenient; some are sett to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels to cutt lead into slugs, no hand idle but all employed to strengthen every place as tyme would give

leave to the best advantage. On Wednesday men arrived to the number of forty odd, and bring with them two brass guns more, our four smaller guns are then carried up to the tope of the house and three of them planted to scoure two greet streets, the fourth was bent upon a rich churles house (Hogee Said Beeg of whom more by and by) because it was equally of hight and being possessed by the enemy might have beene dangerous to our house; Captaines are appointed and every man quartered and order taken for relieving one another upon necessity; a fresh recrute of men coming of about twenty more, we than began to consider what houses neere us might bee most prejudiciall; and on one side wee tooke possession of pagod, or Banian idol temple, which was just under our house, wick having taken wee were much more secured on that quarter; on the other a Morish Meseete (mosque) where severall people were harboured and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt upp, wick accordingly done by a party, all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour in. Things being thus reasonably well

Anthony Smith
made prisoner by
Shivaji.

prepared, newes is brought to us that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the companyes, one whoe hath been chiefe in several factories, was taken prisoner by Sevagees souldiers as he came ashore neere the Duch house, and was coming to the English,.....an unfortunate accedent wick made us all much concerned, knowing Sevagees cruelty, and indeed gave him over as quite lost; hee obtaines leave some few houers after to send a note to the president, wherein hee aquants him with his condition, that hee being brought before Sevagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions, and att last by Sevagee told that he was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge him selfe of OramZeb (the Great Mogol), because hee had invaded his country, had killd some of his relations, and that he would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and hee would not medle with their houses, else hee would doe tham all mischeefe possible. Mr. Smith desired him to

send a guard with him to the English house least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but comands to bee carried to the rest of the marchants, where, when hee came, hee found the embassador from the great king of Ethiopia unto Oram Zeb prisoner, and pinioned, with a great number of Banians and others in the same condition: having set there some tyme, about halfe an hower; hee is seized upon by a cupple of black rouges, and pinioned in that extremety that hee hath brought away the marke in his armes with him; this is what hee writt and part of what he related when wee gott him againe. The president by the messenger one of Sevagees men, as we imagined, returned answer that hee wounderd at him that, professing peace, hee should detain as English man prisoner, and that if he would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come so neere his house as to give him cause of suspition, hee would hurt none of his men, other wayes hee was upon his owne defence; upon these tearnes wee were all Wednesday and until Thursday about two at afternoon,

**Englishmen sally
out for defence.**

when perceiueing tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house, and haveing called to the men to depart and not come so neere us, but they not stirring and intending (as wee concluded) to sett fier to the house, on the quarter whereby our house would have been in most eminent danger of being fiered alsoe. The president comanded twenty men under the comand of Mr. Gerrard Aungier, brother to my Lord Aungier, to sally forth upon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate, they did soe, and when they facd them, judgd them to bee about twenty-five horsemen well mounted; they discharged at them and wounded one man and one horse, the rest fac'd about and fled, but made a shift to carry off their wounded man, but the horse fell, haveing gone a little way; what became of the wounded man we cannot tell, but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the army upon mens shoulders and shewed there to Sevagee; tow of our men were hurt, one shot slightly into the legg with an arrow, the other rashly parting from the

rest and running on before was cutt deep over the shoulder, but thanks to God in a faire way of recovery.

On Wedensday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hogee Said Begs house, hee then in the castle, one of a prodigious estate, and brake open the undefended doores, and ther continued all that night long and till next day, that we sallyed out upon their men on the other

The English
protect the house
of Haji Said Beg.

quarter of our house, they appeared by tow or three at a tyme upon the tope of his house, to spye what preparation wee made, but as yet had no order to fier upon them, we heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores, with great maules, but were not much concerned for him, for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood upon his guard, the 20 part of what they tooke from him, would have hiered soe many men as would have secured all the rest; when they heard that wee wear abroad in the streets they imediatly in hast deserted the house, and that as it afterwards appeared, in such hast as to leave tow baggs of mony dropt downe behind them, yet with intention as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to return next day (to) fier the house, but that was prevented. On Friday morning the president sent into the castle to Hogee Said Beg to know whether he would permitt him to take possession of and secure a great company of ware-houses of his adjoyneing to our house, and wich would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house, hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house by help of a ladder we entered it, and haveing found the enemy, haveing beene all Wednesday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entered and begun to plunder his first warehouse, but were scard and that little hurt was done, they had time to carry nothing that is yet knowne of, and only broken open certaine vessells of quickesilver, which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantetye; wee locked up and put a guard in the roome next the street, wich through help of a belcoone secured by

thicke planks tyed to the belcoone pillers, soe close one to another as no more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was so secured as no approach could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouse, but what must come under dainger of our shott. In the afternoone on Friday, Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haveing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and withall obliging himselfe when he did returne, that

The English
asked to with-
draw themselves
from Beg's
house

hee would doe him no hurt, whatsoever message hee should bring, his message was to send him 3 lacks of rupees; (every lack is 1,00,000, and every rupee is worth 2s. 3d.) or elss let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hoge Said Begs house; if not threatening to come and force us, and vowed to kill every person in the house, and to dig up the houses foundation. To this it was answered by the messenger that came with Mr. Smith, that as for his tow propositions he desired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment, and as for Mr. Smith that hee would and did keep him by force, and hee should not returne till than, when if hee could consent to either proposition hee would send him. Mr. Smith being thus returned to us, youe may bee sure each man was inquisitive to know news; whoe told us for their number, they did give themselves out to bee 10,000, and they were now at least a very considerable armye, since the coming of tow rayers with their men

Booty at Surat

whose names hee knew not: that their horse were very good, and soe indeed, those wich we saw were: that when hee came away, hee could not guess by the mony heaped up in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that he had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rup., that the day when hee came away, in the morning, there was brought in neere upon 300 porters laden each with tow baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to bee gold, that they brought in 28 sere of large pearls, with many other jewels, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, (40 sere make 37 pound weight) and these with an

increedable quantety of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the world, his name is Verge Vora, his estate haveing beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rup.¹

That they were still every hower, while hee was their, bringing in loods of mony from his house; his desire of mony is soe great, that he spares noe barbourous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whip them most cruelly, threatens death, and often executeth it, (if) they doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may, or desires they should, at least cutts of one hand, some tymes both; a very great many there were, who hearing of his coming went forth to him, thinking to fare the better, but found there fault to there cost; as one whoe come to our house for cure, hee went forth to meete him and told him he was come from about Agra with cloth, and brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all, or elss what part hee should please to command. Sevagee asked him if he had no mony, hee answered that he had not as yet sold any cloth since hee came to towne, and that he had no money; the villaine made his right hand to bee cutt of imediately, and than bid him begone, he had noe need of his cloth; the porre old man returns, finds his cloth burnt, and himselfe destetute of other harbor, comes to the English house where hee is dresed and fed.

But to proceed, Mr. Smith farther tells us, that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some condition from the governor, wich pleased Sevagee not at all, soe that hee asked the fellow whether his master being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow imediately returns, "and we are not women; I have somewhat more to say to youe;" drawes his dagger, and runs full at Sevagees breast; a fellow that stood by with a sworde redy drawn, strikes between him and Sevagee, and strikes his hand almost of, soe that (it) hung but by a pece of flesh; the fellow haveing made his thrust at

Cruelties of
Shivaji.

Attempt at
Shivaji's life.

Sevagee with all his might, did not stop, but ran his bloody stump against Sevagees breast, and with (such) force (that) both Sevagee and hee fell together, the blood being seen upon Sevagee, the noise run through the camp that hee was killed and the crye went, kill the prisoners, whereupon some were miserably hacked; but Sevagee haveing quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by haveing cloven the fellows scull, comand was given to stay the execution, and to bring the prisoners before him, wich was immediately done, and Sevagee according as it came in his minde caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a third. It comes to Mr. Smiths turne, and his right hand being comanded to hee cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostani to Sevagee, rather to cutt of his head, unto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution and soe praised be God hee escaped.

There were than about four heads and 24 hands cutt of. After that Mr. Smith was come away, and retayned by the president, and they heard the answer hee sends the embassador of Ethiopea, whome hee had sett free upon delivery of 12 horses and some other things, sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did not intend to visitt us, and to raise the house and kill every man of us.

The president resolutly answers that we were redy for him and resolved not to stire, but let him come when hee pleased, and since hee had as hee saide resolved to come, hee bid him come one pore, that is, about the tyme of a watch, sooner than hee intended. With this answer the ambassador went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke wich wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere us as to take hold of us, ever blessed be his name. Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fier. On Friday after hee had ransaked and dug up Verge Voras house, hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house, a fier soe great as turnd the night into day.

Present from the
Ethiopian ambas-
sador.

The English
threatened.

Virji Vora's
house on fire.

as before the smoke in the day tyme had almost turned day into night; rising soe thicke as it darkened the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke as thay tell us hee went his way. And that night lay six courss of, and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river. There is a credable information that he hath shipt his treasure to carry into his own country, and Sir George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them, wich God grant. Wee kept our watch still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writte you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, which was thuss: the person to suffer is pinioned as streight as possibly they can, and then when the nod is given, a soldier come with a whille or blunt knife and throws the poore patient downe upon his face, than draws his hand backwards and setts his knee upon the prisoners backe, and begins to hacke and cutt on one side and other about the wrest; in the meane tyme the poore man roareth exceedingly, kicking and biting the ground for very anguish, when the villaine perceives the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and giues it a snap and proceeds till he hath hacked the hand quite of, which done thay force him to rise, and make him run soe long till through paine and loss of blood he falls downe, they then unpinion him and the blood stops." ¹.

21. "The Irruption of Shivaji" by Thevenot

Monsieur de Thevenot, a prince of travellers, was born on June 7, 1633, and died at the early age of 34 years on 28 Nov. 1667. He arrived at Surat on the 10th of January 1666 and left it for Persia in February, 1667. In the opinion of Orme, Thevenot's account of Shivaji was more reliable than that of any other traveller. "No relation of this country contains so much and such valuable intelligence, acquired in so short a time, or comprized in less

Thevenot at
Surat.

1. B. Museum : Sloane Mss, No. 1861. Reprinted in the Indian Antiquary, Dec. 1921,

extent of writing." Hence his description of the invasion of Surat has been reproduced here in full. This chapter on Shivaji has been translated from the French, and tallied with the English translation published by Rawlinson and the English works of Thevenot.

"In January 1664, Raja Sivagy (Shivaji) disconcerted these (referred to in the last chapter) customs officers and their Governor in a strange manner; and as Shivaji Raja. he has made himself famous by his deedst it will not be amiss to write his short history. This Sivagy is the son of a Captain of the King of Visiapour (Bijapore) and was born at Bassaim¹ (Bassein). As he History of Raja Shivaji. has a turbulent and restless spirit, he rebelled during his father's life-time, and placing himself at the head of several bandits and a number of dissolute youths) he held his own in the mountains of Visiapour against those who came to attack him there, and could not be brought to reason. The King (of Bijapore,) thinking that there was some understanding between him and his father, got the latter arrested; and as his father died in prison², Sivagy conceived such a great hatred against the king that he directed all his energies to be revenged on him. He plundered a part of Visiapour, within a very short time, and with what he looted, he increased his strength in men, arms and horses, and thus found himself strong enough to seize some towns and to establish a small kingdom in spite of the King who died at this time.

The Queen (of Bijapore) who now became regent, having her hands full with other affairs, made all efforts to reclaim Sivagy; but being unable to succeed The Queen Regent of Bijapur. in this attempt, she accepted the peace offered by him and after that she remained peaceful.

However the Raja (Shivaji), unable to remain idle,

1. Thevenot is wrong, Shivaji was born at Shivneri. Guarda subscribes to the same view: "The village of Virar near the city of Bacaym in the territories of the Portuguese Crown was the birthplace of Sevagy."

2. It is a wrong statement.

plundered some places belonging to the Great Mogol. This compelled that Emperor to send troops against him under Chasta Can (Shaista Khan), his uncle, the Governor of Aurangabad.

Chasta Can the
uncle of the
Mogol.

Chasta Can, having many more troops than Sivagy had, pursued him vigorously, but as the Raja always beat his retreat in the mountains and was extremely clever, the Mogol could not achieve his end.

At last, the old Captain (Shaista Khan) believing that the turbulent spirit of Sivagy would lead him to take a false step, resolved to gain time, and remained long in the territories of the Raja. As Chasta Can's patience very much annoyed Sivagy, the latter had recourse to a stratagem. Sivagy ordered one of his captains' to write to this Mogol and persuade him that he wished to enter into the service of the Great Mogol

Stratagem of
Shivaji.

with five hundred men under his command. Chasta Can, having received these letters, dared not trust them at first, but as he went on receiving them and as Sivagy's captain pointed to him the causes of his discontent which seemed to bear a character of truth, he ordered him to come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he in the camp of the Mogols than he asked for a passport to go and meet the King (Great Mogol) that he might enter into his service, but Shasta Can would only give him hopes and keep him by his side.

Sivagy had ordered his Captain to do all he could to insinuate himself into Chasta Can's favour and to spare no means in doing that; to show all possible enmity on suitable occasions and above all to be the first in the attacks made against himself (Shivaji) and his subjects. He did not fail to obey him. He carried fire and sword through the territory of the Raja and did more damage than the others; this gained him a complete confidence of Shasta Can who at last made him Captain of his Guards. But he guarded him badly, because having one day informed

Shivaji falls upon
Shaista Khan,

Sivagy that on a certain night he would be on guard near the tent¹ of the General, the Raja went there with his men, and being

1. See P. 84n *supra*.

let in by his Captain, he came to Chasta Can, who, being awakened¹, rushed at his arms and was wounded in his hand; he found, however, the means to run away, but one of his sons was killed, and Sivagy thinking to have killed Chasta Can himself, gave the signal for retreat. He withdrew with his Captain and all his cavalry in good order. He carried away the treasure of this General and took away his daughter² whom he treated with all possible honours. He forbade, under a very heavy penalty, his men to do her any harm; but on the contrary, she was served with all respect; and when Sivagy learnt that her father was still alive, he informed Shaista Can that, if he would send the sum which he (Shivaji) demanded for her ransom, she would be sent safe and sound. This transaction was promptly and duly done.

Afterwards, he wrote to Shasta Can urging him to withdraw. He did not conceal from him the fact that he himself had contrived the stratagem; and that he had yet conceived of several others for his destruction, and that if he did not withdraw from his territory, he would most certainly have to pay for it with his life. Chasta Can did not neglect this warning. He informed the King (Aurangzeb) that it was impossible to force Sivagy out of the mountains, and that he could not undertake to do so, unless he was ready to sacrifice all his troops. He received orders from the Court to withdraw under the pretext of some new enterprise.

However, Sivagy was determined to take revenge of the Mogol by one way or another, provided it was of some use to him, and as he was well aware that the city of Sourat (Surat) was full of riches he thought of measures how he might plunder it. But in order that nobody should have suspicion of his design, he divided his troops into two parts; and as his state is principally in the mountains on

Shaista Khan
retires for fear
of Shivaji,

One camp of
Shivaji near
Chaoul.

1. See discussion on this point, P. 85n *supra*.

2. Refer to p. 85n *supra*.

the way between Bassaim (Bassein) and Chaoul (Chaul), he ordered one division to camp near Chaoul, and pitched his pavillions there, and at the same time posted the other division near Bassaim. After having given orders to his generals to desist from any sort of pillage, and, not only that, but on the contrary, to return whatever they might have taken, he secretly disguised himself as a Fakir,¹ Shivaji enters Surat in the dress of a Fakir. and went to find out the most convenient roads to reach Sourat speedily; he entered this town in order to examine the place; and thus he had all the leisure he wanted to reconnoitre it.

Returning to his chief camp, he ordered four thousand men² of his troops to follow him quietly, and the others to remain in the Camp and to make such a great bustle there during his absence as if all were there, so that none should suspect anything of his intended enterprise, and everyone should believe that he was still in one of his two camps. Everything was done as he had ordered. They marched very secretly, though very rapidly, in order to surprise Sourat; he came and camped near the Brampour (Burhanpur) Gate. In order to humour the Governor he asked him for some guides under the pretext that he wanted to pass beyond the city; but the Governor, without giving any reply to this, withdrew with all the valuables into the Fort and sent for aid from all sides. Most of the surprised inhabitants forsook their houses and fled into the country. The men of Sivagy having entered the city, plundered it for four days, and burnt down several houses; only

1. According to Sabhasad, Shivaji sent his spy, Bahirji Naik, to bring all information about the riches and defences of Surat. Bahirji Jadhav, a very shrewd man, was appointed Naik of the Jasuds under the Sarnobat. This man, was selected after great scrutiny.....Shortly afterwards came Bahirji, Jasud from Surat, with the information that—"If Surat is plundered, wealth beyond counting will be found,".....It was decided that the army should go by the Jadgiri route. At that time Bahirji Jasud offered to act as a guide. Saying—"I shall conduct the army to a safe place avoiding any meeting with the Moghals. Your Majesty should not be anxious."

2. Orme has adopted this account. P. 12.

the English and the Dutch quarters saved themselves from this
 Pillage of Surat pillage by the vigorous resistance they offered
 by the men of and by means of the guns they had of which
 Shivaji Sivagy had none,¹ the effects of which he
 did not wish to test.

This Raja did not dare also to take the risk of attacking
 the Castle, although he was well aware that all the most
 precious articles had been taken there, particularly a large
 amount of hard cash. He feared that the attack would cost
 him much time and that the reinforcements, which might
 arrive, would make him abandon the booty he had secured
 in the town. Moreover, as the Castle had sufficient means
 to defend itself, he could not make such a cheap work of
 it as he did outside. So he made up his mind to with-
 draw with all the riches he had amassed. It is believed

22 lbs. of pearls
 in the house of a
 single Bania.

at Sourat that this Raja took away more
 than thirty (French?) millions in the form of
 jewellery, gold and silver, and in the house
 of one Bania alone he found twenty-two
 pounds² of stringed pearls, besides a great quantity of others
 which were not yet bored.

There would be something here for one to be astonish-
 ed at, that so populous a town should so patiently
 suffer itself to be plundered by a handful of men, if one
 did not know that the Indians for the most part, are co-
 wards³. No sooner did Sivagy appear with his small body
 of men than they all fled, some to the country for going to
 Baroche, and the others to the Castle where the Governor
 of the town had fled first of all.

Indeed, only the Christians of Europe who held firm
 in their quarters, saved themselves. All the rest of the
 town was plundered except the monastery
 of the Capuchins. When the plunderers were
 in front of their Convent, they passed by, and
 they had orders from their Chief to do likewise,

The Christians of
 Europe defended
 themselves
 against Shivaji.

1. Contradicted by the letter of 28th Jan. 1664.
2. Escalot has given seers.
3. A very sad commentary, but the Marathas were also Indians.

because, on the evening of the very first day, Father Ambrose¹ who was their Superior, moved with pity for the poor Christians inhabiting Sourat, went to see this Raja to speak to him in their favour, and to beg Shivaji's regard for religious men, him at least to do no violence to their persons. Sivagy had respect for him. He took him under his protection, and granted him what he wanted for the Christians².

The Great Mogol was touched to the quick by the plunder of this city and by the audacity of Sivagy, but his affairs did not allow him to pursue him immediately. So he concealed his grief and resentment, and put off his vengeance till some other day.

In 1666, Aurangzeb resolved to absolutely get rid of him. For this purpose he pretended to approve of what Sivagy had done, and praised that his deed was that of a gallant man, putting the blame upon the Governour of Sourat who had no courage to oppose him. Aurangzeb expressed himself thus before the other Rajas of the Court, among whom he well knew that Sivagy had a great many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the valour of that Raja, he wished him to come to the Court, and he openly said that he would be pleased if some one would make this known to Sivagy. He even asked one of them to write to him, and gave his royal word that no harm would be done to Sivagy; that he might come there with full security; that the Emperor had forgotten the past; that his troops would be so well treated that he should have no ground for complaint. Several Rajas wrote what the King had said, and stood security for his word.

And thus Sivagy had no objection to come to the Court and to bring his son with him, after having ordered his

1. 'Father Ambrose hath by his virtue and good services acquired a great reputation in the countries of the Mogul, and is equally esteemed of Christians and Gentiles.' Thevenot, Part III, Chapt. XVII.

2. It is a shining example of Shivaji's reverence for the teachers of many religions. He did not plunder the Christian Convent.

troops to be always on their guard under the lead of a clever Captain whom he left at their head.

At first he received all sorts of favours at the Court, but some months after, perceiving coldness in the King's manners, he openly complained of it, and unhesitatingly told him that he believed that Aurangzeb desired his death, although he had, of his own accord, come to him on his royal word of honour, without any compulsion to do so; and that His Majesty might learn what manner of a man he was from Chasta Can and from the Governor of Sourat; besides, if after all he perished, there were men who would avenge his death; but in the meanwhile, however, before they could kill him, he wished to kill himself;¹ but he was prevented from doing so and a guard was kept on him.

The King (Aurangzeb) would have willingly put him to death, but he was afraid that the Rajas might rise against him. They were already grumbling about the treatment given to Sivagy, in spite of the promise made to him; and all were so much the more concerned for him; as most of them were themselves at the court only depending upon the word of the King. This consideration compelled Aurangzeb to treat him well, and and to fondle his son. Aurangzeb told Sivagy that he had never thought of taking his life and flattered him by the promise of giving him a command in the army if he wished to go with him to Candahar,²

which the Mogol then intended to besiege.

Sivagy feigned consent to this, provided that he commanded his own troops. The king (Aurangzeb), having granted him this request, Sivagy asked for a passport to fetch them; when he had obtained it, he resolved to use it

for his escape from the Court. That is why he gave orders to those to whom he entrusted this passport, and whom he sent before him on the pretext of fetching his troops, to bring horses for him at a certain spot which he indicated to them, and they did not fail him in doing this. When he thought that it was time to go

1 & 2. Cf. Chapter IX *infra*. Orme follows Thevenot. P. 14.

and join them, he was secretly carried with his son in baskets during night to the bank of the river. As soon as they crossed it, they mounted the horses which were kept ready for them. At that time he told the ferry man to go and tell the King (Aurangzeb) that he had taken Raja Sivagy across the river. They galloped day and night; found fresh horses at places wherever it had been arranged to post them; and they safely passed through everywhere on account of the King's passport.

But the son, being unable to stand the fatigue of this great journey, died on the way.¹

The Raja left money to cremate the body with all due honours, and afterwards reached his own territory in good health.

Aurangzeb was extremely enraged at this flight. Many people believed that the rumour of his flight had been circulated as a pretence, and that Sivagy had really been put to death, but the truth was soon known.

This Raja is small in stature and tawny. His eyes are very sharp and fiery, showing a great deal of intelligence. He usually takes one meal a day, and is quite healthy. When he plundered Sourat in 1664, he was not more than 35 years of age.²

Person of Shivaji

22. Abbe Carre on the Sack of Surat

"The second enterprise of Shivaji was made against Surat, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, in the design to enrich himself, and to accustom those on whom glory had not much force, to follow him at least in the hope of booty. He had much treasure from that city, so opulent, to sustain the long wars in which his revolt and

1. Orme has adopted this version, P. 15. But compare Sarkar, Pp. 156-7. "He spread a false report that Shambhuji had died, and even went into mourning for him. Then, when the suspicion of the Mughal officers on the way had been thus lulled asleep, and some months had elapsed, he wrote to Mathura for him, and the three brothers with their whole family migrated to Maharashtra, carrying Shambhuji, disguised as a Brahman kinsman, with them."

2. If this information were to be believed, Shivaji would have been born in 1628 or 1629.

his valour were about to engage him; nor did he forget the maxim of the seditious that when one had once raised himself against his legitimate prince, it is for ever.

Surat was without defence which might stop an army; and certainly the valour (vertu) of its inhabitants did not take the place of ramparts. The merchants of whom it was full, besides their little experience in the act of warfare, being each anxious for the preservation of his own merchandise, were not capable of contributing anything except weakness to the good order of the public affairs which sacrifices sometimes the interests of individuals. Also in Surat, many of the Indians have by the ideas of their moral, approaching in this respect that of Pythagoras, so great a horror of shedding blood, that they would not kill even the vilest animal, far less massacre men, a sentiment which would be very good if all the world had it. See how Shivaji conducted his enterprise.

He did not travel except at night, in order to conceal his march and to avoid the heat. In the day he retired into the hidden places of the wood, which protected him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at their ease, and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers, the banks of which gave them abundance of forage, which cost the soldiers neither trouble nor danger. He was master of the plain and was soon at the gates of Surat, which did not dream in the least that it would have to guard itself from a sack. But the misfortune of that city was not distant, and already Shivaji at half a march from the city, had made all his dispositions not for attacking the bastions, but for the order of the pillage. After having distributed the quarters he excepted the house of the English, that of the Dutch and that of the Capuchin fathers. The last out of veneration for the good monks, and not to appear to treat with contempt in their persons that which the people respected; the former because he knew that they were full of good pieces of cannon and where were to be found trained men. Otherwise, it was very easy to be attached to the Europeans who traded in the Indies, foreseeing that he might

one day have need (of them). The French had not any establishment at Surat.

All being thus disposed, Shivaji advanced up to the gardens which are around the city. The governor was warned; but he feared so little that they were coming to attack him that he let him enter into the place without any difficulty, because the soldiers in their countenance did not show what they were, leading with them beasts of burden and not flourishing their arms. Each (of them) knew where he should go, but they did not observe any order in their march. People took them, as Shaista Khan had done, for the men in the suit of some powerful Indian, of whom there are incessantly in Surat the equipages passing, who to others would have appeared as entire armies.

The soldiers (of Shivaji) had time to take their posts in the places of the city and in the highways, without any of the inhabitants or strangers demanding what they were doing and by whose authority. Shivaji very calmly as in a city which at all times would recognize his orders commanded at his pleasure, and nobody presented himself to oppose him. Meantime, the trouble quickly spread on all sides. The signal being given, the soldiers commenced the plunder. They attacked roughly whomever they found under their hand, without considering either age or sex. They slew some, the others fled carrying with themselves whatever they could, and delivering to the avarice of the troops what they could not carry off. They then entered the houses, and after plundering them and putting their booty (*proie*) on their horses and in the carts which they had brought purposely (for this), there were not many cruelties which they did not exercise towards the women and the old men whom feebleness and age had kept in their houses. They wished by this to make them reveal where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two Governors in despair knew not what to think, and nothing remained for them to attend to except to place in hiding their persons and the most valuable things they had. Self-interest and greed overcame them and carried them against the thoughts of their duty. At last, he of the castle caused all his

artillery to play upon the city. They fired at random. If there was danger for the soldiers of Shivaji, destruction was certain for the inhabitants of Surat, whose houses were demolished by the cannon, and kindled a fire there, at the same time that the enemy had robbed them of their movables and emptied their stores.

Shivaji was on horseback with a small number of officers, engaged in making the carts and loaded horses pass to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted three days and three nights, after which Shivaji issued from Surat as easily as he had entered it, having found in only one city all the riches of the East, and made for (his) war the funds which would not be exhausted in a long time. It was as yet nothing more than preparation. The suit responded to it; and *Shivaji very soon appeared to the East in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy nevertheless to be compared with the greatest men.*"

23. "The Holy Sevagi"

The following extract from *Bernier* will be interesting: "Sevagi, the holy Seva-Gi! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said, and shall not be molested.' He spared also the house of deceased Delale (Hindi-dallal) or Gentile broker, of the Dutch, because assured that he had been very charitable while alive¹. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped his visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the crews of their vessels performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses, but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew, a native of Constantinople, astonished everybody. Seva-Gi knew that he was in possession of most valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to Aureng-Zebe; but he preserved in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew, whose love of money generally exceeds his love of life." (Pp. 188-189.)

1, Tavernier gives the name of the Dalal as Mohandas Parekh.

CHAPTER VIII.

Jai Singh Against Shivaji

1. Aurangzeb's preparations against Shivaji

Aurangzeb was highly infuriated to read the reports of the pillage and destruction of Surat by the despised 'Mountain Rat'. He disgraced Inayat Khan, the pusillanimous Governor of Surat, by calling him back to the Durbar, and vigorously made great preparations for another war against Shivaji, as is recorded in the Dagh-Register of 1664 :

"The following advice is received in matters of government. King Arangcha has returned from Casmier to Lahore and intends to destroy the rebel Siwasi entirely". (15th Jan. 1664, p. 17.)

"The great Mogol is somewhere in Dilly or Siasainabath (Shahjahanabad) and sends more troops to the Deccan every day to destroy the robber Siwasi and will come down there himself with his whole Court. The new governor of Suratte is expected within 8 or 10 days." (23rd Sept. 1664, p. 371.)

2. English and Dutch help against Shivaji's fleet

His mortification was still more intensified at the news that Shivaji was on the look-out for capturing merchant and pilgrim vessels returning from Mocha. The Mogul Emperors were quite powerless on the sea. There was no national marine to protect the merchant shipping and the coast towns from the aggressions of the foreign and native adventurers. Hence Aurangzeb was compelled to invoke the help of the Dutch and English to protect his ships against the fleet of Shivaji. The Dagh-Register records the following notes :—

“The following is to be mentioned regarding the advices from Surat. The new governor with the name of Gaesdichan has arrived in Surat on the 2nd of May. His predecessor Anajetchan had left Surat a few days before, as he would not await his arrival. That same day he sent

Change of
Governors at
Surat.

cloths of honour to the English President and to Director van Adrichem and others according to the custom of the regents when they newly arrive as governors; but his predecessors have never been so hasty with it. Two days afterwards he has given to the Director a statement of the cargoes imported and exported by the Company during this year. He further called him at his house on the 7th of the same month and told him that the king had ordered him by firman to request the English and us to lend a ship each to His Majesty about 15th or 20th September, in order to

European convoy
to guard ships
of the Great
Mogul.

meet, near St. John, His Majesty's ships which are expected to arrive from Mocha and to protect them against all hostilities of the robber Siwasi who, as people said, was going to fit out a fleet against the Mogol. He promised thereby that the charges which we should have to incur, would be refunded either in cash or by granting more freedom in our business and exemption from toll, as we had had last year. The English had already confirmed by letter that they would send the convoy. Although the Director tried hard to get away from it, he could not refuse it now and granted the request on condition that the Company would be exempted from the Surat and Broocha toll for all their exported and imported goods. The Director preferred this to asking refund out of pocket expenses, because usually the Moors are more liberal in exempting some of their privileges than in paying cash, which they need very much. We shall use the “*Vielani*” or the “*Claverskerke*” which are coming from Persia for that purpose. It will only be a matter of 14 days. The Director thinks that it is only brag on the part of Siwasi, because he has never undertaken anything at sea. According to him, the worst of it is that Siwasi will be angry

with us for our helping the Moors. But he has given us sufficient reason to cause him some damage. Moreover, if the king's ships would get into difficulties, business in Suratte would be upset to such an extent that it would not be easy to restore it, and in that case the business of the Company would also have to stop.

The said Governor during his conversation with the Director had also quoted an extract from His Majesty's firman regarding the exemption from toll for Customs reduced.

a whole year to all the Suratte inhabitants and merchants, and of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for ever for us and the English". (15th Oct. 1664, p. 423.)

"In the letter to Suratte in reply to theirs of 6th June, the following was advised. At the request of the Mogol to have a ship as convoy for the Moor ships which are expected from Mocha, we have consented to use the yacht *Vlielant* for that purpose." (21st Oct. 1664, p. 461.)

"The Governor of Surat, Gaesdincham had informed the Director that he had received instructions from the king

The Dutch
refused to help
the Emperor.

Orangcha to induce us with promises of a substantial reward to destroy the naval forces of Siwasi. The Director had replied to this that in the first place it would not suit the Company and moreover that they had not yet received a stuyver (penny) compensation for the big expenses incurred by us during the siege of Daman. He had informed the governor that if the king would give us a contract for a perpetual free trade in Suratta and Brootchia and moreover would pay us for the expenses that we would have to incur in destroying Siwasi's forces, he would propose the matter to His Excellency."

"The Director had done well in declining to allow the assistance asked for against Siwasi". (Dagh-Register 1665, pp. 176, 191.)

"Nothing yet had happened since the Governor of Surat in the name of the King had asked the Director to wipe Siwagi's forces off the sea with our vessels. It was thought that the matter would die out. A certain Englishman would be sent by the king to build in Suratta five big

ships and some frigates which would be used against Siwagi". (Dagh-Register 1665, p. 322).

3. Reasons for an offensive against Shivaji

The humiliation of Shaista Khan, the sacrilegious sack of the sacred city of Surat, the plunder of Ahmadnagar, the daring depredations of the Marathas in the Imperial territory even up to the gates of Aurangabad, the naval exploits on the western coast, and the utter discomfiture of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam, had raised the reputation and prestige of Shivaji to a climax, and deepened the chagrin of the Emperor.

It appears that Shivaji not only intercepted naval traffic, or captured the small ports of Jiwal, Pabal and others near Surat, but actually fell upon some pilgrim ships. This grave profanity by the 'Infidel Rebel' further exasperated the devout Emperor. He therefore, resolved to crush the 'Hell-dog' and to put an end to his growing naval supremacy. Shivaji soon added insult to injury by assuming, after his father's death, the royal title of Raja, and by coining money of his own in his new capital of Raigarh.¹

The establishment of a sovereign Hindu state roused the fanatic Emperor to still more desperate efforts for Shivaji's destruction. He called to his presence Raja Jai Singh in whose prudence and valour he rightly had great confidence and entrusted him with the important task of suppressing Shivaji.² It is true that there was never a prince among the Rajputs equal to Jai Singh in accomplishments. In pleasing manners, he was unparalleled, in valour, second to none; and his generosity reminded men of Hatam Tai. He stands foremost as a consummate commander, a subtle

1. Owen's Fall of the Mogul Empire, p. 63. Elphinstone's History of India, p. 611.

2. Storia, II, p. 120.

statesman, and as an astute diplomat of his times. It was hoped that this Maharaja would succeed in over-awing Shivaji and by the might of his sword and diplomacy, would induce him to become like himself a vassal of the Great Mogul.¹

4. Shivaji away to Kanara

While the greatest Hindu general of the Mogul Empire was marching with his swarming hosts to Poona, Shivaji was enriching himself by the plunder of the prosperous towns of Barcelore, Bednur, Gokurn, Karwar, etc. We learn from the following letter that he was expected at Gokurn in the beginning of February. After visiting this sacred shrine, Shivaji proceeded to Karwar whence he departed on the 23rd of February to meet the new danger from the north.²

5. Jai Singh's commission against Bijapur

Wide currency was given to the rumour that Jai Singh was advancing against Bijapur for demanding the arrears of the tribute due to Delhi, so that the Sultan of Bijapur be cowed down and kept back from his alliance with Shivaji. The following letter from Karwar, dated 28th January, 1665, refers to the rumour that Shivaji, his brother Vyankoji and the nobles of Bijapur were to fight against Mirza Raja.

"The newest³ in these parts is that Rajah Jessun (Jai Singh) is come to Brampore (Burhanpur) with 30,000 horse, 3,000 of which were permitted to attend him into said city. They say he comes to demand 7,000,000 pagodas as a tribute due from the King (of Bijapur). What answer

1. J. Scott's History of the Deccan, Part III, p. 17. Sarkar, p. 106.

2. Pp. 105-12 *supra*.

3. Karwar to Surat, 28th Jan. 1665, E. F. 1665-67, p. 76.

the King will give him none knowes as yet, he staying until Ballul Caune (Bahlol Khan) and Sevagys brother (Vyankoji), Siud Elasse (Sayyid Iliyas Sharza Khan) being there allready. Its reported three armys are to goe against the Mogull, the one under Sevagy, the other under Rustum Jeamah, and the third under Cows Caune¹ (Khawas Khan); but we feare the truth thereof, Sevagy being expected down to Gocurne², where if he comes, though its thought he will not rob any of Rustum Jeamah's countrey, yet wee will not trust him, but will secure what possible wee can. There wants not above eight dayes more to that feast, so that, if he comes not till then, we shall be in great hopes he will not necessit us this year."

6. Jai Singh's march to Poona

The Mirza Raja arrived at Poona on 3rd March and we have a letter of 22nd March, 1665 from H. Gary reporting to Lord Arlington on this affair to the following effect:

'There³ are severall places uppon the maine belonging unto Sevagee nor farr from us, to which we may freely goe and where the caravans might also come out of Hyndostan and Decan without coming neere the Portugueses jurisdiction, with paying but a small custume unto him; but hee is so greate a robber that it is to be doubted that merchants will scarce runn the hazard of having theyr goods brought or carryed through his country; tho some are of oppinion that, giving his oath, hee will religiously keepe it. The Greate Mogull, Orangzeb, hath sent a greate army

Possibilities of
Bombay trade
with Shivaji.

The strength of
the Mogul army
against Shivaji.

1 Khawas Khan was the eldest son of Khan Muhammad, the prime minister of Ali Adil Shah, but the latter was barbarously put to death by the factious nobility of Bijapur. However, the successor of Ali Adil Shah bestowed the whole estate of the minister upon his son Khawas Khan and thus won him over to his side.

2. P. 109 *supra*, Gokurne is a place where is yearly a great feastheld by Hindus, and lies between Ancola and Mergee.

3. E. F, 1665-67, p. 52. 22 March 1665. Gary to Lord Arlington.

against him, *consisting of above*¹ 100,000 horse. If he prevaile and take his country from him, which lyeth betweene

Effect of the Mogul's victory on Bombay, us and Chaul, it will bee very happy for this island; for then all manner of merchandise will be brought downe to us in greate quantitys, and then no doubt but this (Bombay) will be the most flourishing port of the Orient."

The Surat Factors, writing to Karwar on 27th March 1665, conveyed the news of the advancing army of Jai Singh.

"Rajah² Jessing, with many more umbrahs (nobles: Umara), are on their way with a great army; but what the issue will be time must produce. Rustum Jemah begins to tast the sweetness of plunder, that in a short time he will gett an habitt of it. It is to be feared there will be as little trusting him as Sevagy, for we have cause to suspect he workes counter. If you have any assurance of recovering the Companies debt, one of you may goe up and present him. As to the valew of what you are to give, you are better able to judge than we can at this distance, and therefore shall leave it to you, wishing you to use all necessary frugality, as well in this as all other your expences."

7. Shivaji's submission

Jai Singh succeeded in alienating Bijapur to so great an extent that Ali Adil Shah, setting aside his alliance with Shivaji, endeavoured to stab the Maratha King in the back by carrying on a vigorous campaign in the Konkan³. The Rajahs of Ramnagar and Jauhar, the Portuguese, the Siddis

1. According to the Sabhasad, Jai Singh advanced with an army of 80,000 horse and 5,000 Pathans. Chitnis—Number not stated. T. and Keluskar adopt the no. of the Sabhasad.

Sarkar (p. 105) states the incredibly small force of 14,000 troopers and others. This number is totally at variance with the one mentioned in the above letter.

2. Surat to Karwar, 27th March 1665, E. F. 1665-57, p. 77. For names of the nobles refer to Sarkar, 105.

3. See pp. 118-127 *supra*.



Mirza Raja Jay Sing.



The Mogul Army Marching.

and all those who had ever suffered at the hands of Shivaji, were won over by Jai Singh. Attempts were made to tamper with the loyalty of Shivaji's officers. Honours, dignities and emoluments were profusely lavished to seduce the adherents of Shivaji. Then the Maharaja and his lieutenant Diler Khan, laid siege to the two impregnable forts of Sinhgad and Purandhar, devastated the Maratha country with fire and sword, and created such a violent storm that the uncrowned king of the Marathas for a time quailed before it. The impending fall of Purandhar compelled Shivaji to make peace with him.

The terms of the treaty of Purandhar are mentioned here.

"Our old¹ and deare friend Sevagy hath, wee feare, come to some mischance, having retired his quarters as far as Singapore,² 7 gow to the northward of Rajapore; all which Mahmud Eclasse Caun (Mahmud Ikhlas Khan), Cowes Caunes (Khawas Khan's) brother, hath taken from him. That is for certaine, he and Nettle went and met Rajah Jessun (Jai Singh) and delivered his sonne for a pledge; upon what condition wee know not, but Sevagy is to deliver up 23 castles.³ Four are already delivered.

Bijapur forces
strike Shivaji at
the back

1. Karwar to Surat, 25th Aug. 1665, E. F. 1665 67, pp. 82-3.

2. Shingnapur.

3. The number of forts surrendered by Shivaji is dubious in this letter. It can be interpreted both as 23 and 27. The Bakhers and Moslem histories waver between these two numbers.

23 Forts mentioned by Khafi Khan and Jaisingh in his letter. On this basis by Rawlinson, p. 72; Sarkar, pp. 128, 131; Cf. Kinkaid, 213-214

27 Forts mentioned by Shedgaonkar, Chitnis, p. 107. Siva Digvijaya p. 240. Sabhasad, p. 46, 55, 59. Rairi—no mention.

Aurangzeb's Letter to Shivaji mentions 30 forts surrendered to Jaisingh and this is confirmed by a contemporary Surat Letter.

J. Scott mentions that "Sewajee the same day surrendered Poonadhar to the Imperial generals, and gave up the keys of 24 other forts", P. 12.

But Grant Duff, Guarda (90), Elphinstone (612), Ranade (106), Keluskar and Rajwade (VIII, 14), give twenty as the number of the forts secured by Jai Singh. This number is not confirmed by the preceding extracts. Sarkar (P. 131) has given the list of 23 forts delivered by Shivaji and Grant Duff (P. 94) names the twelve forts retained by the Maratha Chief.

This submission was caused by Raja Jessuns¹ going on roundly to work, having so battered Punedar² (Purandhar), a very great castle, being about 10 miles round without the wall, that the beseiged could not have held but above 4 or 5 days longer. Some say (which wee are apt to believe), that Rajah Jeswuns hath shewed him a Rashboots (Rajput's) trick, having sent his son³ and Nettagee to Agra. Some thing is the matter that he parts so peaceably with his country.⁴ Wee have sent a man to the Rajah's camp at Puna to know the certainty; when he returnes, wee shall write what newes he brings by the next."

The spy soon returned from Poona. Thereupon a further budget of news was given in a letter dated 12 September, 1665.⁵ It was stated that Shivaji was preparing to proceed to the north and that he was losing port towns like Dabhol, etc.

'Our men from Rajapore and Rajah Jessuns camp being both returned, he from the camp brings us newes that Sevagy's sonne is certainly there, and that Sevagy is preparing to

DELIVERED

- 1 Rudramala or Vajragarh
- 2 Purandar
- 3 Kondana
- 4 Rohira
- 5 Lohgarh
- 6 Isagarh
- 7 Tanki
- 8 Tikona
- 9 Mahuli
- 10 Muranjan
- 11 Khirdurg
- 12 Bhandardurg

- 13 Tulsikhul
- 14 Nardurg
- 15 Khaigarh or Ankola
- 16 Marg-garh or Atra
- 17 Kohaj
- 18 Basant
- 19 Nang
- 20 Karnala
- 21 Songarh
- 22 Mangarh
- 23 Khad-kala near Kondana

RETAINED.

- 1 Rajgurh
- 2 Torana
- 3 Rairee (Raigurh)
- 4 Linganaah
- 5 Mahargurh
- 6 Ballagurh
- 7 Gossala
- 8 Eeswaree
- 9 Palee
- 10 Bhoorup
- 11 Koaree
- 12 Oodedroog

1. Cf. G. Duff's History, 92, Sarkar, 121-135.

2. For a full description see Bomb. Gaz. XVII. pt. III, pp. 428-35.

3. This was a wrong information. The English sent a messenger to Poona for finding out the truth.

4. See p. 246 *Infra*.

5. E. F. 1665-67. P. 85, Karwar to Surat.

goe visit Orung Zeeb¹, having delivered up severall of his best castles to the Mogull. His family he hath secured in Raire, a place well-known to Mr. Randolph Taylor, to whom desire you to be referr'd. Our man from Rajapore brings news that Mahmud Ecles Ckaune hath taken Dabull and all the countrey adjacent thereto. The Governor of Rajapore wrote us a letter inviting us thither. He is put on by the King (of Bijapur). Wee heare likewise that the Ducth hath desired leave to setle a factory there, and that they have been deni'd, being told that the place was at the English's refusall. The Mogull hath certainly 6,000 horse before Chaul²; what their intention is, is not as yet known.

Peace between The Vizapore King hath made peace with
Bijapur and the Mogull, and is sending one Moollamud
Aurangzeb. (Mulla Ahmad) with his tribute mony to Agra.
Mirjah castle³ as yet holds out, but wee beleive it will not
be long ere its reduced to its former obedience, Rustum
Jeamah is dayly sent for by his King, but durst not venture."

8. War in the Konkan

Having made peace with Jai Singh, Shivaji proceeded to wreak vengeance upon the King of Bijapur, who had sent forces to capture the places in the South Konkan which had before been wrested from him by Shivaji. The

1. Prof. Sarkar makes out that Jai Singh thought of the plan of sending Shivaji to the Court after his failure before Bijapur and Panhala at the end of Jan. 1666. (P. 138) This letter is positive on the point that Shivaji's departure to the Court had been decided earlier than the month of Sept. 1665. The Sabhasad (P. 37) and Chitnis (P. 101) Bakhars both state that before his surrender Shivaji had a vision in his ecstatic trance that he would have to wait upon Aurangzeb. The Sabhasad (Pp. 38,44) further adds that at the time of the interview, Mirza Raja suggested to Shivaji that the latter should proceed to the north to pay his respects to the Emperor. Shivaji consented as he had hopes of receiving the viceroyalty of the Deccan. In the Rairi (P. 16) and Chitnis (P. 107) Bakhars too, we find that the question of going to Delhi was being discussed during the pourparlers regarding the treaty of Purandhar. Shivaji intimated his intention of visiting the emperor in a letter sent to Aurangzeb himself in June, and the Emperor, in return, extended his invitation to Shivaji for coming to the court.

2. Cf. P. 246 *Infra*. Letter of 29 Dec. 1665.

3. P. 122 *Supra*.

Hindu hero inflicted a serious defeat upon M. Ikhlas Khan, and soon recovered much of that country.

"Notwithstanding¹ our sending a man to Rajah Jessuns camp, wee cannot certainly informe ourselves what is become of Sevagy. Met the Mogull's he hath certainly, and delivered up to him severall castles, as allso his sonne for a pledge. This Kings generall, Mahmud Ecles (Mahmud Ikhlas), lies at Coddal (Kudal) with his army, having lost all the countrey he had retaken back againe to Sevagy, with the lives of 2,000 men besides, amongst whom are severall persons of great note. Serjah Ckaune (Sharza Khan) is comming down to assist Mahmud Ecclesse Ckaune. What will then be done, wee must leave to time to discover.

Shivaji defeats
Ikhlas Khan.

Rustum Jeemah is at Vizapore, much in favour; but severall noblemen of good quality are runne away to the Mogull. The King hath sent away all his wives and women to other castles, dayly expecting the Mogulls approach. This King demands all his noblemens wives for security, imprisoning all of them that refuses to condescend thereto.

General Diler
Khan determined
to capture
Bijapur.

There is one Dillar Ckaune (Diler Khan), a man of great force and repute, in Rajah Jessuns camp, that will not by any means listen to any overtures for peace, telling said Rajah (who is thought inclinable to an accomodation) that he hath made an inviolable oath to drink of Viziapore water before he depart, and he will goe and fetch it.

Plunder of
Karwar country
by Shivaji's
soldiers.

Several souldiers that lie in garrison hereabouts (Karwar) belonging to Sevagy, doe leave their castles and goe and plunder up and down severall small townes. They are not above 200 in number; so wee not much feare them, not qnestioning but

1. E. F. 1665-67. P. 86. Karwar to Surat, 27th Nov, 1665. Sarkar, 241, Sabhasad, p. 69.

wee can resist them well enough till wee can have help, if they should venture hither. Mortazabeeg though he hath lost his castle,¹ is out with 200 men likewise; so that wee are forced to keep about 40 peons, least by any sudden surprisal wee should hazzard all, rather then expend a small part. The reason of Mr. Masters his going to Goa wee desire you to be referred to his own letters for."

Murtaza Beg
when defeated by
Shivaji took to
plunder.

9. Dagb Register on Shivaji's submission

We will quote two brief extracts from the Dagb-Register of the year 1665 on this point.

"There were rumours that Ragia Jessing had taken one of the principal fortresses of Siwagi and that Siwagi had come down from the mountains with 4 or 5000 horsemen intending to do some other daring act." (P. 322.)

"From a Benjaen Servant who had come from Suratta Mr. Coulster heard that the Director van Adrichem had died there and that the robber Siwage had submitted to the Mogol or had been accepted by him as an ally." (P. 372.)

10. Effect of Jai Singh's victory on Bombay

Gary dispatched a letter to Lord Arlington,¹ dated 16 December, 1665, in which he said that the political outlook had been rendered somewhat more favourable by Jai Singh's conquest of the districts on the neighbouring mainland and whereby all that country, which before was hardly to be travelled in, is now become free and peaceable; though this island (Bombay) 'to this present hath not received any benefitt thereby.'

1. Mirjee castle,

1, E. F. 1665-67, p. 69.

11. Jai Singh's victory over Shivaji and Bijapur

"In ¹ mine of the 31st of March, I acquainted you that this Kings forces were marched into Decan, but as then heard of no action. Since when they beseidged some considerable castles belonging to Savage and tooke two, and have at length reduced him to conditions, and he delivered upp divers of his strongest castles and his sonne a hostage, and tis reported he is prepareing to goe and visit the Mogull, on the other side the King of Decan (i. e., Bijapur) hath recovered from him Rajapore, Dabull, and all the country adjacent. The Mogull hath 6,000 horse before Chaul, a strong towne of the Portugalls, but their intention not yet kn(own). The Decan King hath made peace with the Mogull (the report is for 900,000 pagadas) and is sending his tribute money to Agra."

A Surat letter of 1st January 1666 to the Company gives further information on the Treaty of Purandhar made between Shivaji and Jai Singh. The delivering of 30 castles, the acceptance of the title of Panch Hazari (or five thousand horse) by Shivaji and the invasion of Bijapur by the Mogul force, should be noted in this letter of the Surat Council. The number of forts surrendered is said to be thirty as was stated by Aurangzeb in his letter to Shivaji, but the conflicting evidence has been discussed before. The despatch, moreover, confirms the view of Justice Ranade that Shivaji's surrender was due to some deep-laid scheme of policy still undiscovered and not to superstition as was alleged by Grant Duff.²

"³ Now that he hath worsted that *grand Rebell Sevagy* who finding himselfe overpower'd, by his sending of numerous Armies upon him hath submitted himselfe delivering

1. Oxenden to the Consul at Aleppo, 29 Dec. 1665, E, F, 3 1665-67, pp 36-7.

2. Duff, 92; Ranade, 104.

3. Surratte, 1st January 1666. O. C. 3144. Vol, 2, p. 33.

up to this Kings Generall upward of 30 Castles and strongholds together with all the countries belonging to them, and accepted ¹ of this Kings pay of 5000 horse; yet we cannot heare certainly that he hath resigned himselfe personally, but done all this by treaty, keeping to himself some few of his strongest Castles for his retirement. This victory thus obtained over him is very pleasing to the King, and hath made him a way to assault Virzapore, the great metropolis of the King of Decan, who before was tributary, but refused to pay his annual tribute for some yeares while Sevagy was powerful and stood as a wall and partition betweene them, which now that he is worsted is willing to pay his Arreares, if this King will withdraw his Army from further assaulting him; and yet 'tis thought by some that Sevagy hath an after game ² to play still.

Rajah Jessuns threatens Vizapore hard. What he will doe, no body knows; but this is certaine, the King hath thoughts of running away to Pelgunda³, a castle in Carnattick. Merjah ⁴ is still beseiged, and its thought will suddenly be taken. If it be, wee question not Mahmud Caune's debt. Markets are very dead: so that wee can put of neither lead nor currall. Since writing the prementioned lines, wee heare Raja Jessun hath made peace with the King of Vizapore ⁵ for 900000 pagodas. If true, then Sevagy will have a hard businesse of it."

12. Reasons for peace with Jai Singh

Shivaji single-handed had successfully weathered many storms raised by his multitudinous foes. He had laid low in dust the greatest Bijapur generals, rolled back the tide of invading hosts under Shaista Khan, the premier peer of the Mogul Empire, and humbled the pride of the great

1. The Imperial rank of 5,000 horse was conferred upon Shivaji's son Sambhaji, and not on Shivaji.

2. It is confirmed by a preceding extract P. 242 *Supra*.

3. Perhaps Penugonda.

4. Pp. 121-2 *Supra*.

5. Pp. 246 *supra*.

Rathor Rajput. Though he had not actually lost a single fort by this time, though he was not driven to desperation in any way, though he could have defied for a long time Mogul armies in any one of his impregnable and rocky retreats, yet he made his submission to Jai Singh, agreed to give up a large part of his territory and to hold the rest as a vassal of the Emperor like the Rajput princes of the north. This prompt surrender came as a surprise to many. Hence the English letters have truly reported that "Some thing is the matter that he (Shivaji) so peaceably parts with his country," and that he had "some after game to play still." The act was an incomprehensible mystery to his contemporaries, but is it a mystery still? The clue to his profound policy is to be found in his letter to Jai Singh from which relevant portions are quoted below:

"This is not the time for fighting between ourselves, since a grave danger faces the Hindus. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers, are all in danger of existence owing to his machinations, and the utmost limit of pain that can be borne, has been reached.

It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalmans should establish supremacy over this vast country. If thou joinest hands with Jaswantsing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery, and if thou bringest about unity with the Rana (of Mewar), then indeed there is hope for great things. Do you all rush and fight from all sides; tramp down that serpent under the rock; so that he may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan in his meshes; and I may in the meantime with the aid of these and other lance-bearing heroes, make away with the other two emperors (Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda); so that I may rain the shower of swords from the thundering clouds of my army on the Mussalmans; so that from one end of the Deccan to the



Shivaji.



Shivaji.



Afzulkhan.



Shaista Khan.

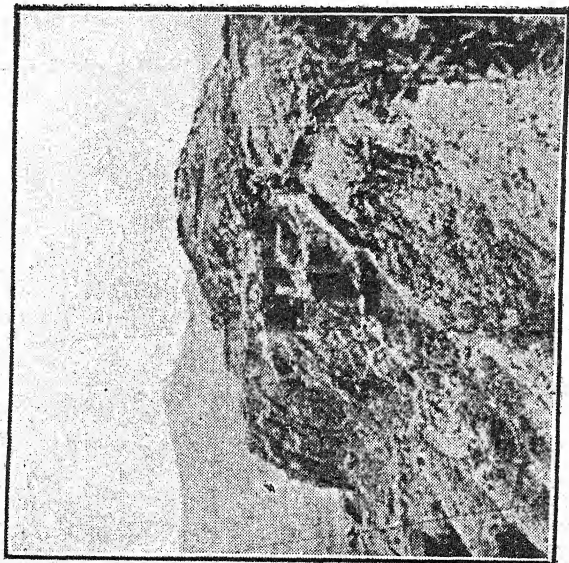
(Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.)



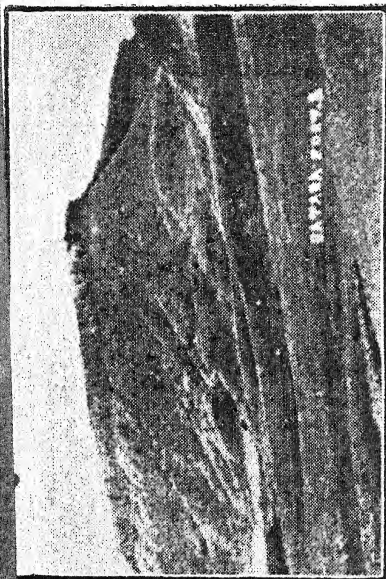
Nimbalkar of Phaltan
as a Hindu & a Moslem.



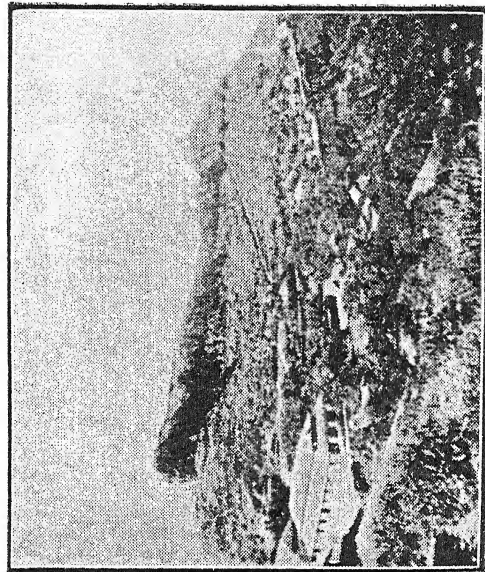
Diler Khan.



Fort Sinhagadh.



The Fort of Ajamtara-Satara.



Fort of Purandhar.

other, I may wash out the name and very vestige of Mahommadanism. Thereafter with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, and I may come out of the plains; and forthwith present myself for your service and hear you render your accounts; and we may inaugurate a grim war on all sides and devote the battle-field to it; and the tide of our army may submerge the crumbling walls of Delhi, so that nothing may be left of the Aurang (the throne) or the Zeb (gardener); so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy; so that we may flow a river of pure blood and satisfy the souls of our ancestors; and with the grace of God, the Just and the Giver of Life, we shall entomb him below the bottom of the earth." ¹

It was to save the family-honour of the brave defenders of Purandhar and Sinhgad, to put an end to the war in which vast numbers of Hindus were being slain on both sides, to win over Jai Singh for inaugurating a war of Hindu independence against the domineering Muslims, to take revenge upon Bijapur for its treacherous violation of the treaty, to conquer the two Muslim kingdoms with the help of Mogul arms, or at least to secure the right of collecting Chouth and Sardeshmukhi from them, ² in one word, it was to realize one of the fondest dreams of his noble ambition to restore Hindu independence that Shivaji made peace with Jai Singh.

Jai Singh, after his triumph over Shivaji turned his victorious arms against Bijapur which had so vigorously helped the Mogul. There is no justification, nor any plausible pretext in extenuation of this aggressive war

1. Sir E. Sullivan has truly remarked: "Had Jaising of Amber (Jaipur), the Rana Raj of Mewar and Shivaji and the other great native princes of his time coalesced with Jaswant, the Mogul power must have fallen". "Sights," says Aurangzeb's historian, "never ceased to flow from Aurangzeb's heart whilst 'Jaswant lived'".

2. Ranade, 106; Sarkar, 125; Kincaid, I. 211; Takakhav, 607; See also Shivaji Souvenir.

against an ally. The Mogul invasion was an atrocious act of wanton and unprovoked aggression against a friendly kingdom. Shivaji joined Jai Singh to wreak vengeance for the provocative war in the Konkan. Its details have already been given on pages 123-127 *supra*.¹

13. Heroic defence of Bijapur

After² giving some news from Madras the factors reported that

"Notwithstanding Mahmud Eccles Caune hath left Coodal above this month, yet Rough Pundit hath layen at Rajapore with 2,000 men and done nothing all that while. He hath likewise wrote to the Governour of Coddall for a coule (pass; Kaul), who hath but 500 horse and 1000 foot. The King of Visiapore is resolved³ to hold out as long as he can against Rajah Jessun, if they cannot come to an agreement; having to that end broke down all the townes that are within 4 or 5 miles of Viziapore and poysoned all the waters thereabouts; which hath put all the merchants there in such feare that there is hardly one of note left in Viziapore, and all the nobles have sent away their families to some other strongholds; though yet, notwithstanding all this, there is great hopes of a peace...*P. S.* Last night past by our house 7 seamen Moores, that are all that are left of 43 that are come from Surat in a Shipp belonging to Banjee Revedas (Banji Revedas), bound for Basselore. She hath been absent from Surat a great while, having been repaired at Choule, from whence who was now comming down. The Mallabarres fought her 3 dayes, and then she blew up of her selfe, lost all but 7 men, which are burnt or drowned."

The same topics are dealt with in a private letter of 29 December, 1665 sent by Giffard to Randolph Taylor. He

1. Cf. Sen's *Guarda*, p. 86, 91-92.

2. Karwar to Surat, 1 Jan. 1666. E. F. 1665-67, p. 88.

3. Sarkar, pp. 134-36.

laments the death of Master and offers to purchase certain of his effects, including 'his physick stones, and feavour stones and flux stones'. He gives a circumstantial story of the way in which Jai Singh had, according to report, entrapped Shivaji; but this is not worth repeating, as the incident never really occurred¹.

14. Jai Singh's retreat.

Two more letters on the siege of Bijapur have been given on pages 122-3. Jai Singh's hopes to surprise Bijapur by a *coup de main* were completely frustrated by the gigantic preparations made by Ali Adil Shah to make his capital impregnable for the invaders. The baffled forces soon turned back from the desolated environs of the capital, but during their retreat these had to suffer several defeats from the pursuing Bijapuri armies which were now nobly assisted by 52,000 troops from Golcondah. Desultory fighting went on for one year.

The numerous skirmishes and battles fought during the period made it clear to Jai Singh that the Mogul armies were thoroughly exhausted and the Bijapuries could not be easily crushed. Therefore, the disappointed general fell back upon Bir and thence marched on to Aurangabad. He was recalled to court in March and superseded by Prince Muazzam as Viceroy of the Deccan in May 1667. Thus the brilliant career of a great general was darkened by a huge failure at the close of his life. The Deccan had been the grave of the glory of many invaders and now the crest-fallen Jai Singh was retreating after burying his fame in the sepulchres of Bijapur.²

1. E. F. 1665-67, p. 88.

2. Sen's Guarda, pp. 93-106.

CHAPTER IX.

Shivaji to Agra and After

1. Shivaji to Delhi or Agra ?

Shah Jahan, the magnificent monarch, having spent eight years in captivity in the fort of Agra, breathed his last on 22nd January, 1666 and left the Peacock Throne to be adorned by his unfilial son and successor. Aurangzeb (the Ornament of the Throne) made haste to move his court from Delhi to Agra. The Bakhars and several historians following the Marathi sources mention Delhi, while a few others state Agra, as the place of Shivaji's confinement. The confusion has arisen from the fact that at the time of the negotiations for an interview, Aurangzeb was at Delhi, but he came down to Agra in the month of February, and thus Shivaji had an audience in the Agra Fort and not at Delhi.¹

A letter² from Consul Lannoy at Aleppo to Sir John Finch, 12 January, 1667, gives the belated news of the death of Shah Jahan, removal of the Court from Delhi, and of the intended campaign of Aurangzeb against the Deccan.

'The Queene of Decan in her returne from her pilgrimage to Muscat, was arrived at Basora; from whence the Bassa there forced 9 thousand tomans or 30,000 pound

1. According to Chitnis, the Raja also desired to see Delhi and other places where Shivaji's ancestors had ruled in ancient times and to visit the sacred places of pilgrimage on the holy Ganges and Yamuna.

Agra is mentioned by Khafi Khan, Fryer, Jedbe, Cf. Rajwade, VIII. 23.

Delhi was the city of interview according to Sabhasad, Chitnis, Shiva Digvijaya, Bernier, Orme, Grant Duff and almost all later historians.

2. E. F. 1665-67, p. 177.

sterling, to make good his present to the Grand Signor... From Surat the English President writes me of the death of the old King Shaw Jehan, whome his son Orangzeb some yeares since deposed and imprisoned ever since in his castle at Agra. The old Mogull being dead, this Orangzeb that now governes hath made away all the rest of the family; and is removed from his throne at Dille towards his army, to prosecute the Decan warr.'

2. Northward ho!

Aurangzeb had earned the reputation of having outdone Machiavelli in cunning, craft and wiles; by his eagle-eyed vigilance he had secured the throne of Delhi from the machinations of all his rivals; he was suspicious of his own sons and even jealous of his own shadow, and hence had perfected the system of espionage to learn the secret designs of the people. Is it not strange that such a prince of policy should have been outwitted in his own capital by the despised 'Mountain Rat', or that the Lion should have been bearded in his own den by the entrapped Rat?

We must consider the mysterious question why the ever-vigilant and alert Shivaji should have reposed confidence in Aurangzeb and entrusted himself into the hands of his implacable enemy. He knew that the Emperor was cruel, crafty, suspicious, hypocritic and selfish to an extreme. Aurangzeb had tracked "his unfaltering way through a cloud of mysterious intrigues and a sea of blood to the throne." He combined in him the venomous craft of Louis XI with the merciless ferocity of Caesar Borgia.* Shivaji

1. Sullivan's Conquerors, p. 347.

2. Owen's India on the Eve of Br.Conquest. p. 45.

According to Owen the reasons for going to Agra were such as these: "To ingratiate himself with Aurangzeb; to distinguish himself, as he had done at Bijapur in active service in a command for which he had proved his competence; to acquire influence and wield resources, which he might insidiously and abruptly divert to his own purposes and employ against his employer,

thoroughly knew his host and yet the fearless 'Tiger of the Sahyadries' had invincible confidence in his extraordinary versatility to work out his release from any mishap that might befall him. In spite of apprehensions, he was ready to face the dangers for achieving his object.

Jai Singh, to guarantee success in the war against Bijapur, desired to send away Shivaji from the Deccan, so that the latter should not lend any overt or covert aid to Ali Adil Shah. He showed him strong hopes of obtaining the viceroyalty of the Deccan and the cession of Danda Rajapuri. Shivaji too was hopeful of winning over the Rajput Rajas of the north to the national cause by his magnetic persuasions¹. His safety at Agra and his safe return to the Deccan were pledged with solemn oaths by Jai Singh who proposed to send his son Ram Singh with Shivaji to look after his comforts on his northward march and during his stay at Agra. It was for the realization of his cherished ideals that he accepted the invitation of the Emperor for an interview².

For a few months Shivaji busied himself in making efficient arrangements for the administration of his little kingdom during his absence in northern India. Then with

would be quite in accordance with his profound subtlety, his unscrupulousness, his personal ambition and his national aspirations—in short with the whole bent of his peculiar genius. And such I believe was his calculation." Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 66.

1. 'Your letter sent to us together with Mirza Raja Jai Singh's opinion has been favourably considered by us. We have a great regard for you and therefore desire you to come here quickly and without further loss of time. When we grant you audience, we shall receive you with great hospitality and soon grant you leave to return. A present of a dress has been sent to you, which you will accept.' Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji dated 5-3-1666.

2. "The king meditating a war against Persia wrote to Sevaji in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity, talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogul at Delhi," Bernier. 190.

"To increase his reputation, it happened that the Mogul Emperor having declared war against the Sophi (Safavi, king of Persia) invited Shivaji to come and take a considerable post in his army and wrote to him in such an honourable and flattering manner that Shivaji could not resist it." P. J. D'Orleans, Carre has the same version,

a band of his bravest officers and faithful followers amounting to 4,000 in infantry and cavalry,¹ he, accompanied by his son Sambhaji, left Raigarh for the north on the 5th of March² 1666. He marched through the Bijapur territory to Aurangabad and Barhanpur. Here he was paid one lakh of rupees from the Imperial treasury, for the expenses of the army. The Emperor had issued instructions to the Foudjars that Shivaji was to be honoured like the Shahzadas³. However, on his arrival near Agra on 9th May, he was received only by Ram Singh and another inferior officer. "After⁴ about 3 months in travelling, this was the reception meted out to Shivaji Raja and the flower of the Deccan Chivalry, by the Emperor of Delhi. You may be sure that Shivaji had a lump in his throat, for at one glance he now took in the whole position; so did every man of his dust-covered and toil-worn cavalcade as with sinking hearts each passed through the gates of the Imperial city."⁵

1. Sabha. (Sen's), 61; Dilkash, 1,000 soldiers.

2. Jedhe Sh. ; Sarkar—3rd week of March.

3. Shiva Chhatrapati, 61.

4. James Douglas—Bombay and W. India.

5. Elphinstone's remarks deserve attention. "Aurangzib had now an opportunity of uniting Sivaji's interests to his own by liberal treatment, and of turning a formidable enemy into a zealous servant, as had been done before with so many other Hindu princes: but his views in politics were as narrow as in religion, and although he could easily suppress his feelings to gain any immediate advantage, he was incapable of laying aside his prejudices, or making such full and free concessions as might secure permanent attachment. Moreover, he despised as well as disliked Sivaji: he felt the insults offered to his religion and his dignity the more because they came from so ignoble a hand; and he so far mistook the person he had to deal with as to think he would be most easily managed by making him sensible of his own insignificance." History of India, pp. 612-3.

Lane-Poole has confirmed the preceding reflections. "The visit was not a success. Aurangzib clearly did not understand the man he had to deal with, and showed a curious lack of political sagacity in his reception of the Maratha. No prince or general in all India could render the Emperor such aid in his designs against the Deccan kingdoms as the rude highlander who had at last come to his feet. A good many points might well be stretched to secure so valuable an ally. Deeply affronted, the little Maratha, pale and sick with shame and fury, quitted the presence without taking ceremonious leave. Instead of securing an important ally, Aurangzib had made an implacable enemy." Aurangzib, pp. 164-5.

3. Shivaji at the Court

The 50th birthday of Aurangzeb fell on the 12th of May. It was to be celebrated with extraordinary éclat in the splendid Diwan-i-Am or Durbar Hall of Agra. The Emperor had taken all precautions to protect his person against the celebrated wizard¹. The wild Highlander of the Western Ghats was ushered into these scenes of the wildest display of wealth². "No more amazing apparition than this sturdy little "Mountain rat" among the stately grandeur of a gorgeous court could be imagined³". What follows is recorded in a letter of 8th June from Surat to Karwar. This earliest contemporary communication brings out the important points of the interview of Shivaji and Aurangzeb.

"⁴Here is nothing more of news but the certainty of Sevagys appearing before this King; where his comportment and behaviour was not suitable to the Kings good liking, for which he received a severe check. His spirit could not beare such humiliation as the other Umbrahs, to waite at a distance with their hands before them like mutes. The

1. Sabhasad says that "The Badshah assembled his Darbar, sat on the Royal throne, keeping 5 weapons with him, girding his waist and putting on a steel armour. Similarly he made great warriors of known valour to stand near the throne, and stationed 2 thousand men in its neighbourhood".

"When Shivaji went to pay his respects to Aurangzeb, he saw him sitting well armed and well protected. He had also two thousand of his best warriors near about him."

Shedgaonkar's Bakhar, p 52.

"Conscience makes cowards of us all, and the Emperor had a kind of conscience. On this occasion he wore chain armour under his muslin dress and five weapons about his person. Moreover he had two thousand of his bravest men near around him. Where they were stowed away we must leave others to determine, who are familiar with the topography of the place. But remembering Afzal Khan's and Jaoli's assassinations and Poona palace escalade, remembering also his own crimes, in the expressive language of the Holy writ, 'the shaking of a leaf,' would on that memorable day, 'have put him to flight' 'Sivaji,' he said, 'was not a man but a devil.'" J. Douglas.

2. Details in Bernier, pp. 269-70.

3. Lane-Poole's Aurangzeb, p. 164.

4. E. F. 1665-67, p. 161 f.



(With the kind permission of the Chief of Amudh.)
Shivaji's entry into Agra



Aurangzeb's Durbar.

thoughts thereof putt him into a feavour¹; which the King hearing (tis said) sent to comfort him with promises of great preferment, and tis reported he is sent to Cabull². But we are too farr from court to tell you at present wheather he be sent as an Umbrah with power to govern that country, or to be conveniently laid aside."

The lapse of more than three months had afforded sufficient time to the English for making an enquiry on Shivaji's visit to Agra. Hence the Surat letter of 25th Sept. 1666 despatched to London, gives a full account of the interview.

"The³ grand rebell Sevagee is at last entrapped and caught in the same nett of glorious promises that hee was wont to make for others, by this King, who is as perfidious as himselfe; working with him by the Generall of his army, that by order made him large promises of great preferment, as the pay of 6,000 horse, and his sonne 3,000; which after some further invitations, hee was enclyned to accept, upon this

1. This brief account is confirmed by the Sabhasad (49). Shivaji asked Ram Sing the name of the neighbour in his front. On being told that it was Mah Jaswant Singh the Raja got angry and said — 'Why should I stand below Jaswant Singh whose back my soldiers have seen?' In arger he begged of Ram Singh the dagger to kill the Maharaja. Then Ram Singh began to counsel him to be patient. The Padshah, becoming aware of the tumult, enquired what the matter was. Ram Singh replied—"The tiger is a wild beast of the forest; he feels the heat of the place and has been taken ill". The Emperor ordered the Rajah to be removed from the court and taken to his residence.

Cf. Storia II, 148; Dilk. 59; Sarkar, 144-45.

2. Sabhasad (50) says that he offered to conquer the Adil Suabi and Kutb Shahi kingdoms for the Emperor. But Dilkash (69) confirms the statement of the text. This rumour is mentioned in John Campbell's Narrative (Indian Antiquary, 1908). Thevenot says that Aurangzeb proposed to employ Sivaji in besieging Kandahar. J Scott tells us that Shivaji proposed to Mirza Raja to procure for him from His Majesty some honourable command, as that against Kandahar, or any other equally important. (P. 11).

A. Carre records that 'the Mogol wanted to employ Savagy in the war he was preparing to wage against the king of Persia. (P. 87.) Orme and Mill adopt it. Sarkar (149) writes that Aurangzeb talked of sending Shivaji to Afghanistan, where he would be beyond the possibility of escape, as was actually done in the case of Netaji Palkar afterwards. But the idea was soon dropped.

3. E. F. 1665-67, p. 161.

Kings promise (given in writing) to receive him into his favour, with free pardon and forgiveness of what was past. Which having obtained, the rebell supposed himselfe safe, tooke his journey to the court to make his obeisanc and allegiance to the King; and had audience, but not at all to his likeing, being placed below certaine noblemen whome

Shivaji furious at
his disgrace.

hee accounted his inferiours; and notwithstanding hee was in the Kings presence, his stout heart could not beare it, but shewed his disgust by leaving the presence, retired into another roome greatly enraged¹; and although the King sent severall of his nobles, he could not be perswaded to retourne or forbear his upbraiding language, saying hee was none of their captive taken by conquest, but came upon articles; and from that time forward cannot be brought to come before

Shivaji under
surveillance.

the King any more. But the King, to secure him, hath dismist all those hee brought with him placing servants of his owne about him, and a sufficient guard upon the howse wherein hee lives; otherwise giving him his libertie. But it is concluded by all that hee will never be suffered to retourne againe into his owne country or be able to make any escape, there is so strict a watch upon him; that all account themselves freed from any further feares of him."

4. Story of Shivaji's swooning away.

It will be seen from the two preceding letters that there is no mention of Shivaji's fainting away in the court. The Bakhars like the Sabhasad, Shiva Digvijaya, Rairi, and Chitnis have the same version. The account is confirmed by Manucci, Thevenot, Carre, D'Orleans, Orme, Dow, Duff and the authors of the Tarikh-i-Shivaji and Alamgir Nama. The story of Shivaji's fainting is given by Khafi Khan and

1. Manucci fully bears out this version: "Let Aurangzeb remember" said he, "that the officers in his Majesty's presence except Namdarkhan, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held". Then in anger he came out."

adopted by such historians as J. Scott, Mill, Elphinstone, Beveridge, Montgomery Martin, Douglas, etc. All contemporary and ancient authorities are unanimous on the point that Shivaji did not fall down into a swoon. Even Khafi Khan has expressly stated that Shivaji *pretended* to faint away.

It is probable that to avoid standing like a mute with folded hands among inferior nobles, Shivaji might have deliberately resorted to a fainting fit. It could not be a real faint. Khafi Khan has first stated several reasons to justify the display of righteous indignation by Shivaji and then describes the paroxysm by which he sank down on the floor.

(1) "Raja Jaising had flattered Shivaji with promises but as the Raja knew the Emperor to have strong feeling against Shivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. (2) The reception of Shivaji had not been such as he expected. (3) As his 8 years old son Sambha had been created a commander of five thousand and his relation Netaji, too, had been raised to the same rank, this stupid, empty brained, proud fellow (Shivaji) expected no less high a degree than the command of 7000 men. (4) He did not receive most of the Royal favours with the promise of which the Raja (Jai Sing) had consoled him, because this wretch's acts had excited hatred in the pious Emperor's heart. (5) Nor did he meet with the honourable welcome on the way, that he expected. Therefore, before the robe, jewels and elephant, which had been kept ready for him could be bestowed, he displayed his folly and meanness, instantly took refuge in cunning, *deceitfully shammed heart-sickness, retired to a nook, flung himself down upon the ground*, like a prey pierced with the arrow or just entrapped, then after a time cunningly and *deceitfully recovered consciousness* and complained to Kumar Ramsing that he was very much disappointed and wished for his weapon with a view to commit suicide. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken

to a house outside the city near to the house of Raja Jaising with orders to the Kotwal of Police, Phulad Khan, to closely guard it."¹

5. Shivaji asks for the hand of Aurangzeb's daughter.

Dow tells the improbable story that through the intercession of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa, Shivaji was granted by Aurangzeb a second interview in the hall of audience. But this too made the matters worse.

"When ² he entered, the usher approached, and commanded him to pay the usual obeisance at the foot of the throne. "I was born a prince," said he, "and I know not how to act the part of a slave." "But the vanquished," replied Aurangzeb, "lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sewaji my servant; and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given." The Raja turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his commands against Sewaji, when that prince spoke thus, with a haughty tone of voice: "Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father: but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death. "The wrath of the emperor subsided at a request which he reckoned ridiculous and absurd. He ordered him as a mad-man from his presence; and gave him in charge to Fowlad, the director-general of the Imperial camp."

6. Escape from Agra

Aurangzeb ordered Fulad Khan, the chief of police at Agra, to place a guard upon Shivaji. Finding himself a prisoner in the hands of his mortal enemy, Shivaji for a

1. Elliot and Dowson, VII.

2. History of Hindostan, Vol. III, p. 394. Cf. Douglas Bombay and Western India, p. 333. We need not refer to the baseless, though romantic story of Zeb-un-Nisa falling in love with Shivaji. Nothing is said about it in the Bakhars or any contemporary records. Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, pp. 79—90.

time 'lost his heart; he felt distressed and lamented much, holding Sambhaji Raje to his breast'. His attempt for an interview with the Emperor and for obtaining a command in the Deccan through the intercession of the Prime Minister, ended in a failure.

The Emperor had cared not a fig for the sanctity of his plighted word, the solemn assurances given him by Raja Jai Singh and the Emperor were set at nought, and plans¹ were being meditated for putting an end to his life. The crisis which had been but faintly anticipated had soon arrived. But the Raja was equal to the emergency. Shivaji was thrown upon his own resources for effecting his liberation from this unexpected confinement. With sublime self-confidence in the unaided might of his super-human genius, he worked out his release and that of all his men from the most critical and perilous situation. Although a body of five thousand infantry and cavalry was posted for keeping a careful watch on the captive day and night, although Shivaji, with the permission of the Emperor, sent away all his loyal troops to the Deccan, and although he was left with a few faithful officers at the tender mercies of his cunning captor, yet he effected his liberation in four months by such a romantic method as is unique and unprecedented in the history of mankind.

As the preceding letter of 25th September to London was being written, news of Shivaji's escape from Agra was received at Surat, and the following remarks were recorded.

1. Guarda gives the incredible story of Shivaji having been sent as a captive to Delhi by Mirza Raja in the custody of Diler Khan. Aurangzeb ordered a silver vase to put Shivaji's head therein, but before the vase was ready, Shivaji escaped from his guards and after six months' wanderings he safely arrived in his capital. Chapter XV.

Manucci confirms the belief that Aurangzeb wanted to put Shivaji to death. "It being intended that he (Shivaji) be smothered there and buried on the spot." II. 1:9.

Cf. Wheeler's Short History of India, 172,

Shivaji and Sambhaji passed through the armed guards on the evening of 17th August 1666.

¹ *Notwithstanding the great watch and guard that was upon him*, here is very lately certaine newes come that hee and his sonne are got away, conveyed in two basketts and that hee can no where be found; so the jealousies and feares of the countryes hereabouts begin againe to be great.

The same news² was conveyed to Hubli in the Letter of 17th Oct. The English factors at Carwar, in a letter dated September 29th, 1666, observe—"If it be true that Sivajee hath escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow".³

A similar story of escaping in baskets is briefly related by Dr. Fryer.⁴ "Aurangzeb desirous to try if by Kindness he could reclaim this famous Rebel, allures him to Court (Faith being plighted for his Safety), where shortly after, the Outcries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back, which passed the Guards among many others, which were fain to be sent as Piscashes to his Friends, as the manner is when under Confinement: With this Slight he got away (not without the Mogul's Privy), and 'tis believed will hardly venture to Agra⁵ again, unless better guarded."

A letter of 24th Nov. 1666 sent by the Surat Factors to London again speaks of the escape of Shivaji and of an *expected raid upon Surat* for taking revenge upon Aurangzeb.

1. 25th Sept, 1666, Surat to Co. E. F. 1665-67, p. 165.

2. E. F. 1665-67, p. 207.

3. Duff, 91 f.

4. But Bernier says Shivaji effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. P. T. D'Orleans adopts Bernier's account. Dow says that he found means to escape, after some months in the disguise of a man, who was admitted into his apartment with a basket of flowers.

5. Khafi Khan corroborates Fryer. Sabhasad (52), Chitnis, (110). Bernier (190). Orme, mentions Delhi; and this is accepted by Duff. Pp. 96 97 f.

"¹Our last tould you that Savagee had made an escape from this Kings courte; which is since confirmed for a certaine truth, that now all waite some cruell revenge upon the country and people. Wee were lately hotly allarum'd upon a reporte that he was come neere with a flyeing army, that all the people began to flye againe; but the reporte proved falce. Yet, let him come when he will, the whole towne will bee dispeopled; for none will face him or abide the place. You recommend a faire correspondence with him; but we knowe not what league to hould with a rebell and perfidious theife, but desire to keepe our distance and have nothing to do with him."

The English Company had advised the Surat factors to keep a fair correspondence with Shivaji, in their letter of 7th March 1666. Evidently ² the Committees did not sympathize with the antipathy felt at Surat for Shivaji and were as willing to trade with him as with any one else, for they went on to say:

'Wee take notice that Sevagee goes on in takeing places and plundering townes, and wee knowe not but that hee may settle in some of those places which hee hath or may possesse himselfe off, and then doubtlesse hee will invite trade thither. We would therefore have you to continue a good corespondency with him, that when such an opertunity shall present, you may bee readie to imbrace it, if it may redowned to our interest and bee done with safety; for at present wee are not in a capassity of sending you out any vessels from hence to meete with his jounckes, and therefore desire your care that wee bee noe further sufferers by him, and (as before) to keepe a faire corespondency with him.'

³Among the documents in the Public Record Office there is an extract from a letter written from Surat at this

1. E. F. 1665-67, pp. 171-2.

2. E. F. 1665-67, p. 169.

3. E. F. 1665-67, pp. 175-7, C. O. 77 Vol x, f. 61.

Prof. Khan's Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations, p. 485.

time by some one unnamed, and evidently sent by the *Return*. It is worth quoting, as giving the news then current. A few slight errors made by the copyist have been corrected by Sir W. Foster.

"Since *the Africans* and *St. Georges* departure there hath been noe conveyance from hence to Persia, nor 'tis thought will not this yeare; for all these parts of the Persian victories in Afghanistan world are imbroiled in war, as much as Europe. The Persian King hath entered for certaine above 500 miles into this King's countrey, hath had two notable victories over Oranzeeb's army, and taken the great city of Caubell; in soe much that Oranzeebe hath throwne of his dervis (mendicant's) coate; and gone with a vast army in person against him. The rebell Savagee some 10 months since yeilded himselfe a prisoner unto Raja Jesson, on conditions that his life should bee secured. But at his appearance before the King, hee would have had him cutt in pieces; on which Rajah Jesson solemnly swore unto the King, that if Savagee died, hee would kill himselfe immediately in his presence; after which the King spared his life, but committed him prisoner into the charge of Rajah Jesson's sonne (Ram Singh); who with his father Shivaji's escape through Ram Singh having given their word to Savagee that hee should bee friendly dealt withall, in case hee would submit to the King (for they could never have compelled him to it), and they finding the King, contrary to his word, endeavour to break their promise, took it soe hainously, that the son, with the father or through his meanes, gave Savagee opportunity to escape¹. After notice

1. This account is confirmed by Manucci, II. P. 139, Sabhasad. 52-3, Chitnis (115), and Haft Anj, have the same story. Bernier (190) too confirms it.

Carre gives this credit to the king himself. Shaista Khan's wife was no near the king and had raised against Sevagy so powerful a party that they resolved to arrest him. The king desired to give this satisfaction to the afflicted friends of his uncle, but he offered, according to his word and in view of the need that he had of Seva-gy to open to him the means of escaping shortly after his imprisonment.

of which coming to the King's eare, hee in a rage discarded the Rajah's son, who commanded 6,000 horse, and posted Rajah Jesson himself with a great strength to fetch him (i. e., Shivaji)

Ramsingh disgraced.

again. In which time the King of Persia entering his countrey, hee recalled the Rajah againe; and 'tis credibly reported in Surat that hee hath refused to come, and really thought that, having for the most part Gentues (Hindus) in his army, hee will prove a mortall enemy to Oranzeeb. Alsoe Savage's coming to Surat is much feared againe; insomuch that report hath given him severall times to have been within a day or two dayes journey of the place; which hath

People of Surat fly away on the reported approach of Shivaji.

caused sometimes 5 or 6,000 to pack up their aules and run out of the towne; and when another report hath given the first the lie, then they have crept in againe. But if he comes, 'twill bee when the ships arrive from Bussora. The report goes here alsoe that Sultan Suza, Oranzeeb's elder brother, the King of Bengalla, residing in the Persian King's Court, was the chiefest instrument of his coming into this country, and that hee is in person in the army; as alsoe that the King of Golgundaugh and the King of Vitchapore (Bijapur) are preparing

War between rulers of Bassora and Bagdad.

to goe upon Oranzeeb's back. Wee have had noe certaine newes out of the Gulfe of Persia this yeare; onely a small vessell from Muscatt, and they on her have reported that the Bashaw of Bussora was routed by him of Bagdat, that Bussora was wholly taken, and the towne on conditions redelivered again to the Arab, and that the shipping were as

These manoeuvres of the king hardly succeeded; he pleased none by wishing to satisfy every body, Sevaji only felt the injury done to him and the party of Cakestkam deemed the flight of the prisoner very improper, the facility of which betrayed the king (P. 90.)

Bernier says that "in the opinion of many persons Seva-Gi did not escape without the connivance of Aureng-Zebe himself. His presence at court must indeed have greatly embarrassed the King, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him: they considered him as a monster who had imbu'd his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen." Orme and D'Orleans adopt it.

But this view is incorrect, as is evident from the deep regret expressed by Aurangzeb in his last testament. P. 268 *supra*.

nigh as Cape Bardestone, when, understanding the trouble there, they beat it back again for Cong; and that after the Bashaw of Bussora sent to Cong and invited them thither. And more the King here hath sent downe positive order that noe ship whatsoever shall be suffered to goe into the Gulfe of Persia, as wee heare that the King of Persia hath stopt all the Junckes belonging to this Port; which is the reason that they have had no conveyance for their overland packett. Here hath not been yet the least newes of a Dutch ship this yeare upon the coast, and 'tis certaine that the Dutch will not give a passe for any vessell to goe downe the coast of India, by reason they will not have newes brought to Suratt of their bad success. Wee heare here that they have lost Cucheene to the natives. Wee heare for certaine they have not had a ship from Europe since the war began. They have not brought a penny worth of goods this yeare in India. They have called all their ships from all parts whatsoever to Batavie, and how they fare thereabouts wee know not, but 'tis supposed that the long haired China men with others are on their backs."

Capture of Indian
ships by the
Persian King

Low condition
of the Dutch.

7. Valentine's story of Shivaji's Flight

The account given in Valentine's "Old and New East Indies," radically differs in details from all others, but the story of the flight of Shivaji by being carried in covered hampers is related by the author thus:

"Meanwhile his servants went every day to the market to purchase fruit, etc. for him. This, according to the custom of the country, they carried in large long baskets, such as were used by the Omrahs to interchange presents, either with or without covers. These baskets were, however, generally examined by the guard.

When this state of things had gone on for two or three months, the men on guard, having become accustomed to

it, did not always make a close examination of the contents of the baskets. Consequently, on a certain day, of which he had previously informed his son, Shivaji, seizing his opportunity, after feigning illness and keeping his bed with a supposed fever for several days, had himself carried out in a basket.

At last Aurangzeb also learnt with wonder how artfully the escape had been arranged. He sent some light troops in pursuit, but the bird had flown and Shivaji was so adequately covered by his son's troops that Aurangzeb's people dared not pursue him further."

Another ¹ letter speaks of Shivaji's escape from Agra, his desolation of the Mogul territory, and of the rumour of a raid upon Surat.

'The grant rebell Savage is escaped cleare and got into his owne territories, doing dayly great mischeife upon Decan (*i. e.*, the Bijapur kingdom) by robbing and burning severall townes, and is dayly much feared by all the inhabitants here, for it is certainly knowne that he is fully resolved to vissit Surat once more, that of all sides they are providing to fly up into the country; for 'tis said hee intends to come both by land and sea, and hath in a readiness 50 or 60 small frigatts, which, it is said, are provided on purpose.'

Shivaji robbing
and burning.

8. An Arabian tale or a historic verity?

The story of the escapade of Shivaji brings him out as an illustrious personification of adventure, intrepidity, astuteness and versatility. The escape of the 'Lion of the Sahyadri Mountains' from the trap laid by the Lord of the Peacock Throne, reads like a romance. It appears more like the fiction of an Arabian tale than like historic verity.

1. E. F. 1665-67, Pp. 268-9, Confirmed by H. A. in Sarkar, p. 160.

"Shivaji's appearance at the court of Delhi in the year 1666, was a wonderful phenomenon. It occurred only once and was never to do so again. Where are our poets, painters, and romancists that they cannot revive for us the elements of this story and body forth the spirit of the time, a story in which the deepest pathos, the wildest ambition, tragedies known and unknown, love strong as death and hatred cruel as the grave, are lying together in one mighty heap ready for the great magician¹?"

Its consequences on the Mogul Empire were frankly stated by Aurangzeb himself in his last will and testament. The mishap remained the life-long lament of Aurangzeb. "The greatest pillar of a Government is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom, —while even a minute's negligence results in shame for long years. See, the flight of the wretch Shiva was due to carelessness, but it has involved me in all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days." (Anecdote 10.)²

9. Desperate effort for freedom

The flight from Agra could not save Shivaji from the wide-spread meshes of Aurangzeb. The real deliverance had yet to be secured, as the Raja was to traverse the whole Mogul territory before he could safely reach home. All the limitless resources of the vast empire were used to hunt out Shivaji and his companions. Thousands of spies and sepoys were sent after him. Governors of provinces and all officers had urgent and strict orders to find out the wretch who had given a slip to his wards and pursuers. Thousands of needy persons in hopes of rich rewards were busy in tracing him out. Millions of Muslims deemed it

1. J. Douglas—Bombay and Western India, Vol. II, p. 359.

2. Sarkar, 157,

their religious duty to catch the Kafir who had raised the banner of revolt against Islam and Islamic states. Still neither Shivaji nor any one of his party in the disguise of Gosains could be traced. Leaving Sambhaji at Muttra in charge of a faithful Deccani Brahman, Shivaji and his companions travelled through Benares, Allahabad, Gaya, Cuttuck, Jagannath Puri, Gondwana, Bhagnagar, and Bijapur to Rajgad ¹.

At Muttra, Benares and Cuttuck, they had hair-breadth escapes. The fugitives travelled at the height of the rainy season through pouring rains and scorching sun across unknown paths, high hills, rapid rivers, impassable torrents, deep valleys, impervious forests, and marshy fields on foot over a distance of about 2,000 miles. The thrilling experiences and unbearable hardships of the dreary journey through strange countries can better be imagined than described. At last Raigarh was reached in the month of November and the illustrious son disguised as a Gosavi fell prostrate upon the feet of her mother ². The enterprise in its marvellousness, is rarely equalled, but never surpassed by any other exploit during his marvellous career.

A little neglect would have thrown Shivaji into the hands of his relentless foes, and then he would have been doomed to the gruesome fate of Murad, Dara, Shuja and other princes. But he seemed to be under divine protection, so that he might successfully work out the liberation of the Hindus and the independence of the Maharashtra.

10. Universal rejoicings

The news of his miraculous escape, as if from the

1. Sabha. (Sen's), p. 72. Chitnis (118) gives the following itinery : Muttra, Kurukshetra, Uttarmanas, Hardwar, Gandki, Ayodhya, Benares, Allahabad, Gaya, Devagad, Chanda, Bhagnagar, Panbala, Rajgarh,

2. Chitnis, 118; Sh, Dh. 254.

jaws of death itself, had spread with the rapidity of lightning, but the anxiety of the people deepened as no trace could be found of the Raja for three months. At last, his safe arrival in the month of November caused universal rejoicings in the hearts of the Hindus. The whole of the Maharashtra burst with love and joy, and vibrated with the thrill of freedom at the liberty of its hero. Every fort was vocal with the boom of cannon and jazz of martial bands. The whole land blazed with illuminations, as the defender of their faith, their gods, their hearths and of their honour was once more amongst them.

11. Death of Mirza Raja

It has been said that Sultan Muazzam was sent as Viceroy with sixty to seventy thousand cavalry in place of Jai Singh who handed over charge to the Prince at Aurangabad in May 1667, and proceeded towards the north. This broken-hearted veteran of a hundred fights died at Burhanpur on 2nd July. According to Manucci (II-152), Jai Singh was poisoned by Aurangzeb, but Tod ¹ says that the Emperor persuaded Kirat Singh, the younger son of Jai Singh, to poison his father in the hope of getting the gadi of Amber. A letter ² from Agra of 1st November, 1667 gave the news of Aurangzeb's march against the pretender Shah Shuja, the death of Raja Jai Singh, the appointment of Sultan Azam as the commander-in-chief of the Deccan armies and the fresh resolve of Aurangzeb to make war upon Shivaji.

1. Annals of Rajasthan. Vol II, p. 328.

2. E. F. 1665 67, p. 287.

'Orangshah hath lately been disturbed by a Pattan Seyed of Attack in the field against him with a great army, Pretender Shuja pretending to be Sultan Suja, the second son of Shah Jahan, true heire of the Indostan empire. So that Orangshah¹ is gone on the head of his army of above 100,000 horse besides foot; both armies being almost in ken of each other, though not yet engaged. The war between the said Mogul and Edelshah (Adil Shah of Bijapur) stil continues, Sultan Azum, Orangshah's heire, being made Separsala (Sipah-salar) or General in Rajah Jessins place, he being lately dead; Orangshah being also resolved to make warre upon our neighbour Sevagee with all vigour imaginable'.

1. Manucci (I. 193) speaks of a rising of a Pathan who pretended to be Shah Shuja.

CHAPTER X

The Mogul Offensive

1. Peace between Shivaji and Aurangzeb.

Sultan Muazzam was instructed by the Emperor to win over Shivaji by every possible means. The latter too desired to have a breathing time for putting his kingdom on a firm basis. He could not peacefully introduce any reforms in case of constant war with Bijapur, Golcondah and the Mogul. "For two years I shall muster strength and recover my power. Then I shall do what is fit." With this motive he made peace with the Prince who granted to Sambhaji the rank of Five Thousand Horse, with a Jagir yielding 15 lakhs of pagodas in the Berars, and consented to keep a Maratha contingent for Imperial service at Aurangabad. The Emperor sanctioned the treaty and conferred the title of Raja upon Shivaji.

Maratha forces were consequently sent to Aurangabad and the Jagir in the Berars. For two years these armies lived at the expense of the Emperor, but he was hatching a plot for capturing the Maratha force. An order was issued to the Prince to imprison the commanders and capture the horses of the army. The Prince who had a good understanding with Shivaji, instigated the contingents to make their escape. Thus the rupture was brought about by Aurangzeb's new act of treachery¹ in 1670. "Shivaji soon displayed his wonted energy; and those who had prognasti-

1. Manucci, II, 158, 161-67; Sabhasad, pp. 61-2. Chitnis, pp. 124-5. Cf Takakhav, pp. 303-5. Jedhe Ch. states that Shivaji visited Jaswant Singh and the Prince for settling the terms of the treaty. Jedhe K. records that Shivaji got the claim of Sardeshmukhi and a territory on the southern side of the Bhima. Chitnis (123) adds Chouth to Sardeshmukhi and the territories got according to the treaty with Jai Singh.

gated his future insignificance, or his fall, were this year astonished by a career of enterprises, exceeding, if possible, all he had yet done¹”.

A letter² of 22nd January 1668 from Surat to London gives the news of peace having been made between Shivaji and Aurangzeb.

“The country of Decan is still in great troubles, and there is little hopes of any settlement, espetially now that the rebell Sevagee hath escaped and got into his country againe, and plaies his part so subtilly that, notwithstanding this King is so highly incensed against him, yet is at last forced (most dishonourably) to comply and close with him; upon which, its said, the King intends speedily to send an army against the King of Vizapore, in hopes, with Sevagees assistance, to overrun the country. These, and other disagreements amongst the Decanees, hath almost destroyed all trade in that kingdom. As yet here are arived noe French ships. The person resident here³ (i. e., Beber), of whome wee formerly acquainted you, hath since bin very troublesome and offensive to the whole towne, upon a caprichious clashing with a Capuchin padree of his owne nation, in which hee would have concerned the Governor and other officers and merchants in matters frivolous and unreasonable; wherein he became very rude, that the Governor was constreyned to let him know his error and admonish him to bee more civill, or he would send him to the King in irons; since which there hath byn a guard upon his doores, not suffering him to goe out of towne, though he often importuned it. But the Governor being remooved and another appointed by the King, the Frenchman prevailed, and was suffered to depart; and thereupon left the towne, and

1. G. Duff, p. 108.

2. E. F. 1665-67, pp. 281-2. Also Aleppo Letter of 24 May 1668.

3. Two ambassadors from the King of France landed at Swally on April 1, 1666 to open factories in India. They proceeded to Agra and secured the desired privilege. One of them, Monsieur Beber returned to Surat and remained there as head of the French Factory. According to Mantucci, he went to Goa and died there. II 152. Cf. O. C., 3163, 3157, 3185, 3203, 3213. Englishmen speak of Beber's "hastie and peevish nature." and his "foul language or blowes."

it is beleived, meanes never to retorne againe, and as heartily wisht."

2. Peace in the Deccan

Henry Gary's letter of 22nd March, 1668 to Lord Arlington conveys the important news of the levy and subsequent abolition of the discriminating customs duties on the Hindus. It also informs us of the preparations made by Aurangzeb against Shivaji who had given him a slip from Agra and was expected to avenge himself by devastating the Mogul territory with fire and sword.

"What¹ I advized in my former concerning the Great Moguls takeing off the customes from the Moores and laying them on the Gentues was then true; yet hee hath made manifest that his lawes are not like the lawes of the Medes and Persians, for hee hath altered and abolished that edict, laying the customes equally on both; haveing made a decree that whatsoever was imposed in his father Shahjahans time should be paid. Hee intends to prosecute Sevagee very warmly; and if hee takes him againe, hee shall not so easely escape. And if hee possesses himselfe of the country lying scituate over against us, 'twil make mee the more vigilant."

Aurangzeb's
designs against
Shivaji.

Discriminating duties were started by Aurangzeb by an order of 10th April 1665. The Muslems were to pay 2½ p. c. only, but the Hindus 5 p. c. on all commodities. Even this half duty was abolished by the Emperor on 9th May 1667, but that on the Hindus was kept at the old level. There is no evidence that the discriminating tariff was replaced by an equal duty on merchants of all faiths. For instance, Sir S. Master in his letter of January 1671 records the following:

1. E. F, 1668-69, p. 49, 22nd March 1668, by Gary to Lord Arlington.

"The Great Mogull Oranzeeb (as I have said) is a Mahumetan and a great precisian in his Religion, soe that *he hath taken off all customes from the Mahometans and imposed 5 per cent. more on the Hindooes* than they formerly paid, besides he hath some persecution against the Hindooes &ca. since his comeing to the Crowne, and not soe much to punish them for the Profession of their owne Religion as to trap and ensnare and even force them to turne Moors (that is to be circumcised, and then they (may) be what they will againe, for many of the Hindoos that have turned Moores Retaine many of their Idolatrous Customes) as is the Practice of the Mahometans in most Countrys, Contrary to all humane Reason, and I thinke to the Economy of all Religions in the World. (Diary of W. Hedges. Vol. II. P. cccix).

Gary had already informed His Majesty King Charles that further *hostilities between Aurangzeb and Shivaji were expected*; but, with the aid of the supplies expected from England, he did not doubt his ability to maintain the island intact ¹.

Giffard's letter of 16th September 1668 speaks of the peace concluded between the Mogul and Bijapur by the cession of the town of Sholapur and the country dependent upon it. Similarly, it is said that Shivaji and Bijapur refrained from hostilities against each other.

"Peace ² between Orangazeeb and this King is at length certainly concluded, this King being to pay the other () lacks of pagodas in () yeares time and deliver upp Solop(o)re, a place of greate strength, with as much country belonging to it as yeilds 180 thousand pagodas yearely. There is a report that Orangazeeb hath given Solop(o)re and the ground belonging to it to this Kings

Peace between
Bijapur and
Aurangzeb.

1. E. F. 1668-69, p. 47, 22nd March 1668.

2. E. F. 1668-69, pp. 109-10, 16th Sept. 1668. by Giffard.

embassadour, by name Shaw Abdull Hossin Commana ; but how true it is wee know not. The country all about at present is in greate tranquillity. Shivaji and Bijapur refrain from hostilities. Sevagy keeps still at Rajah Guz (Rajgarh) ; and though as yett there is noe peace made betweene this King and him, yet both refraine committing any acts of hostility against one the other. ¹"

Here is a strange news that even Englishmen were forced by the Muhammedans to embrace Islam, that the French were attempting to settle a factory at Karwar, and that for the time being there was a lull in Shivaji's activities even up to July 1669.

" A couple of English seamen, who came out to Goa in a Portuguese ship, had made their way to Karwar, in the hope of being engaged in the Company's service at Bombay.

Conversion of
Englishmen.

Pending an opportunity of sending them thither, they were being lodged at the factory ; fearing otherwise their necessities might tempt them to serve the Moores, who, having once entertained them, are apt to force them to embrace their religion.For newse, these parts affords little.....Sevagee at present being very quiett, not offering to molest the Kings country. The French shipp bound for

Shivaji quiet

Achine, having lost her voyage, wintereth at Rajapore ; from whence 7 of their factors are gone overland in andoles for Bassilore, where they are treating with Narran Malla for pepper. In their way passing by Carrwarr,

The French at
Karwar

they visited the Governor, presenting him with a present, and have taken his pass to settle there ; which they promise to doe soe soone as their ships arrive. ²"

" Our feare of Sevagy this yeare is pretty well over, hee not using to stirr soe late in the yeare ; and after the

1. According to some chronicles, secret treaties were made with the Sultans of Bijapur and Golcondah by which they agreed to pay Shivaji an annual tribute of three and four lakhs of pagodas respectively. Scott, II, 22,

2. E. F. 1668-69, pp. 270-71. 17th July 1669, by Giffard and Chamberlan,

raines wee question not but wee shall have shipping time enough to take it off before hee makes his Shivaji not stirring. usuall vissitts downe the coast...Wee...are very glad to read that Your Honour etc., are of the same opinion with us as to the decrease of his credit which wee daily hear here... The armado against Muscat sett saile the 3d. instant. Their fleete consists of four shippes and six friggatts. Don Geronimo Mannuell is admirall. Sevagy is at Rajahgur, and very quiett, as alsoe is all the country round about us¹."

Another letter from Giffard and his colleagues, dated 19 April, reported further sales of Europe goods, and added :

"Its generally reported here that Shasty Ckaun (Shaista Khan?) is coming against Sevagy with a greate army; as also that the Sede of Danda Rajapor hath Mogul army against Shivaji beseiged some of his castles, and that severall of his owne cheife men about him have underhand plotted to betray him; upon suspition of which Sevagy hath clapt upp severall of them close prisoners, and many others are fled for feare." (F. R. Surat, 105, p. 121.)

3 Hostilities renewed for avenging Aurangzeb's fanaticism.

From the beginning of his reign Aurangzeb had shown bigotry by persecuting the Hindus in various ways. This policy of intolerance assumed hideous forms by the end of 1667. A Surat Letter of 22nd January 1668 to the Company thus depicts the condition of the Hindus.

"This Kings every daies more precizenes (preciseness) in his Mahometan religion hath greatly disturbed the whole kingdome; there now lying a heavy persecution, upon the Banians and Gentues more espetially, and Details of persecution. generally upon all that are not of his eronious opinion, that it hath greatly obstructed their dealings one with another. For if a Mahometan have a desire to discharge his debt to a Banian, its but telling him that, if ever he make demaund or trouble him for his

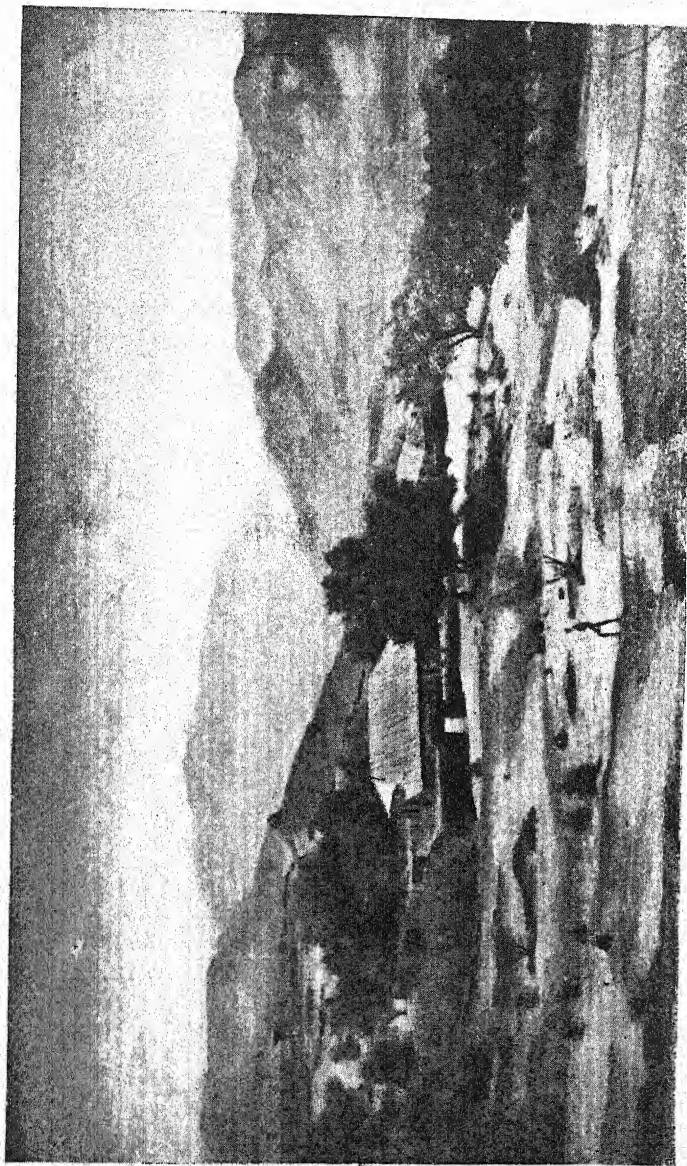
1, E. F. 1668—69, p. 269, 9th March 1669,

mony, he will complaine to the cozzy (Kazi), or Justice of the Law, that hee hath called their Prophet names or spoke contumeliously of their religion, and produce a falce wittnesse or twoe (of which the towne is full), and the poore man is forced to circumcission and made a Moore. And thus they have served severall, to the great terrour of all. Nay, they are become so insolent, by the countenance received from the King, that beggars (of which the country swarmes) doe daily enter into Banians howses, using great imodesties, and will not be perswaded out untill they have given them whatever they ask; this King not at all minding any thing of his kingdome, but gives himselfe wholly upon the converting, or rather perverting the Banians etc. and pulling downe the places of their idolitrous worship, erecting muskeets (mosques) in their roome. Lately, in prosecuting his blind zeale, (he) fell upon one Thomas Roach, an English man, imprisoned and grievously afflicted him, threatened to take away his life if he would not turne; and when that would not doe, the King tempted him with monies, vests, and honnors. But hee withstood them all, and at last was set free" ¹.

The Emperor had issued an order on 9th April 1669 to the governors of all provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and strongly put down their teaching and religious practices. This blind zeal for wanton iconoclasm and religious persecution was challenged by none of the Hindu princes except Shivaji who had taken upon himself the sacred duty of protecting the Hindu religion against Moslem and Christian onslaughts. The succeeding letter by Gary implies that Shivaji declared war against Aurangzeb when he began to persecute the Hindus ² and that this war was expected to last long.

1. E. F. 1665-67, pp. 283-4, Surat to Co. 22 Jan. 1668.

2. Jedhe Ch, and Chhatraprakash indirectly suggest the same cause. Sarkar's Aurangzeb, iv. 174; see Sarkar's App. V. in iv. 319-324 on Temple Destruction by Aurangzeb. Manucci, II, 154.



Jawahir Khana

(Kindly Lent by Khan Bahadur B. D. Fadamji).



Shivaji's Equestrian Statue at Poona.

“The archrebel Sevagee is againe engaged in armes
 Aurangzeb's against Orangsha, who, out of a blinde zeale
 persecution of for reformation, hath demolished many of the
 the Hindus. Gentues temples and forceth many to turne
 Musslemens. Hee hath taken severall of Sevagees castles
 and intends to pursue him to extreimity. No prepar-
 ations are wanting on his side to regaine his castles, and
 Decan is like to bee the seat of warre;
 War between which wee have all here cause to resent,
 Shivaji and but God is our protectour and constant
 Aurangzeb. preserver; else should wee bee very much
 endangered by these neighbouring hostilities in the weake
 condition this island is at present¹. ”

Shivaji exhibited extraordinary genius of organization and strategy, contempt for the greatest Mogul generals, remarkable rapidity of movement and a grim determination to recover his lost territory. With lightning strokes he captured fort after fort, so that within four months he recovered all the 27 forts which had been ceded to the Moguls by the Treaty of Purandhar. Shivaji's success has been magnified by Sabhasad, still he soon captured the forts of Purandhar, Nander, Parnir, Junnar, Mahuli, etc.

The capture of Sinhgarh by Tanaji Malsure forms the crowning feat of this campaign. The scaling of the precipitous hill by rope-ladders with the help of an iguana in the dead of night, the heroic fight of the bravest of the brave Mavales with the proudest and heroic Rajputs, the long combat between generals Udai Bhan and Tanaji, the tragic death of both the heroes, the triumph of the Marathas under Tanaji's brother, the slaughter of twelve hundred Rajputs and the firing of the barracks of Rajput soldiers in the fort—these and many more stirring incidents of the capture of Sinhgarh (the Lion's Fort) have been sung in a spirited Powada and recounted in the Bakhars. It is a pity that there is no

1. E. F. 1668-69, pp. 256-57. 23rd January 1670, by Gary.

contemporary letter on this thrilling event of the career of Shivaji. He sincerely mourned the death of his bravest general by remarking that the Lion had departed, though the Fort had come.

4. Prince Muazzam's Rebellion

The arch diplomat Aurangzeb instigated his son Muazzam to pretend rebellion, so that he might test the loyalty of his troops and officers and once more entrap Shivaji into his clutches. Everything happened according to the pre-arranged plan, but the Maratha Lion was too shrewd to be deceived again by the Mogul Fox. In spite of repeated invitations, Shivaji refused to join the Prince's army and to march with him to the north.

"The dissettled and discomposed posture of affaires and the just feare that a fierce warr will breake out betwixt Orangzeab and the prince at Orungabad, doth allarumme us to secure what wee are able¹."

"We have little news here, all being in great expectation what the Mogulls army will doe after the raines.

Aurangzeb demands assistance from Bijapur against Shivaji.

There is an Embassador come from him to this king to demand the assistance of 12000 horse against Sevagee, else threatning to turne all his forces upon him; so that this king is at present in a great streaght, on the one side being loath to breake with Sevagee and on the other if he do not, how to satisfie the Mogull, but tis thought he will be forced to raise an army against him, in show though not with an intention to hurt him, only for the satisfaction of the Mogull²."

"Our ffriends at Bombay in their last letter of the 5th instant advised us of their receipt of a neshan from the prince at Orangaband, as allso a letter from Sied Mahmud his under Berxe (Bakshi), which import and signifie their desires that they would furnish with all sorts of ammunitiion the ffort and castle of Keridra and the kings fforces,

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 74. Consultation in Surat, 5th July 1670.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105 Part II. Fols 4 and 5. Carwar 12th August 1670.

forbidding them on the contrary to furnish Sevagy with any manner of artillery or warlike provision; An answer to which they would have returned had they not by the translate of Sayd Nishan apprehended it was intended to the President, and likewise being acquainted by Cojah Allauddyn the princes envoy that it would not be done without being accompanied with present fitting for so great a prince of which being totally disprovided, they presumed not to act herein without first advising with us, and

The English
prohibited from
supplying am-
munition to
Shivaji.

thereupon conclude to send up transcripts of said Neshan and letter, that wee might consider on the matter and after returne the answere and present from hence or send them downe to be dispeeded that way; of which having duely considered and debated wee thinke good to advise the Deputy Governour and Councell that wee esteeme it not convenient for us to respond to them from hence and therefore that they take a fitting opportunity to answer Said Mahmuds letter and likewise the princes Nishan. If necessity inforces there unto which wee would have him endeavour to by all meanes to avoyed in regard it must be attended with so great a present which wee are unwilling to putt the Company to the charge of except some equivalent advantages could be abtayned thereby and in regard the meanes to excuse the charge and trouble is by keeping a faire correspondence with Cojah Allauddyn. We think good that he be gratified with a small present which it's very probable will make him use his endeavour to divert the expence or at least to putt it off our shipp's arrivall. When if wee be forced to send a Piscash, wee shall be furnished with Tophas or raritys suitable to the quality and greatness of the prince; And be further able to give direction in this case by the observations wee shall in the meantime make of the success of affaires between the Prince Orungzeb and Sevagy, for wee esteeme it not prudence in us, as affaires and times now represent themselves to intereste or engage ourselves on either side or party and therefore if an indispensable necessity requires an answer to sayd Neshan wee

The English
to remain
neutral.

advise that there be great care taken in the penning of it. That no possitive promise be made to assist his castle or people with ammunition but that in generall tearmes the expression thereon be as obliging as possible." ¹

"We having a due sense of the danger this towne and country lies under at present (caused by the prince his rebelling against his ffather) mett this day to consult and contrive a meanes to secure the Honourable Companys estate and our persons from the disturbances and molestations the princes army may give us, which

False rumour of
Prince's army
advancing
against
Surat.

is credibly reported to be comeing downe hither to take possession of the towne and castle...Wee have thought on the following expedient which wee thinke necessary to put in execution viz. that wee write to one John Trotter the princes chief gunner at Orangabad (a man in some esteeme with his master), desiring his assistance in the use of his interest

The English
implore immu-
nity from
violence.

with his ffriends at the princes court to procure a Neshan or strict order from said prince to such generall or other officer as he shall thinke good to send downe requiring them not to offer the least violence to the Companys estate or to our or our servants persons. ² "

5. Alliance between Prince Muazzam and Shivaji

"Wee may move it as a question if the Siddy of Danda Rajapore or Sevagee should send any person hither to buy that comodity whether wee may not sell it as merchandise which is currentt all the world over notwithstanding the Princes Neshan of Orangabad, who is a friend to Danda Rajapore and linkt together in a warr with Sevagee against his father the Mogull, soe farr as wee can hitherto understand, wee do not practice the contrary and this wee know that Sevagee may furnish himself with lead or Gunns from the ffrench ffactoryes at Rajapore, but wee will not

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 3, Fols 79, 80, Consultation in Surat. 10th August 1670.

2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 3. Fol. 81. Consultation, 18th August 1670.

bring ourselves into any intrigue, but keepe to such order as you have and shall appoint us¹."

"There are invoyced to us 10 bailes Broad Cloth; which being all greens, are not soe proper for this place if in regard the warr between the Mogull, his sone, and Sevagee all trade is stopt on the maine...They are in a countinual feare of the princes army coming against Surat²."

Rumours of
Prince's army
against Surat.

6. Shivaji ravages Mogul territory and levies Chouth

The Surat Letter of 19th October 1670 is very important from several points of view. In spite of the vigorous offensive of the Mogul army, Shivaji had suddenly appeared before Surat and ravaged it for three days without opposition. At the same time, he led his flying force into Khandesh and Berars, and freely plundered several rich towns there. During the loot of Karanja one of the rich men escaped in a woman's dress, from which it is evident that the Moguls knew by experience that part of Shivaji's regulations regarding protection to females.

"But the most memorable circumstance of this expedition was the exaction of a writing from the village authorities on his route, in which they promised to pay to Sivajee, or his officers, one-fourth of the yearly revenue due to government. Regular receipts were promised on the part of Sivajee, which should not only exempt them from pillage, but ensure them protection. Hence we may date the first imposition of Mahratta chouth on a province immediately subject to the Moghuls³."

"The news of the towne is that Sevagee hath passed by Brampore, upon Rajah Jeswansings forbidding him to come there, for which said Rajah hath received two or 3

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Part II. Fols. 20-21. Bombay 5th September 1670. Manucci, II, 162-7.

2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 105. Part II. Fol, 25, Bombay. 5th September 1670. To Capt, Robert Fisher.

3. G. Duff, p. 111.

lacks of rupees of the kings treasure there; and Sevagee marched to Corringa a rich towne farther in the country; which he hath very severelly plundered, and carried all the men of note in it, but one of the most eminent men of all who escaped in womans apparell. From the other townes and villages, in the country thereabouts and near Nandraband, he hath taken writeings that they will pay him $\frac{1}{4}$ part (Chouth) of the revenues thereof¹."

Sabhasad (P. 12) writes that Shivaji halted at Karanja for three days, took possession of all the mansions, dug out buried treasures, and carried away spoils worth seven-krores².

7. Civil war among the Imperialists

John Trotter, an English gunner in the Mogul service, wrote a long letter to Surat from Aurangabad. He gives information on the civil war between Prince Muazzam and his General Diler Khan, as well as on the appointment of Khan-i-Zaman for investigating into the charges made against each other by the Prince and the General. Shivaji, taking advantage of this internal struggle, sent his cavalry on plundering expeditions as far as the Berars. The booty of one town alone amounted to a crore of rupees, but it was still further augmented by the plunder of other rich places in the Jaghir of Prince Muazzam.

"Intelligence of affairs here are uncertaine and indeed such is the Government of these countrys as omitts noe privy councill, whereby no certainty is knowne to any except king, prince and Sevajee; but as to appearance and apprehension of the best of the Princes and Umbraws here, that

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, Fol. 93, From Surat 19th October 1670.

2. Cf. estimate of the next letter.

the king is certainly determined to put this prince upon the throne, having indeed noe other capable of Government; upon our princes marching against Dillile Ckaune, wee arrived neare Brampore. Our prince gave order, for a months pay to be paid to his whole laskar; the same day arrived a perusance (parwana) from the king to returne back for Orangabad. Our prince in present obedience to his fathers order gave no small content to his father, the king being in noe small feare of the princes coming, being unprovided with a laskar to encounter ours, and certaine it is, if the prince had marched forward he had before this bin king of Hendustane.

Prince marched
against Diler
Khan, but
ordered to
return.

Sir, in short the business and concurrence betwixt king and prince, as thus is, the king is determined the prince shall succeed, the prince being impatient, yet loaths publikely to rebell against his father, hath, as it appears, continued the warr with Sevagee to draw downe the greater force into Deccan, whereby the younger brother will not be capable to withstand him. The Consamon sent down by the king to examine how affaires stood betwixt the prince and Sevagee (about 6 months past) as also severall falce reports raised upon the prince to the king, he plays jack on both sides and told the prince Deleele Ckaune was his

Khan-i-Zaman
Iftikar Khan came
to hold enquiry.

enemy and went to Deleele Ckaune and told him the prince would seize on him if he came to Orangabaud, which caused the difference between the prince and Deleele Ckaune. The king after the Consamons arrival to Agra, finding by the princes letters and Deleele Ckaunes letters the great treachery of the foresaid Consamon, determined to cut his head off, but the great Beaggume begged his life, soe the king hath sent him to Kabull for doggs; further as to the relation of Sevagee's last robbery in these parts here, about some 10 days past here arrived an English merchant, one Benjamin Little who being robbed 26 months past, of a considerable and great

Double dealing of
Khan-i-Zaman

quantity of goods of Mr. Cholimbys and his own, by one of the kings Umbraws and by my assistance gott order to have losses repaired upon the Umbraw's jagers (estate), who robbed them, being the country of Barrar, where Savagee came within a days journey of the fore-mentioned Mr. Little and robbed the chiefe townes of that country, the chiefe towne being Corengee, where he carried away 400 oxen and asses laden with fine cloth and silver and gold to the value of a crore of money and from severall other townes vast and great sums of money, most of all the townes he robbed was our princes jagers.

The King punished him for his treachery.

Shivaji loots Karanja in Berars.

Mahabat Khan soon expected.

Mahebot Ckaune is here expected in 20 days and it is supposed that in small time after his arrivall all things will shew itselfe true or falce and then I shall not faile to give you full account of occurrences here¹."

8. Capture of Salhir

This Mahabat Khan was the son of the celebrated general Mahabat Khan of the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Emperor was exasperated at the second sack of Surat and the destructive raids in the rich provinces of Khandesh and Berars. He ordered Mahabat Khan to carry on a vigorous warfare against the infidel Shiva. This general was assisted by another distinguished commander, Daud Khan by name. The latter tried to intercept the Marathia armies laden with booty, but could not prevent the junction of the divisions which were hurled upon the famous fort of Salhir. Shivaji showed an extraordinary dash in scaling its walls by means of rope-ladders and attacking the besieged in the dead of night. The castle surrendered after the brave commander had laid down his life in its defence. Daud Khan with all his vast army could

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, Fols, 150-1. Aurangabad 20th December 1670

do nothing in raising its siege or in preventing the fall of other forts.

“ Since writing the last the Deputy Governor hath received certaine news from Orangabaud that Mahabat Khan made supreme commander. Mobut Chaune is arrived here, with 40 thousand horse and that he hath brought Rajah Jessonings back from Brampore with him who was gone thither to raise money or sack the towne and demand 5 hundreded thousand rupees of Jaswant threatens to sack Burhanpur Daud Ckaunes sonne the then Governor, who told him if he could procure Oranzees order he would pay 20 lack, elce not a pice and immediately wrote to his father who was hard by the Castle Salleer, who upon the news went to his sonn's assistance, in which intervall Sevagee tooke Silher captured by Shivaji Saller, but is not returned to Rajagurr. Daude Ckaune is come to Juneer with 12,000 (?) horse. Coreambeeg hath wrote his servant there, that he in a short time will come Governor to Cullian, Diller Ckaune and Mahmud Amein, Mear Jumlees son, are likewise on their way; as yett the Prince hath Daud Khan near Junnar not mett Mobutt Ckaune, being very jealous of trusting him, but in a few days more, wee shall heare how they agree.¹”

“ Wee before hinted the Allarums that Sevagee's late victories and near approaches had putt this Towne in, which hath for the present much disjointed the frame of our Trade; 'tis affirmed that the Prince at Orungabaud hath sett him on, and intends to joyne with him in warr against his Father who it seems hath made choyce of his younger brother to be heir to the Crowne; the proceedings of

1. F. R. Suart Vol. 105, Pp. 114-5. Bombay the 6th February 1670-71.

Sevagee give some weight to this oppinion, for he marches now not before as a theife but in gross with an Army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lyes near him, he is become your neighbour at Bombay; having taken Cullian and Bunde and wee hope he will keepe it, for he will be a more usefull neighbour than the Moores.¹"

"The two gunns formerly mentioned, the Deputy Governor hath sold to a frenchman, who sold them to a fidalgo at Tannah and he sent them as wee since heare to Sevagy; they had them for 5 Ruppees Surrat maund and though they are very bad within; yet with their powder and stone shot they may last a good while."²

"Wee are glad to read that soe great an army is coming against Sevagee, Mobutt Ckaune is come as farr as Nasick Trimmuck and hath taken 4 castles, Huturnt and Salleere³ are the names of two of them."⁴

"(Writing about haggling with Govind Naik about the price of pepper), but whilst wee lost time in writing to him and expecting his answeres, the merchants of Brampore, and those parts haveing agreed with Sevagee to pay a rupee upon an ox for the free passage; there came such number of them to Hubely for it that it immediately rose to 12 1/4 Berkley at which price it still continues."⁵

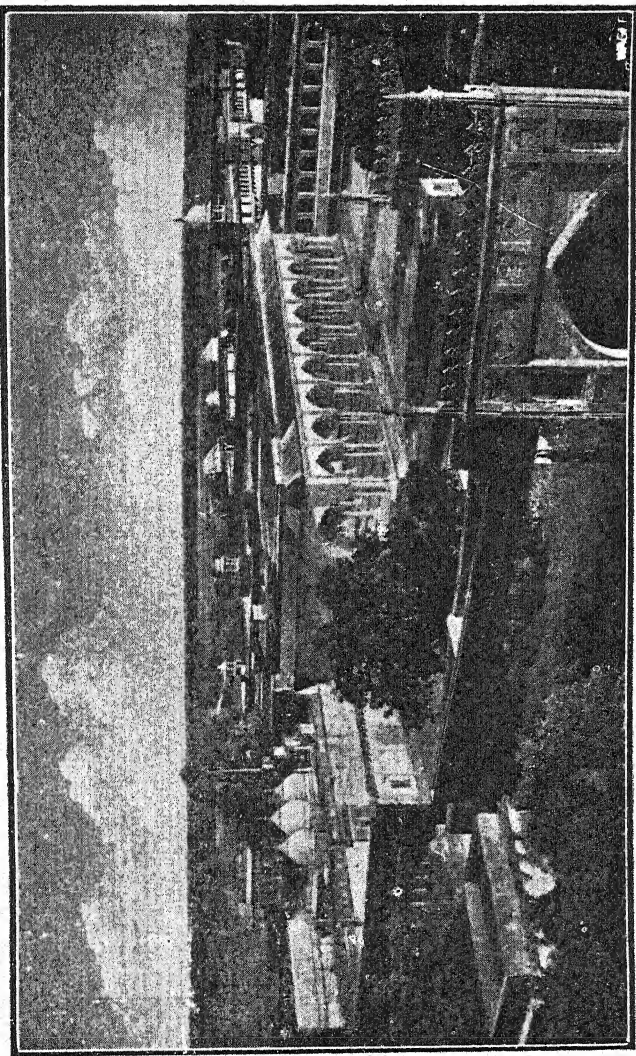
1. O. C. 3415, Surat, Gen. to the Honble Co. 30th March 1670. Vol. 31.

2. F. R. Stuart. Vol. 105. Fol. 164. Bombay 7th April 1671.

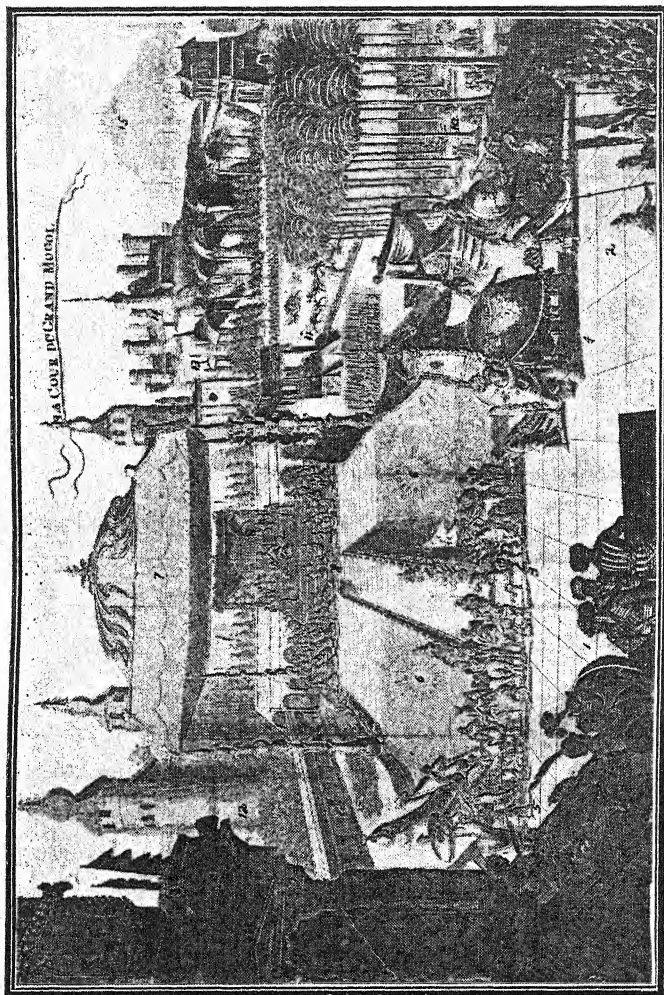
3. Ahivant and Salhir, The other two were Oundha and Patta. Duff. 112. According to Jedhe. Ch. the Moguls did not recover Salhir, but captured Jarla, Markandagad, Anchalagiri and Ahivant.

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 166. Bombay 8th April 1671.

5. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. P. 180. Carwar 27th May 1671.



Diwan-i-Am, Agra.



Aurangzeb in Court

Bernier's Voyages. Amsterdam, 1709.

‘These parts affords little newse, only Mobut Ckaune is arrived as farr as Trymbuck Nassure (Nasik), just a top of the great hill he hath taken 5 castles, they say he hath left the prince with but 700 horse at Orangabad and that he brought the Rajah along with him, this was told the Deputy Governor by a messenger of note that returned from Mobut Ckaune with letters to the Sedie of Danda, his master.”

“Wee returne Your Honour etc. many thanks for Your Surat occurrences, wee cannot as yet learne how far Delel Chaune and Bader Ckaune are advanced¹.”

“Sevagee is at Marr (Mahad), a place not above 40 miles off of Chaule, agathering together his army from all parts even from Coddall, Seingura (Sinhgad) &c; the reason thereof, as is reported, is that Diller Caun with a flying army hath taken Purna Chakne (Poona-Chakan²), a place the Deputy Governor saith of great concerne in a very large plaine in the heart of all Sevagees upper country; he (Diler Khan) spared none above 9 years³ of age⁴.”

Puna Chakan
captured and
people slaught-
ered.

9. Allied Mogul and Bijapuri armies advancing against Shivaji

“Wee wrote Your Honour in our last that Lieut. Ustick should set forthe on Monday following; but the day before wee received advice from Amagee he should not set out till he wrot for him, he being now otherwise imployed; having drained all his castles to rally a powerfull army to try if he can remove Diller Chan, Badder Chan⁵ and Mobut Chan out of Puna Chaukna, which they have taken; killed one Curtage Goodjer⁶, his Lieut Generall and put all to fire and sword; it's also credibly reported that

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 105. Fol. 168. Bombay 29th May 1671.

2. Sarkar thinks that it was Poona and not Chakan. 190 P.

3. Such a wholesale massacre of the civilian population without any provocation is simply condemnable.

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 62. Bombay 13th January 1671-2.

5. Bahadur Khan was the foster brother of Aurangzeb. He came with 70,000 cavalry to the Deccan. Sabhasad, 77.

6. Kartoji Gujar was not killed here. It was a wrong news.

Ffarrell Chan (Fazal Khan), Abdel Chan¹ and Cowes Chan are coming against him from Decan; if soe it will goe hard with him; Ffarrell Chan not only a good souldier but his inveterate enemy; Sevagee (as your honour &ca knows) haveing killed his father severall years since²."

10. Maratha victories in 1672

The Mogul army under Ikhlas Khan and Bahlol Khan laid siege to Salhir for recovering it from Shivaji's men. Thereupon Maratha forces were immediately sent for its relief under Pratap Rao and Moro Pant. A great battle was fought by the two armies. Ten thousand men were slain on both sides, while innumerable animals lay dead on the field. At last, the Marathas came off victorious. 125 elephants, 6,000 camels, 6,000 horses and an enormous booty fell into their hands³. The Muslim commanders themselves and many officers of note were taken prisoners, but they were soon released by Shivaji and sent back with honours to their homes. Moro Pant followed up this success by surprising the other important fort of Mulhir. Then making arrangements for the defence of these forts, he returned to Konkan. The victory of Salhir immensely enhanced the reputation of the Maratha soldiery, as they had achieved it in a pitched battle with the Moguls wherein their uncrowned king, Shivaji, was not present to guide, cheer and encourage them⁴.

"The President being called home early this morning by

1. Probably Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan of Bijapur.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 65, Bombay January 20th 1672.

3. Sabhasad 75, Jedhe Ch. has reasonable figures of 11 elephants and 1700 horses. The account in Chitnis is a little different from the above. P. 125.

4. "This victory was the most complete ever achieved by Shivaji's troops, in a fair fought action with the Moguls, and contributed greatly to the renown of the Mahrattas. Its immediate consequence was the abandonment of the siege of Salheir, and a precipitate retreat of the army to Aurangabad." G. Duff. P 113.

a strong alarme from Surratt for the guard of the honourable Companys house and estate, hee left with me the

Victory in the
battle of Salhir.

copie of your generall letter of the 4-5 current, of its receipt I cannot but take notice.

...Although you have newes of Sevagy having his hands full att home, yet he stretcheth forth his armes abroad and hath as great a force in this kings territorys, as he hath aboute him, he hath beaten off the forces Delleell Chaune left to bescidg Salleer (Salhir) and hath reinforcit it with men and provissions, he hath fought a battaile, slaine Bulloll Ckaune and hath now prisoners in Saleer about 30 principall officers of the army and hath of a certain taken

Capture of
Mulhir.

Mooleer (Mulhir) and having that pass he may be at Surratt when he please and the newes wee received at midnight assures his army was on 25

miles of the citty which we have reason to give credit to, when the

Surat terrorized. Governour hath licensed the marchants to provide for their ffamilies and secure their estates

which before he would not permitt to goe out of the gates ¹."

" This place affords noe newse at present ; Sevagee haveing put fresh provissions, ammunicon and men into Saleer and Morlee (Mulhir) is returned with his army ; which suppose was the same which alarmed Surratt ²."

The Mogul army had to sustain another defeat at Poona. Pressed by Shivaji himself, it evacuated Poona and beat a hasty retreat. An English letter records that Shivaji even forced the two generals (viz., Bahadur and Diler), who with their armies had entered into his country, to retreat with shame and loss ³.

Having inflicted serious losses on the Mogul armies, Shivaji ordered his generals to bring to submission the independent states of Jawhar and Ramnagar in the northern Konkan and annex their territories to the Maratha Swarajya.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 87. Fol. 21. Swally Marine 25th (15 ?) February 1672.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 106. Fol. 70. Bombay, 16th February 1672.

3. O. C. 3633. Surat to Co., 6th April 1672. According to the Jedhe Ch., the retreat of the two generals was from Salhir.

11. The conquest of Jawhar and Ramnagar

The Surat Council sent a letter dated 21st June 1672 to Bombay giving the news of the capture of Jawhar by Moro Pandit and his subsequent march against Surat itself.

"On the 11th Current this Towne was strongly allarmed by the neare approach of Savagees forces under the conduct of Moro Punditt, who hath taken Joar from the Cooleys which is within 57 Course of this place, but since having left a main Garrison there is retired back. In the heat of this newes the Governor calls all the eminent men,

Levy upon the
people for the
defence of Surat
against Shivaji.

both Moores and Banians, and propounds to them the collecting of 45000 Rups to raise 500 horse and 3000 ffoot to defend the towne for two months; the Moores readily subscribed to it, knowing that the burthen of the Tax would fall upon the Banians; they stood off a little to pause on the business but have also subscribed. Wee hear off no soldiers raiseing; but there are officers employed in taking an account of every Banians house in Towne, of which the Governor no doubt will make good employment to his particular benefit.¹

Your Honours humble servants, Matthew Gray, Charles James. Alexa. Grigbie."

Here is a letter of 12th July 1672 from Bombay conveying the news to the Company in London that the Brahman general of Shivaji had captured Jawhar and Ramnagar (now called Dharampur), threatened the Portuguese with a war if they failed to pay tribute to him, and marched against Surat with his victorious army.

"This towne of Surat having for some days been allarumd by the late success of Sevagees forces under Moro Punditt by his taking of Joar from the Rajah of the Coolys,

1, Surat 21st June 1672 to Bombay. Surat Outward Letter Bk. I A, p. 171 = Home Series, Forrest, vol. I, p. 67. Jedhe-Ch.—Raja Vikram-Shah of Jawhar fled to Mughal-dom.

and thereby having made his approaches within 40 course, and none of this kings forces to impede his march hither, are much more affrighted this day by his yet neerer approach to Ramnagar, the Rajah of which place is fled to Chickly¹ within 4 course of Gandavee, with all his family and all the people fled out of Gundavee; the Banians endeavouring to do the like here; but that the towne gates were shutt to keep them in. But what yet adds to their fear is, some letters brought to this Governor, and to Mirza Mosum the Principal merchant, from Sevagee or his Generall Moro Pundit, once more demanding the chouty or $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the kings revenue under the government, which amounts to 400000 rupees, threatening if they did not speedily send him the

Chouth
demanded.

money, he would sett downe here ere long with his army; which caused the people of better quality, to goe to petition the Governor to grant them liberty, to send their wives and ffamilys to Broach; or some other places to secure them. This allaram and general feare of the people gave sufficient caution to the Councell to use their endeavours to secure the honourable Companys estate here in the house, consisting chiefly in Corral, Courees and other kintlage goods for the shipping²."

"After the closure of the general letter of the 21st the Deputy President in his Pticular advised his Honour of fresh Allarums the same day by reason of Sevagees forces, after their taking of Joar, and a great treasure there, amounting to, by their report here 17,00,000 Rupees; it was said they had taken Ramnagar and so approached nearer here this Towne and the Rajah of Ramnagar flying with his family to Chickly, 4 course beyond Gundavee. The same day also were brought letters from Sevagee to the Governor and Mirza Mosum demanding the third time (which he wrott should be the last) the chouty or $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the kings revenues under

Capture of
Ramnagar.

Loot of Jawhar.

1. Ramnagar was not conquered even up to 1678.

2. F. R., Surat. Vol. 3. Fol. 4. Surat Consultation 21st June 1672

this Government, declaring that as their king had forced him to keep an army, for defence of his people and countreys, so that army must be payed and if they sent him not the money speedily : Shivaji demands chouth from Surat. he bid them make ready a large house for him,

for hee would come, and sitt downe here, and receive the rents and customes ; for there was none now to stop his passage. This his letter and the apprehension they had of his armys so near approach, and none of the kings forces to impede them, struck a Panick fear unto all those who are men of estates, who went to the Governor the same night to desire to send their wives and ffamilies to Broach or other partts to secure them ; after they had attended after midnight he gave them leave, and in the morning contradicted it againe and summoned the next day all the merchants of quallity, Moors and Banians to appear at Sied Mahmud's house and there to conclude of some way or other to raise

The people
refuse to pay
money.

the money Sevagee demanded ; which they were not in a capacity to doe. Hee propounded the merchants should raise 100000 rupees and the Desys should raise 200000 from the poor people that till and sow the ground in the severall pergannys, which the Desys declared was impossible ; they haveing payed into the kings treasury all their last years rents, and were not in a capacity to pay any money before hand, nor could the merchants be brought to raise their 100,000. At length after many hours sitting the whole day and night, the Governor would have had them raised 60000 rupees to send at present to stop the enemy, with promise of the rest, and allotted 20000 rupees to the merchants and 40,000 to the countrey people ; but they apprehending that as a piece of his craft rather to enrich himself than to be a meanes to divert the enemy, sent him word it could not be and soe broke up."

"In this distraction we knew it our duty to provide the best we could for our Honourable Masters Estate ; which being considerable we ordered the Hoigh to be kept afloat and a months provision to be put into her...This was the worke of the

The English
take precautions.

22nd day, being Saturday, the next morning came news that Moro Punditt had not taken Ramnagar but was returned upon news that Dileel Kaun was gathering his forces to stop his future progress ; this with the raines that fell that night before and still continues, hath brought great comfort to this towne and eased us from present trouble. — These allarms will be renewed, if we should have a fortnights faire weather, for Sevagees flying forces will be abroad againe, so soon as the others are retired to their winter quarters, and if not sooner, they may reasonably be expected in September." ¹

Moro Pundit
gone from Ram-
nagar

"After we had dispatcht the money and dispatcht the men away, the sheroffs stopt them and brought the money home againe, will not ensure it, they apprehend the danger so great, now Moro Punditt hath taken Ramnagar so that the money lies by us in expectation when the sheroffs will undertake it, but we see no probability of it ; their fear of danger dayly encreasing by the near approach of Sevagees forces, that divers of the great ones in the towne for their money have prevailed with Governor to lett them and their familes goe out of towne to provide for greater security." ²

The surprise
of Ramnagar
creates panic
at Surat.

"Ordered that Mayhim, Siam and Moehum be forthwith fortified, the present necessity requiring the same by reason of Savagees takeing the Cooley (Koli's) country and attempting Ghorbunder soe neer Bombay, and that Colonel Herman Bake be appointed Overseer of the work." ³

"Sevagy suffers not his neighbours to rest even in this dead time of the raines, having surprized the countryes belonging to Radjahs, called the Radjahs of Guar (Jawhar), and Rammigar (Ramnagar), both bordering on the Portugalls of whom also he demands tribute, threatning to make war upon

Surprise of
Jawhar and
Ramnagar by
Shivaji.

1 Surat F. Outward Letter Book. No. 1—A, p. 176, F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fols. 47-49. Surat to Bombay June 25, 1672.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 52. Surat to Bombay July 8, 1672.

3. Consultation at Bombay, 22 June 1672. F. R. Mis. Vol. 2, p. 139.

them if they do not pay it him, in so much that the Portuguesse estate, though it was very low before, yet now is much more in danger, Demands tribute from Portuguesse. by this meanes he hath also opened a nearer way to Surratt, and it is credibly believed here, that he hath now sent his victorious Army thither, if so (which God divert) he will doubtless doe great mischief, but at the worst we have reason to hope through the overtures of friendship which of late have passed twixt us, that he will not attempt any evill to your estate, however we dare not assure ourselves of it, in respect he doth so little regard his word, therefore have given Mr. Gray and friends there timely notice to prepare for the worst and not to trust him much¹."

Orme gives the following account of the capture of Ramnagar and of the tribute demanded from the Portugese.

"Sevagi tendered a visit to the Rajah of Ramnagar in his fort; and being admitted, seized Orme on the capture of Ramnagar. and kept possession of it; saying that it was inconvenient to trust him any longer with the key of his treasury; for such he was wont to call Surat.

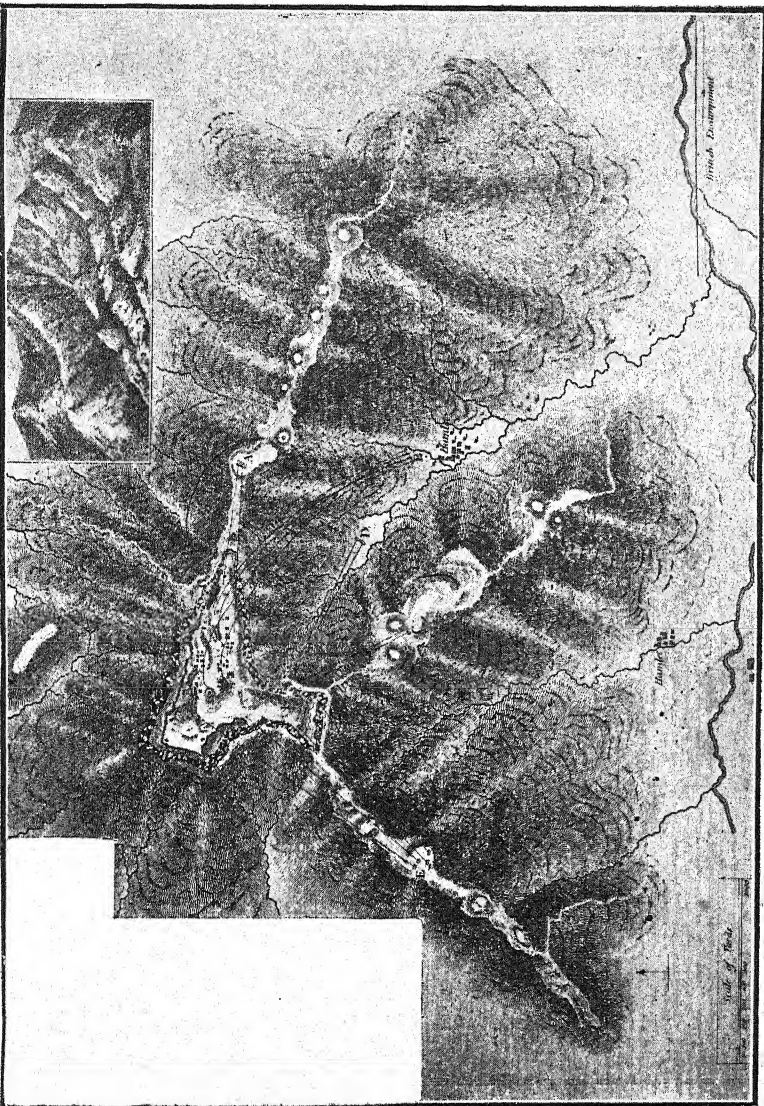
Sevagi sent a body of troops, who having sufficiently displayed themselves, halted quietly at the barrier of Daman, where their appearance, as it was intended to try, raised the utmost consternation; for although a regular fortification, nothing was in readiness for defence. After some guns had been hauled up from the ditches to the bastions, an officer was sent to enquire the intention of Shivagi's, who answered that he was an ambassador come to establish the same tribute, which used to be paid to the Rajahs."

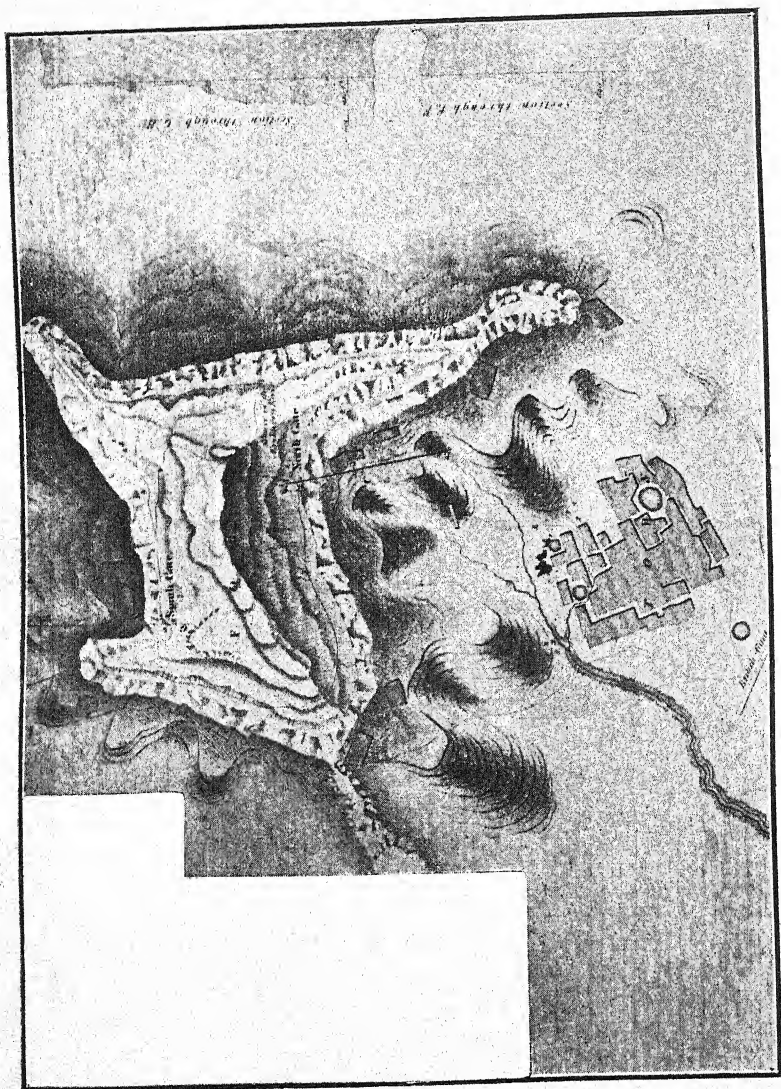
The State of Ramnagar was situated between the high cliffs of the Sahyadri on the East and the Arabian Sea on the West. When Shivaji led his expedition to Surat

1. 12th July 1672. Bombay to London, Bombay Papers Unavailable, Vol. V, pp. 126-27. = O. C. 3649.

Trimbak Fort

Lakshmi Art Bombay, 8,





Sinhagad

in the year 1664 A. D., Raja Ramdeva I, was ruling over Ramnagar. Shivaji on his way to Surat was cordially received by this Ruler in his fort of Gambhir Gadh. But while he was returning after the plunder of Surat, he was intercepted by the Koli Rajas on the borders of Ramnagar. However, the Maratha hero very tactfully dodged them and safely carried the precious booty to his mountainous retreats.

In the year 1672 A. D., Shivaji sent a large army under the command of Moro Pandit to take revenge on the Koli Rajas who had invaded him ; while he himself came to Gambhir Gadh on a friendly visit to Ramdeva. While the Raja was entertaining his guest with great hospitality in his fort, Moro Pandit defeated the Koli Rajas, the Raja of Jawhar and the rebellious Sardars of Peint. The excellent situation of the fort and its strong fortifications, tempted Shivaji to have its possession to enlarge his powers. He, therefore, asked Raja Ramdeva to hand him over Gambhir Gadh. The Raja, out of friendship, gave the fort and transferred his capital to Nagar Fatehpur. After getting Gambhir Gadh, Shivaji totally defeated the Koli Rajas and handed over the district of Peint to his friend Ramdeva in return for his service, and kept him in high esteem till his death. Thus Shivaji cannot be charged of treacherous dealings with his friend, the Raja of Ramnagar.

Ramnagar in the hands of Shivaji may be regarded as a pistol directed at the heart of Surat. The way was open to plunder or conquer the rich territory of the neighbouring districts. In fact, this base supplied the shortest cut for sudden raids in the various parts of the Mogul Empire. Sabhasad (72) thus recounts the heroic deeds of the Brahman General Moro Pant. "He captured forts new and old. He subdued Kolawan, annexed the kingdoms of Ramnagar and Jawahir, and built many forts in those provinces."

Result of the
occupation.

12. Capture of Nasik-Trimbak in 1672

Having completed the conquest of the petty states of Jawhar and Peint, Moro Pant Peshwa advanced with a

large army into the Nasik district and captured the fort of Nasik-Trimbak. It was held by Jadhav Rao, a great grandson of Lakhaji Jadhav, who had entered the Mogul service. He was utterly defeated and captured by the Maratha force.

"It is not one but many allarams we have had from Sevagee's forces and now the army that came hither for the money, is returning, we may expect them indeed ; and that every

Capture of Nasik
Trimbak.

day, for there is a great army abroad, and Moro Punditt hath taken Narseek Trumbuck which was kept by Jaddava a Rasput and 4000 men under his command, killed many of the army and taken Jaddava prisoner ; this Jaddava is somewhat related to Sevagee and revolted from him to the Mogull.

This Governor hath gott the Banians and Moores to signe a writing that they have given him 40000 rupees for the

The Governor
extorts money
for his army.

pay of souldiers he hath raised, or is to raise for defence of the towne, though he never intended any such thing ; now that the money is a gathering, 30000 rupees is to be payed by the Banians, and 50000 per the Moors ; Monack Chund is appointed to assess the Banians and Mirza Mosum for the Moors, but the burthen falls upon a few, 4500 rupees on Bimgee Parrack our broker, the like on the Dutch Broker &c. We hope these taxes will doe good to our island, for these people were never accustomed to part with their money on such accounts." 1

13. The Capture of Mahuli in 1670

Mahuli, one of the strongest hill-forts in the Thana district, was defended by a gallant Rajput commander, named Manohar Das. Shivaji failed twice to scale and storm the castle, but he persisted in its siege, even though the rains had set in and finally captured it on 6th June 1670. The English Records contain a very faithful account of the repulse and success of Shivaji.

1. Outward Letter Bk, No. 1. A. P. 179. Bombay to Surat. 20 July 1672.

"Wee can not hear where Sevajee is gone, but the generall report is he is gone up in the country; his men have received a repulse at Mouley, where he lost (if report be true) 1000 of them: part of his army are now beseiging Cornalla,¹ a castle on the top of a hill in our sight, they are approached near the wall by throwing up breastworkes of earth and boards, which for their defence they carry on before them; it is thought they will carry it ere long."²

"Having Sevajee (a friend to none) soe near a neighbour to us, who proceeds without any lett in his conquests, and wee hear this day hath taken another castle from the Mogull called Pondader³ (Purundhar), and surely wee thinke Carnalla can not hold out long. Two dayes past two of his men came to us from his Governor of Cullian to buy some Gunnes; wee received them courteously and gave them answer that at this time wee had none to spare, what wee had was for our owne occasions.

Wee can not have any certainty where Sevajee is, yet believe he is not gone toward Surratt, but that rather he makes use of his time in recovering his castles upon the hills. Yet shall wee be vigilant and not trust him, for his motions ever have been so quick that his designs were rarely yet anticipated."

"Sevagee is not so slothfull as the Mogulls forces, for he not only makes hay whilest the sun shines, but when it's obscured by violent raines also, for since they have withdrawn forces up the hill for a quiet wintering, his have not been idle, but have recovered for him Logar,⁴ Coöz, and about 8 dayes since Kerridrew, and very lately made an assault againe upon Mauly (Mahuli) and had about 200 men

1. 15 miles from Karjat.

2. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6, P. 7. Bombay to Surat, 21 March 1670.

3. Jedhe Ch. says that it was captured by Nilopant Majumdar on 8th March. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 8. Bombay 29th March 1670.

4. Lohgarh, 8 miles from Khandala. Coöz = Koj or Kohoj or Koaj in Thana Dist. *Kerridrew* may be Khesdurg, 6 miles from Alibag or Kurduwad in Kolaba Dist. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 16. P. 27. Bombay to Surat. 11 June 1670. According to Jedhech., Lohgarh was scaled with rope-ladders and captured on 13 May.

knockt on the head by stones throwne downe from the wallles. He now encourages his men to make another attempt upon Mauly and then he will expose them to no further service these raines. He hath 5000 men that he keepes in Buinde and at the foot of Mauly for a second assault."

"By a bazar pattamar the Deputy Governor of Bombay wrote a few lines to the President at Surat on the 25th of June, "giving the newes that *Sevagee had taken Mouly from the Mogull and that he had recovered all his castles and strongholds upon the hills*, excepting one named Carnalla, which, upon the report of his takeing Mouly, 'tis thought will be surrendered."

"Now that Sevagee hath taken Mouly (Mahuli) and *regained all his other castles from the Mogull*, wee doe thinke that the trade in Surrat will not be so current this year as the last, for if the people were then so affrighted by Sevegee, their expectations of him will now be greater and money very scarce in Surrat."¹

"Sevagee, since the takeing of Mouly, hath withdrawne his army, leaving 1000 men for defence of Mouly."²

14. The Dutch on Shivaji's offensive (1667-1672)

Some confirmatory evidence is supplied by the letters written by the Dutch Governor-General and by the Director at Wingurla to the D. E. I. Co. at Amsterdam on the offensive taken by Shivaji against Aurangzeb and Ali Adil Shah.

"The well-known Siwasi, in May of last year, had repaired to the court of Agra with large presents consisting of stolen goods, but he did not meet with a kind reception. Some say that he was imprisoned, others that he again collected an army of 3 or 4,000 horsemen and was victorious in a battle with the Imperial forces off Burhanpur, so that he is still in good condition.

Shivaji's raid
on Mogul
territory after
his release
from Agra.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 6, p. 31. July 1670. Bomb. to Surrat.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 6, p. 33. 11 July 1670. Bomb. to Surrat.

At last Mr. Hachins had the goods which had been stolen from the Company by the said Siwasi and stored in that place, recovered at Visiapur and handed to one of the Company's officials, who was repacking them. This is a success. It is to be hoped that, seeing the unsafety of the highways, they will arrive in good condition at Wingurla and not be robbed again."¹

"We can say very little as to the position of the affairs of the country. The King is kept in ignorance of what is being done. A new general has been sent against Sewasi, but we fear that the result will be as before. After the residents have been pilfered of all they possess and the troops of Sewasi driven somewhat back, he will leave and things will be as before, the poor people being the greatest sufferers. We are at present enjoying comparative peace, but it is to be hoped that soon one party or the other may obtain the mastery and the country be relieved of these continual invasions."²

"After our last letter we received 5 letters from Wingurla dated 12-11, 29-4, 18 and 28-5 last year, all sent over in copy. If we keep our settlement there, it is more for the reason that we want to see what the Portuguese at Goa are doing than for trade, which is very slow there, and gives us much trouble on account of the wars still going on. No improvement is to be expected. The King sent from time to time some armies for putting down the revolt of Siwasi, but the generals are so lazy, that one wonders whether they secretly side with Siwasi. In the meantime the poor subjects are robbed by both parties."³

1. Batavia Letter Bk. 1667 Bl. 208. 25 Jan. 1667; I.O. D. Rec. No 734.
2. I. O. D. Rec. Vol. 28. No. 737. 20 March 1667.
3. Batavia Letter Bk. 1667. Bl. 90. 5 Oct. 1667; I. O. D. Rec. Vol. 28. No. 735.

Peace between Shivaji and Bijapur. "The famous Siwasi has again made his peace with the King of Bijapur. He will pay an indemnity of 600,000 Pagodas, which the poor natives, of course, are called upon to furnish."¹

A Hindu army to be sent by Aurangzeb. "Three days after we left Monghyr, we met the troops of an idolatrous Prince called Amarsing. They consisted of 1200 well equipped cavalry, 40 camels, 6 elephants, a number of oxen and a large body of infantry. Besides this, there were on the river a number of boats of all kinds to transport men and provisions. These troops came from the mountains of Assam and were going to Delhi and Agra to join the army of the Mogul in order to march against the rebel Siwasi."²

The Dutch invited by Shivaji to settle at Dabhol. "The well-known Siwasi suggested and invited Von Resident to establish a factory in the town Dabul, which is under his rule; but we do not think it desirable, as the Company is already sufficiently bothered by him at Wingurla, unless some special gain might be made there, which is up till now unknown to us,"³

The Moguls made peace with Bijapur in 1669. "Peace reigns again by the settlement between the Mogul and the King of Visiapour, which includes Siwasi. Still the vexations by the chieftains for collecting the money, promised by the Visiapour king to be paid to the Mogol, viz. 20 millions of guilders (rupees), divided over the Carnatic, Tansjour, Madura and other districts under his rule. This payment was slow. Siwasi had also to pay his share, but he had not paid much; nevertheless, he instituted new tolls and other exactions, but our officials did not meddle with it; they only tried to keep the Christians at Wingurla free from these new imposts; but we

1. Batavia Letter Bk. 1668-69. Bl. 81, Oct. 1668. I. O. D. Rec. Vol. 29. No. 740. It is confirmed by Jedhe Ch.

2. Voyages de Nicolas de Graaf aux Indes Orientales, p. 61.

3. Batavia Letter Bk. 1668-69. 1 Dec. 1668. Bl. 163.

are not entitled to do so, as they are no subjects of the Company but real subjects of the native government; the Governor Daruji Panditt gave us much trouble."¹

“There were many quarrels between the Arabs and the Portuguese some time ago, but they were on better terms with Siwasi. The trouble our Company had with him (Siwasi), according to the letter from the new Resident, has to be attributed to ignorance and want of courtesy of his predecessor.”²

“The goods have been sold in a hurry, which is caused by the movements of the well-known robber Siwasi, who threatens also Wingurla. The regents in Goa have made peace with the Naik of Canara, leaving their claims to him.”³

The Director Wingurla wrote to the Dutch Governor-General and Council for India on 8 October 1670:

“The position of the rebel Siwasi remains unchanged. The troops of the Mogul, which had been sent against him, have been unexpectedly recalled. It seems that an understanding exists between Siwasi, the King of Visiapour and the eldest son of the Mogul and thus matters are continually kept in suspense. We hear, however, for certain that a certain Nabob Bulle Chan has left Visiapour at the head of 4,000 horse. Some say that he is going to spend some time in one of his country seats, but others that he is marching against Siwasi. Anyhow, the latter is supplying all the forts along the coast with provisions and ammunition.”⁴

This report is confirmed by a letter of the President of Surat to Carwar, written from Swally Marine on 14 October 1670.

1. Batavia Letter Bk. 1669-70. Bl. 254. 17 Nov. 1669.
2. Ditto. 1670-71. Bl. 1670-16 Nov. 1673.
3. Batavia Letter Bk. 1671-72 Bl. 54. 19 Dec. 1671.
4. I. O. D. Rec. Vol. 29. No. 762.

"The times doe grow soe dangerous and uncertaine here in these parts by reason of the *Prince of Orangabauds joyning with Seavagees against the Mogull and the miserable ruin which Seavagees army hath made in all these adjacent townes by fire, sword and plunder that wee feare the* Shivaji's de. predations favour migration to Bombay. trade will not be recovered againe in some yeares, most of the eminent merchants publicly declaring their resolutions to leave the towne and convey their estates to other places more secure. They talke of Bombay expressing their firme intentions to settle, which wee much encourage them to. Had the Company bin pleased to send any considerable strength of men with these ships, it would have bin a greate encouragement to merchants to transport their famileys thither, but soe long as they see us soe weakly mannd, they cannot reasonably thinke themselves more secure there than in other places." ¹

"The dissettled condition of affairs in these parts hath almost put a stop to all trade. Sultan Muazzam's rebellion. Maazum, the Mogull son, who resides at Orungabaud being assisted with Sevagy and other Princes, hath raised a vast army and is intended against his Father. What the event will be of this war is yet uncertaine, neither can we gather any true news. Some say he is already set out against his Father and is now near Agra. Others say that he took the field but is returnd againe, the Mogull for peace sake having granted him the Kingdom of Decan and Province of Guzzerat which he hath accepted of.

So soon as we are assured of the issue and result of this warr, we shall advise you thereof. We could wish it were at an end that there might be a settlement of affairs, which are now totally discomposed²."

"The troubles in the country and the ravages made by the notorious Sivaji seem now to be fairly well arrested

1. O. C. Vol. 31, No. 3496.

O. C. Vol. 31, No. 3489, Bomb. to Surat. 2 Oct. 1670.

Notorious and cunning Shivaji. by the forces put into the field by the Mogul, but all the same no real reliance can be felt, since he is a cunning fellow and apparently is in communication with the greatest Princes in the Court, and consequently has constant information of their counsels and undertakings, so that he can take action accordingly." ¹

Rebellion of Rustam Zaman at Wingurla, dated 24 Sept. 1671. By a revolt of a certain Restumsimma (Rustam Zaman) against the King of Visiapour, and the assistance rendered him by Siwasi, there was for a long time no safety on the highways. He (Rustam) even dared to attack and sack the famous commercial town of Ragiabach (Raibag) and put to ransom other towns in the neighbourhood. This brought the trade to a standstill, and caused that at Wingurla to be low. We were unable to sell more than 800 boxes of copper and nearly 2,000 pounds of cloves. We also got via Ceylon some more letters from Wingurla to the Hon. Van Goens dated 15-10 and 2-11. We learnt that the King of Visiapour had collected an army, stopped the said rebel (Siwasi) and made the general a prisoner. This made the highways safe for travelling. The said Siwasi was reduced in power by the Mogul, who took some fortresses and continued to do so. So we thrust that peace will return." ²

Shivaji hard pressed by the Mogul

The English account of Rustam's revolt is given in a letter from Carwar to Surat, dated 20 September 1671.

"Wee are sorry to hear of your Hon. &ca., just discontents, occasioned by the insolencys of the Moors there; the ill and unsettled government of this country we think will never want ministring occasion of keeping our cares and fears active here, for there hath broke out a rebellion some few days since never thought of before; Rustum

1. O. C. Vol. 32. No. 3593. Report of events in 1671.

2. Batavia Letter Bk. 1671-72. Bl. 572. 31 Jan. 1672,

Jemmah, who formerly was Lord of these towns hereabout, being dispossessed of them by the King for his trayterous compliance with Sevagy in delivering up one of the Kings castles unto him, presuming upon his favour and the great alliance he hath among the nobility of this country, hath taken up arms, hoping to effect that by force, which hitherto he could not doe by the intercession of all his freinds, that is, to be restored to his former estate; he hath so well plyed his time that being assisted underhand by Sevagees forces, he hath already seized on as much country as amounts to upwards of three hundred thousand Pagodas yearly rent; he hath likewise plundered Raybagg

**Confusion due
to Rustam's
revolt.**

and burnt part of it, so that its thought, what with that it hath suffered formerly by Sevagee and this now, it is utterly ruined and will not long time be able to hold up its head againe. The merchants of Hottanee and other townes are all fled to remoter places, and they of Hubely convey away their goods as fast as they can fearing the contagion will spread as farr as them, so that in those parts all things are in great confusion. The King hath sent an army against him, but his freinds are making his peace with the king, and its thought will at length frighten him to a compliance and restoration of what country he formerly enjoyed or its vallew; and the poor merchants that have bin robbed and undone by this Court cheat must expect no manner of satisfaction but endure it patiently, anything of that nature being contrary either to their religion or at least practice."¹

"The countries about Wingurla remain continually in disquiet, and consequently unsafe and without trade. The famous Sevagi had sufficiently made himself master of the country by the intelligence he hath in the Court of Vesia-pour...The Accomptant Abraham Lelaper had been gone with a letter and a present to the towne Ragery (Rairi) to salute Sevagi, who civilly received him, but would have been more satisfied with somewhat richer presents, ours amount-

**The Dutch offer
a present to
Shivaji at Rairi**

ing to the value of 450 Pagodes only. Whether we have gained his good will time will show; meantime we reckon not much upon it."¹

Shivaji continued
his raids "The yacht Duyerdam brought us a letter from the Resident at Wingurla, dated 20-9-1672, mentioning that there is no improvement. The robbing and stealing by Siwasi is continued just as before. The unsafety of the highways stopped all trade."²

1 O. C. Vol. 33, No. 3661. 31 July 1672.

2, Batavia Letter Bk. 1672-73. Block 323. 31 Jan. 1673.

CHAPTER XI

Raids on Surat (1670-80)

1. Economic consequences of the raids

For three years from the first sack of Surat in January 1664, the citizens lived in constant awe of Shivaji's return. During this period, the effects of the actual and expected raids on the trade and prosperity of the city are well depicted in several documents. A Surat letter of 10th February 1664, first deserves our attention.

"Your advice of the time of yeare being at hand, and therefore require supplies for the buying of pepper at the best hands, which wee have seriously debated in Councell, and it was given in the negative, that although wee might furnish you with exchanges that might bee remitted hence to Ray-bagg and thence to Hubelly; yet it was concluded that the dearness of exchanges together with the hazard of adventure now these ticklish tymes, when as not only you there but wee here by the daily commotions of the whole coast north to south are in such perpetuall Alarmes and threats of ruine and destruction, are the reasons and that tis resolved to remitt you no moneies, especially in regard you have, soe considerable an estate of the Company is already under your charge, which beside the Dungarees and cardamons, in the parussall of your remaines, wee find you have in good Debts (which wee would have you very sollicitous to gather in) Goods and moneyes to the amount of 3,000 pagodas and upwards, which if you see quiett tymes and pepper at a reasonable rate, you may bee laying out and securing what quantities you can for us but other goods wee require none, and wee shall supply you with effects to discharge your debts by the Europe ships as accustomed." ¹

Further, in a Surat Consultation of 14th August 1665, it is recorded that "money .is not now procurable at

1. Bomb. F. O, L, Bk. No. 1 A, pp. 47-8.

interest here, as in former times; for since Sevages robbery of this towne those eminent merchants who were wont to furnish the companyes occasions are disabled, would rather take up moneys to supply their owne; they are generally so disjoyned in their credits and estates that they will not trust one the other¹."

The third document of 24th November 1666, *speaks of the Emperor's blind zeal for the propagation of his religion, of the general insecurity in the country, and of the fear of Shivaji's approach after his escape from Agra.*

"Both of English in the familye and native servants of the countrie, we have not halfe the number of either that have formerly bin mainetained at your charge, meere-ly for pompe and pride when there were peaceable times and not the least feare of being robbed; whereas at present the slight accompt that is made of this King by his subjects, his blinde zeale and neglect of his countries are soe greate, besides the feare of Sevagee, even by the consent of this Kings partie that are appointed to keepe him out (on which accompt he came in the last time), and the severall outlawes rounde about us, that daiely committ pettie plunders, murder some, and cutt off the hands of others, that Surat is become a garrissone more then a towne of trade; only here wants the garde, which the King besides foote, to carrie awaie his treasure etc., and that secured, who will take what is left, fire the towne, and runn awaie by the light; as sure they will, whoe ever attempts it. (So) that wee begin to thinke our lives are more deare then estates, which now is but small, and to provide for them."²

2. Surat threatened with raids in 1670

The air was thick with rumours of the coming attack on Surat after the escape of Shivaji from Aurangzeb's clutches. Consul Lannoy wrote to the Earl of Winchilse a

1. E. F. 1665-67. P. 19.

2. E. F. 1665-67. P. 173.

letter from Aleppo on 22 August 1667 that 'Sevage is got loose again in his owne territoryes, and threatens a second time to visitt Surat by sea and land, which make the people of that place upon every rumour to run away.'¹ The Raja, however, was mustering strength for his grand offensive, and Surat enjoyed a spell of quiet for three years. Still it was to serve as a fattened sheep to Shivaji. Money for the war against Aurangzeb must be obtained from the Mogul territory and Surat, the richest port of the Empire, could be easily fleeced and squeezed by that great raider.

"Sevagees allarrumes keepe the town under continuall feares. "Tis said he is marched towards Orangabaud but his motions are so suddaine and unexpected we are in just apprehensions of surprize."²

Whenever Shivaji desired to wreak vengeance upon Aurangzeb, he sent his predatory hordes to plunder the Mogul territory, and especially threatened the rich city of Surat. From March to October in the year 1670 there were frequent alarms of Shivaji's approach near that city. The following eleven consultations of the English Council held at Surat and the Swally Marine give us a fair idea of the terror struck into the hearts of the Suratters, and of the deplorable decline in the trade of this great city by his sudden depredations there as well as in the various other commercial centres of the Empire.

It will be evident that every time the people submitted to their fate like sheep, and fled away in all directions at the mere news of the approaching Maratha myriads. No one had the courage to face the rapid advance of a handful invaders. The Government officials, instead of putting up a gallant defence and stemming the tide of invasion, used to sneak away to the castle, and leave the defenceless popu-

1. Finch Mss. Vol. 1. 50.

2. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 19, p. 5. 2nd April 1670. Surat to Bombay. Cf. Dellon's Voyage, p. 37.

lace to suffer the horrors of rapine, pillage, and massacre. For ten long years, no measures were adopted to counteract the Maratha menace, no precautions were taken to prevent the sudden rush and unexpected attack of Shivaji. It is a sad commentary on the energetic regime of Aurangzeb. The following letters give a graphic description of the thundering alarms, nervous tension, intense anxiety, and precipitous flight of the fear-stricken people.

¹ " *Consultation in Surat*, 12th March 1670.

The Towne of Surratt is at present in a most distracted condition occasioned by the Inhabitants feare of Sevagy whose late success and conquests, as allso neere approaches being some time within twenty leagues of this place, hath made them jealous of his

Shivaji's
rumoured ap-
proach near
Surat.

having a designe against this Citty, which suspition of theirs hath made all in generall provide for themselves, some by flight betraying their pusillanimity, others demonstrating a resolution to defend themselves and estates by fortifying their houses and keeping souldiers to guard them. The Dutch and French following the example of the latter by entertaining into their service severall people besides their owne menn which they have taken out of their shippes with which force they promise the Governor and officers to assist them on occasion against Sevagy, wherefore not to seeme remiss or to be negligent of the Honourable Companys concerns under our management & custody (being likewise very sensible of the so neere appearance of so dangerous and pollitick an enemy) have thought requisite to entertaine some peons and laskarrs which were sometimes since received into service by Mr. Master in the Presidents absence of which wee approve and likewise to send up for 20 of the *Georges* Seamen to our assistance, which men shall be discharged so soone as prudence will admitt of it."

² " *Consultation in Surat*, 16th March 1670.

1. Surat F. R. at Bombay-Diary No. 1, p. 195. F.R. Surat. Vol. 3. Fol. 53.

2. Surat F. R. at Bombay-Diary, No. 1. P. 197. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 54.

The Distraction and Disturbance which this Towne lies under by reason of the sometimes very neare approaches of

Means adopted
by the English
to defend them-
selves against
Shivaji.

Sevagy occasioned this consultation to consider of a meanes to putt ourselves in a Capacity to defend the Honourable Companys Intrest and estate here & preserve the honour of the Nation. To which end wee did formerly call 20 of the *Georges* Seamen to our assistance

which menn cannott be kept on shoare without your hazard-
ing the losse of her voyage to Atcheen & Quedah which
consideration being duly weighed, it was resolved not to detain
them to the Honourable Companys Prejudice and the en-
dangering the losse of so hopefull a voyadge (voyage).
These menn being thus necessarily taken from us, the house will
be left very bare of Deffendants and in a badd case to
make resistance against any enemy. Wherefore it was pro-
pounded Debated and Concluded to send order to the Deputy
Governor &ca. at Bombay that they spare us (torn) 35 or 40
White Portugall souldiers who have been trayned up & are
actually in service so that the charge will be but little & that
onely for Dyett the time they are in Surratt. White Portu-
galls being intermixed with our English ffield Leaders (whome
wee shall write for and) may if occasion be doe good service.
A reason which further induces to this result is that 'twill
be an occasion at easing the garrisons charges & Pursuing
the resolution wee once had of Discharging some of them."

¹ " *Consultation in Surat*, 31st March 1670.

The many troubles which at this time the whole king-
dom groanes under hath rendered the wayes and passages up
into the Country very unsafe and Dangerous,
Caphillas plund- the Thiefs & Inland Rajahs taking this
ered by Rajas opportunity of plundering Caphillas & robbing
under the name Merchants and all under the name of Sevagy,
of Shivaji. which Distraction hath caused our Agra ffactor
to desire our orders and leave to lodge the goodes at Bram-
pore all the raynes (which goodes are now on the way
betwixt Agra & that Citty). And having seriously weighed

1. Surat F. R. at Bombay-Diary No. 1, p. 197, F. R. Surat Vol.
3. Fol. 55.

and Debated his sayd request wee thinke convenient & safe to send Suddarung Pheros our Agra Brokers sonne to meet the goodes with order that if he finds any Apparent Danger that then he house them at Brampore if not that he bring them downe for as wee would not aime any Imminent hazard, so would wee not be affrighted without reason or Disappointed of the Supply of the Doriabands and Mercolies being sortments so necessary and much required for the Europe Investments & the rather because if they should be housed at Brampore they cannot be brought downe time enough to be laden on the first shipp to be Dispeeded (God willing) in October next which wee much desire may be effected." ¹

"*Consultation in Surat*, 2nd April 1670.

But the business was not fully Determined possibly for want of moneys to discharge such great engagements as allso by reason of the Dislocation of trade by the rumoured alarm of Shivaji. Allarum of Sevagys neare approaches, they so long as the rumour lasted hott not stirring it esteeming their money safer in our Custody then in their owne possession, but now the noyse being somewhat over and the Towne in a more settled condition they recommend their suits with much eagerness & earnestness, saying it was not reason they should loose the Intrest of their moneys (being wee could not Justly lay any thing of wronging the Company to their charge). Nevertheless they would rely wholly on our Justice & refferd it to our consideration. But wee according to our dutys being sollicitous for our Masters Intrest would not condescend to pay them any Intrest, but paid them their principall somes as they stood in our Gennerall Bookes Viztt., to Samdas Somgee Rus. 28942.

To Deoldas for Chouts some 19886 for which somes tooke their discharges in full to this day. *G. Aungier, St. Master, Ch. James.*" ²

1—2 Surat F.R. at Bombay-Diary No. 1, pp. 197-8, F. R. Surat. Vol. 3, Fols. 55-56. Cf. Surat Letter of 14 April 1670. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 19.

1 "Consultation in Surat. 8th April 1670.

Sometime before the Presidents going downe to Bombay, there was an overture made by a Hindu rebellion quelled and less fear of Shivaji. Bannian merchant to buy the whole parcell of currall that came out this yeare, but afterwards fflaw from his bargaine occasioned by the troubles at Agra² (at which place this commodity vends) and also the rumour of Sevagees neare approaches to this towne; but now that Agra is in greater quiett, the kings army having had good success against the Jentues and the feare of Sevagy being somewhat abated, there is an offer made to buy the Companys Gresis³ Currall at 10 rupees per seare of 18 pice weight."

4 "Consultation in Surat. 25th April 1670.

The souldiers which were sent for from Bombay for the guard of the honourable Companys estate and house being at length arrived and having continued here sometime, the President did this day convene the Councell, among other things did demand their advice what was now to be done with them in regard the feare of Sevagys coming to this place was over, the kings army being come downe against him, and Bhades⁵ Cauns arriving here with 5000 horse with which he is enordered to serve this towne, soe that there is little probability of Sevagys troubling these parts or of any other eminent danger, which arguments brought the councell to resolve they should be remanded

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 57.

2. It was the peasant revolt at Mathura under Gokula. It spread over the whole district of Agra and took a serious form. The Imperialists were engaged for full one year in putting it down. Sarkar's Aurangzeb III, 330-336.

3. It seems to be the Grezio Coral which was sold at Surat at 10-16 rupees per seer in 1668.

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 63.

5. This was really Bahadur Khan on whom the English waited with a small present. but as the French and the Dutch had paid a large Peishkush and every merchant in the city had paid according to his ability, the English thought it advisable to make a further present of a horse and other things to the value of 1500 rupees. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 64. Consultation in Surat. 2nd May 1670

to Bombay per the Shibbars that are now bound downe thither." ¹

"Your freindly sympathy with us in the feares the towne of Surrat lyes under by meanes of Sevagee and the unhappy effects and influences thereof on the Companys affairs, we take notice of with due resentment and esteeme your ready concurrence in strengthening us with 40 souldiers wee desired for our defence in case of any sudden assault. Wee trust in God wee shall have noe occasion to trye their courage or our own; but if wee have, their company will be wellcome and necessary.

Report hath not yet brought Sevaje's army nearer than 40 miles of Surrat, yet soe severe a terrour he strikes into the people, that every three or four dayes *his very name brings an anguish fitt on them*. Wee pray God divert him from this place, as also from you, though wee think he hath noe desparate designe against us at present in particuler; *yet the desolation he will make here will be utterly destructive to the Companys trade and interest*. Wee approve your holding a correspondence with his Governour at Cullian Bunde, which pray confirme and make use of the advantages offered you without feareing any after demands of the Moores, for wee are unconcerned in their quarrells and as merchants drive on our just trade without interfering with either, and as formerly wee were friends to the Moores, soe wee will be againe when they recover possession." ²

³ "Consultation in Surat. 14th June 1670.

The distracted and dissettled posture of the times occassioned by the rebellion of Sevagy Shivaji up against the Mogul and other nobles against the great king which will impede the transport of commodities up into the country." ³

"The notable progress of Sevagy in his conquest of Mauly (Mahuli) etc., castles, now in the blustering time of

1. Cf. Surat Letter, 21 April 1670. F.R. Bombay Vol. 6, Pp. 18-19; Surat Cons 8 June 1670; Surat Letter. 3rd May 1670. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 19, pp. 14, 16.

2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, pp. 7-9. 14 April 1670,

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 72.

the raines, makes his name yet more terrible to Surrat. Insomuch that the Governor is allarummed from Bram-pore, Orangaband, Mooler (Mulhir) and other places, to expect and prepare for an assault, so that this town (Surat) is under no small feare." ¹

2 " *Consultation in Surat.* 12th September 1670.

It has been resolved to send all goods with all possible speed to Swally on account of the death of the Governor, the raising of the customes and the possibility of his successor's ignorance about the Shivaji's raid upon Gujerat. Companys privileges. Another reason for this decision was—"As also being advised expected from Kalyan. from Bombay that Sevagy is raying a great army at Cullian and the adjacent country to fall on this province of Guzzeratt when this towne Surat will be the first place he will take."

3 " *Consultation in Surat.* 16th September 1670.

The continuall feare the merchants of this towne are subjected unto caused by the frequent and now fresh allarum of Sevagy's great preparations (who 'tis credibly reported is intended against this province) hath wrought on them a willingness to part with their grosse goodes at easier rates then otherwise they would have done, being desirous to convert all into money which is easier to be conveyed away on occasion.

4 " *Consultation at Swally Marine.* 24th September 1670.

The towne at present being quiet and the feare of Sevagys coming against it being almost blowne over and evaporated: (but in the same we read that Goods detained at Swally for fear of Shivaji. on the arrival of a ship, the merchants hesitated to take delivery of their goods)—"they answered that it was their desire the goods should be detayned on the Marine untill Diwally (which is about tenn days hence) in regard the towne was not totally dispossess of the great feare of Sevagy."

1. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 19, P. 27. Surat to Bomb. 10 July 1670.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. " 83.
3. " " " 3. " 89.
4. " " " 3. " 90.

1 " *Consultation at Swally Marine.* 2nd October 1670.

Sudden and certaine newse of Sevagys approach within 20 miles of Suratt being brought the President convened the Councell to consider what was to be effected in this juncture of time and affairs for the preservation of the honour and repute of the English nation and security of the Hon'ble Companys house at Suratt, when likewise he acquainted us of his readynesse to goe up to Suratt in person and used many arguments to move them to consent there unto, of which the Councell duely considering, found that the Company's estate (was by a happy foresight of the troubles which will now ensue) brought downe on the Marine. And therefore they concluded his personal assistance would be most wanting here, both to secure the Companys goodes which amount to a very great vallue occasioned by the landing of most of the Europe goodes, as allso to dispatch the severall shippes on their designed voyadges, which reasons of the Councell prevayled with the President. And after further debate it was unanimously resolved that a party of about 30 Englishmen (taken out of the severall shippes) should repaire to Suratt under the command of one of the Councell to defend the honourable Companys house and interest there to maintaine the honour of the nation." 2

3. Second sack of Surat

For more than six months, the inhabitants of Surat remained in mortal fear of Shivaji and his 'winged men.' At last the Maratha deluge engulfed the city in the beginning of October 1670. The awe-stricken people abandoned their homes to the tender mercies of the plunderers who with fire and sword carried death and destruction in every part of the city. On the 3rd of October,

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 93.

2 Mr. Streynsham Master was left for the defence of the Surat Factory. Hence Fryer is wrong in saying that "Aungier encountered that bold mountaineer with as great applause; when the Governor of the Town and Province durst neither of them shew their heads,"

Shivaji began to plunder and burn the town. It was feared that he would come down to Swally and demand the rich men who had taken refuge with the Europeans. The English removed their treasure on board the two ships, while two other ships which were to sail immediately, were detained for a few days more for defence.

"*This day* (3rd October 1670) came advice from Surratt that Sevagy having entered the towne plundered and burnt it without any resistance made, and that he intended to send 500 horse on this side the river to rob the circumjacent villages and lay hold on the people of quality which were retired thither to abscond themselves; whereupon the President and Councell resolved to send the Hon'ble Companys treasures which is on shoare some on board the *Berkely Castle*, the rest on board the *Loyal Oxinden*." ¹

The English
remove their
property to
their ships.

"This day ordered that all the Hon'ble Companys Broad cloth, Quicksilver Currall &c shall be shipped on board the *Loyal Oxinden* and Bantam shipp and that the Indico and fine Indian commoditys should be laden on the *Berkely Castle* ² to secure them against any attempts of Sevagy who 'tis reported hath sent a part of his army on this side the river." ³

Two ships kept
for defence.

"The Councill being mett, the President proposed unto them whether that the shippes *Haniball* and *Experiment* having now their goodes and treasure on board them designed for the ffactorys on the coast of Malla-bar, as allso their invoyces, pacquetts and dispatches ready and finished, should sayle immediately hence, or be detained some few days in port for the greater security of

1. F. R. Surat Vol 3 Fol. 94. Swally Marine. October 3rd, 1670.

2. The *Berkely Castle* was to return by the end of September according to the Companys orders, but it was detained. The cause was stated to be 'the generall distraction and disturbance which hath been here by reason of Sevagys burning and plundering the towne of Surratt hath been for the most parte the greatest occasion that she could not be laden so soone as to returne by the Companys enordered time' F. R. Surat Vol. 3 Fol. 114. Consultation Swally Marine, 6th December 1670.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 94. Swally Marine, 4th October, 1670.

the Hon'ble Companys estate now on the Marine, and after deliberate debate the Councell resolved that in regard the time of the yeare was yet early the companys estate on shoare very considerable, and the danger of the enemy great, the aforesayd shippes should not be dispeeded untill the 10th October by which time its probable Sevagy may withdraw his forces." ¹

The belated news of the march of Shivaji's great army is given to Surat by Bombay Factors.

"A few days since, wee wrote you by Mr. Smeatons' Express, but he ere gott to Deman, mett as he pretends with severall persons that did assure him, Shivaji's army to Surat Sevagee was gone to Suratt, with a great army, and that the waies were soe stopt, that none could pass, which news was very perswasive enough to cause his returne, wee have had likewise said news from severall parts, but no certainty thereof, though we feare it too true, the Lord send (?) that you had notice thereof soone enough to secure yourselves and our masters goods in those parts.

A few days since wee casually sent out our boates to the maine, for wood to burne our Chynam (lime) with, but contrary to expectation our boats returned empty, being forbid by Sevagees people to cutt any more wood in those parts, declaring it was their masters absolute order to forbid it, Englishmen prohibited from cutting down wood in Shivaji's islands. soe that wee are now totally destitute of means to make Chynam, excepting what wee gott by a contract, with those (or these?) Chynam men of Dhyranie. Wee desire your Honour etc. to advice what wee shall doe in this affair, whether to cutt downe wood of our owne island, or take it by force of those adjacent islands belonging to Sevagee, which is a thing very fecible (feasible) in case wee break with, tor the islands have no inhabitants and lie scattered up and downe a pretty distance from the maine." ²

1. F.R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 94. Consultation on Swally Marine 5th October 1670.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Part II. Fols. 41-42. Bombay 4th October 1670. Cf. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6, pp. 5, 23.

4. President Aungier's account of the sack

The detailed story of the second sack of Surat is plainly told by the Surat Council in their letter to the Company in London.

1 "During your shipp *Georges* stay in Port wee made use of most of her menn to guard our house, such was the generall feare of Sevagy's surprising the Towne of Surratt, but after her departure, wee thought good by Consultation to send for fourty souldiers from Bombay for the security of your house and severall Ware houses which were full of goodes provided for England, but wee did not keepe them at your charge more than ten days but returned them back to Bombay for the chiefe Port was in, ordered downe Bahadur Cann the Viceroy of Ahmadabad with three thousand horse to protect Surratt whose arrivall eased us of the present feare, but cost us, the French and Dutch and all the Merchants deare for our protection in presents to him which is a civill kinde of Plunder demanded by these great Umbrawes as a Tribute due to them; wee at first intended him a small acknowledgement of 2 or 300 rupees worth in some Europe rarities, but the Merchants of the Towne having presented him high and the Dutch Commandore contrary to his private promise to Gerald Aungier made him a Piscash of 4000 rupees, wee were forced for peace sake to please him with a present to the value of rupees 1700 in imitation of the Indians that worship the Devill that he might not doe them hurt, for indeed we expect little good from him, but the French gallantry exceeded all compare, for their Chief Directeur the Here Caron made him a present to the vallue of

They make use of the *George's* men to guard their house

Afterwards send for forty souldiers from Bombay.

Bahadur Khan sent with 3,000 horse to guard Surat.

Presents to Bahadur Khan by the European Companies.

1. O. C. 3515. 20th November 1670. Swally Marinc, from Ger, Aungier and others.

Rups. 10000 in horses, rich tapestry, brasse gunns &c., which made no small noyse in Towne, and caused different censures, some commanding his generosity, others with reason taxing his ill husbandry.

The 3rd October Sevagy's army approached the walls and after a slight¹ assault the Defendants fled under the shelter of the Castle Gunns, and they possesst themselves of the whole Towne some few houses excepted which stood on their

Shivaji at Surat
on 3rd October
1670.

defence, to witt the English house, the Dutch and French and the two Serays or Seraglias, one whereof was maintayned

Town given up
to plunder.

by Persian and Turkish Merchants, the other by a Tartar King called the King of Cascar (who, being of kin to the Mogull and beaten out of his country by his owne sonne, desired leave last yeare to goe on pilgrimage to Mecha from whence he returned two months since); part of the army the same day assaulted the Tartars quarter and the English House, but the French made a private peace for themselves, on what

The French
make peace with
Shivaji.

tearmes wee cannot learne, and so never shott off a gunn, though at first being strong in men they vapoured as if they would have fought the whole army themselves.² The Enemy found such hott service from our house, having lost severall menn, that they left us and fell on the Tartar

Wealth of the
King of
Kashgar.

quarter fiercely, which lay between the French house and ours; at first they made a stout resistance, but the French, suffering the enemy to possess some Avenues next their houses, and, as 'tis affirmed, furnishing them with powder and shott,³ the Tartars could keep their house noe longer but in the night having conveyed away their King

1 The Bakhars state that there was a severe fight and this is confirmed by Fryer. "The enemies by the help of an Europe engineer had sprung a mine to blow up the Castle; but being discovered, were repulsed: for though he had set fire to the rest of the City, they retained the Castle, and the English their House."

2. The French version should be read in the extracts from the account given by Carre.

3. The Dutch account confirms this statement,

S. 41

to the Castle, left their house a prey to Sevagy, where he found a vast treasure in gould, silver, rich plate, a gould bed and other rich furniture. The new Seray also defended by the Turkes they assaulted, but were beaten off with losse, but the Dutch house lying out of the way, was never attempted by them. The Enemy having taken the Tartar Seray could from thence more safely ply their shott

Parley with the English. at our house, for which they prepared themselves, but finding our menn resolute on their defence, they held up their hands

desiring a Parley, and the Captain of that Brigade calling to speake with Mr. Master from the wall, he appeared to them; many expostulations passt touching our good correspondence at Bombay and our enmity at Surratt. The Captain tould Mr. Master the Rajah or Sevagy was much enraged that wee had killed soe many of his menn and was resolved on revenge. Mr. Master answered they assaulted and wounded severall of our menn before they shott a gunn, and that if his men did not assault the English they would not offend him, but if they offered violence they were resolved to defend the house to the last man and would sell their lives deare. The Captain answered that he would keep his men in and desired also that he would send some understanding person to discourse with him; this being agreed on both sides our house was quiett for two days. In the interim the Enemy ransacks the great houses at leasure and found therein vast treasure and rich goods, setts fire in

Vast treasure captured by Shivaji. severall places, destroying neare halfe the towne to the ground;¹ they approached the Castle threatening to storm it, but they were not, it seems, prepared for it, for they did not venture very near. The third day they appeared againe before our house, notwithstanding the overtures of treaty before, casting out threatening speeches that they would take or burne it to the ground, but Mr. Master stood in so

1. An official enquiry ascertained the loss to be 66 lakhs of rupees only. Sarcar. P. 178.

resolute a posture that the Captain not willing to hazard his men's (lives), with much adoe kept them back and sent a man into the house to advise Mr. Master what was fitt to be done. This

The English
send a present
to Shivaji.

Person told him the Rajah was much offend-
ed for the losse of his men and therefore advised he would send some person to him, but he must not goe empty handed but with a present, though to noe great vallue. Mr. Master thought it not imprudence to secure your goods together with soe many mens lives at soe reasonable a rate, and therefore by advise of those with him resolved to prepare and send a present to Sevagy to the amount of rupees—in Scarlett, sword blades, knives etc., which while he was getting ready, the person that was sent to him, being a Merchant of Rajapore, fell into discourse with him touching

Pourparlers on
establishing an
English Factory
at Rajapur.

our leaving that Factory, asking the reason why wee did not send our people to trade there as formerly. Mr. Master answered that it was Sevagy's fault and not ours, for he had plundered the Company's house, imprisoned their servants and whereas, since that time he had given satisfaction to severall persons whom he had robbed, yet he had not taken care to satisfy the English the losse they had susteyned; to which he answered that Sevagy did much desire our return to Rajapore and would doe very much to give us satisfaction. Mr. Master told him that in regard the President was at Swally, he could say little, but he would acquaint him therewith, and there was no doubt but he would trade againe in his Port if Sevagy would restore what he had taken from us, and secure

The English
sent presents
to Shivaji.

us from such violence in the future. This gratefull discourse being over, the Present was sent by two of your servants who were conveyed to Sevagy's tent without the Towne; he sent for them and received them with the Piscash in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were good friends and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would doe the English no wrong, and that this giving

his hand was better than any cowl to oblige him thereunto
 Shivaji retires Before your servants were returned to your
 from Surat. house, Sevagy had called his Army out of the
 Towne to the wonder of all men, in regard
 no enemy was neare; nor the noyse of any army to oppose
 him, but he had gott plunder enough and thought it prudence
 Shivaji demanded to secure himself and that, when he marched
 an annual tribute away he sent a letter to the Officers and
 of 12 lakhs. Chiefe Merchants, the substance whereof was
 rupees yearly Tribute he would returne the next yeare
 and burne downe the remayning parte of the Towne;
 no sooner Sevagy was gone but the poor people of Surratt
 Surat further fell on plundering what was left, in so much
 plundered by that there was not a house great or small
 its own people. excepting those which stood on their guard
 which was not ransacked. In the first days
 fight one Englishman was shott through the body and
 is since dead of his wound; he was not your servant
 but belonged to the King of Bantams shipp called the
Blessing newly arrived from Mocha, of whome wee
 advised you last yeare whose Commander Captain Anderson
 hath been very assistant to us and was himselfe in person
 with 20 of his menn English and Javas to defend your
 house; he has lost about 8000 rupees in Pepper
 Losses of the and other goodes consumed in the great
 English. fire. What losse you have sustayned wee
 shall hereafter acquaint you; while things passt thus at
 Surratt wee at Swally were not free from danger being kept
 in continuall allarums of the enemy's coming down, and there
 was great reason to expect him in regard the Shawbunder,
 Cozzy, with most of the eminent Merchants, Moores, Arme-
 nians, Cuttarees and Banians were fled hither
 Officials and pro- under our protection, and there is noe doubt but
 ninent merchants seek refuge with Sevagy would have sent parte of his army
 the English at downe if it had not been spring tides, that
 Swally. he could not foard over the river and the
 boates were all taken up with Merchants
 goods, for which they pay excessive deare. Wee prepared

the best wee could to defend your estate, which was very great, having by the helpe of the Ships Carpenters built a small platforme at one end of the Marine yard and mounted

thereon 8 gunns which, 'tis said, some of Sevagys spies that were at Swally advised him of and we doubted not by Gods assistance to preserve your goods from plunder;

but wee feared fire more then the enemy, against which wee kept a constant watch and for greater security, sent your Treasure which wee had taken ashore together with your Currall &c., Europe goods on board the *Oxinden* and *Blessing* and your Indico &c., goods provided for England, wee were lading as fast as wee could on board the *Barkeley Castle* whome wee had appointed the first shipp for England. The goods also which wee had stowed in two great Warehouses at Umbra and Raneale, wee thought good to send for, though at great charge, in regard wee much feared either the enemy or else the Countrey peoples plundering or firing the Warehouses. When wee had taken this needful care of your estate, wee advised from Suratt that Sevagys army was marched away, which wee could not give credit to for severall dayes, because wee had no certainty of any Mogull army coming from any part to oppose him and therefore stood upon our guards, but the newes being confirmed we fell againe to our business, though within few days after

we were againe disturbed with the noyse of another army coming to Surratt, concerning which there were various reports; some affirmed it to be Sevagys army returned, others that it was sent by the Prince to defend the Towne against him, but it marched away and since that the Towne hath been quiett.

The damage you have sustayned by this soe universall an affliction will amount unto but rupees—including the gratuity to the seamen and the other extraordinary charges of Peons, boat hire for watching and transport of your goodes for which wee were forced to pay excessive deare, yet not soe much as other Merchants payd, the greatest part of this

Precautions taken
by the English to
save their goods.

Alarm of
Shivaji's return,

The Company's
damage

losse was in the burning of a new hoigh which wee were building for the use of your island Bombay, it was about $\frac{1}{3}$ finished when this unhappy accident surprised us and was sett on fire as 'tis affirmed by the souldiers that were in parte of the towne next the waterside that it might not be a shelter for Sevagy's menn, when allso severall other boates and bunders were burnt and your owne bunder then halfe full with Cairo very hardly escaped, the other parte of your losse was in several Cargos of Cloath delivered out to the Washers whose houses in that great distraction were plundered and wee believe rather by the Townes people than Sevagy's, soe that wee have a just right to demand the whole losse from the King and have taken such an effectual course by sending our remonstrances to the Court and improving our interest with the Shawbunder, Cozzy and Merchants whome wee have protected in this danger, that wee trust in God you will be no losers by it

A greater
advantage for
Bombay.

in the end. A yet greater advantage have wee made and are in hopes to perfect for you by this overture in reference to your Island Bombay for the care which wee tooke of the Banians, Cuttarees and Armenians and allsoe Moore Merchants which fled to us for protection hath for ever obliged them, the misery and danger they suffer in Surratt doth make them consider of changing their abroad and Bombay is the onely place whither they think of retiring. Whereunto they have soe greate encouragements as Freedome in matters of religion, kind usage and small customes that there is nothing that checks them therein but the feare of not being secure

Surat merchants
willing to settle
in Bombay.

for they have made a very dilligent enquiry into the strength of the place, number of Englishmen to defend it, they have examined how many menn you have sent out this yeare, seeming much concerned that you have no greater regard to that hopefull Island wee have used the best of our arguments to satisfy them, assuring them of the effectuall care you have taken to render the place secure to the Inhabitants, the great privileges you have granted, the ammuni- tion you have this yeare sent out, that with the present

strength that is there, wee doe not feare any enemy, promising to defend them to the last dropp of blood, but wee find it difficult to perswade them that one hundred Englishmen with some Portugalls are able to secure that Island. Had it pleased God that the Fort had now been finished and sufficiently manned with Englishmen, there would need no Arguments to invite Inhabitants to dwell there, their owne interest would convince them and tell them 'twould be in vayne to expect them, for menn of estates are wary whither they remove, and of the poorer sorte the Island is even burthened with them already. Hodgy Zayed Beagues sonne the richest Merchant in Surratt declared his resolution with an oath, in the presence of Gerald Aungier and Matthew Gray that he would goe with his family to Bombay. Wee hope you will believe wee did not discourage him therein, but of this matter wee may probably have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

The continued distraction of affaires, the daily allarums and thundering menaces sent from Sevagy
Tribute demand- and to the Merchants and King's Officers confi-
ed by Shivaji, dently assuring his returne again if they doe
not pay him Tribute, hath putt all trade into disorder¹.

The Towne of Suratt continues still in a sadd deplorable condition, the Inhabitants not caring to returne. The
The English
invited by the
Governor to
return to
Surat,
10th current the Governor sent down hither the Shawbunder, Chiefe Customer, his chiefe Duan and other Officers to invite your President up to Suratt using many promises and complements together with assurances of the King's favourable regard to our losses and trouble. This Invitation wee thought not good to refuse, but on the 12th currant Gerald Aungier gave the Governor a vissitt where he was received with many demonstrations of love and respect, together with his promises to further your

¹ In the Bombay Papers Unavailable, Vol. IV. P. 97, we read the following words:—"into such disorder that wee think good to take longer time before wee send the sayd list of goods. In truth at present things are so ill managed that Trade is not though. of and wee judge nothing secure without a guard,"

Interest the best he could, and so taking his leave repaired the same day to Swally.

What our care, paynes and watchings have been for securing your great estate now under our charge in this time of danger, what course wee have taken to fortify the Marine as well as your house in Surratt, (on the former wee have mounted neare 20 gunns on 2 platformes, and the latter 12 small peeces of your Presidents) wee leave Captain Fisher to acquaint you, for 'tis not a time to express our Zeale to your service by words but actions. We trust God in his goodness will continue to preserve your estate and us still from danger, wee humbly remaine¹

Your faithfull obedient servants,
Gerd. Aungier & others."

5. Universal deluge of ruin.

Another Letter dated 19th December 1670, from the the Swally Marine to London, thus depicts the losses suffered by the people in general and the English in particular during this attack.

"As to your Cargo sent out on the 4 shippes, Wee bless God on your behalfe that the greatest part to wit Cloath course and fine and sashes was sould before the Shipp's arrivall at prizes and conditions mentioned in our last, had wee not taken that course you would have suffred a vast losse to £. 5000. sterling and upwards, for immediately on the shippes arrivall Sevagy's army surprised the Towne of Surratt againe, plundered and burnt the best partes to the ground insomuch that Trade is totally ruined at present, the whole Country labouring under an universal deluge of ruine which is the reason that notwithstanding wee had so long since sold your goods, yet wee have not hitherto thought it prudent or safe for your interest to deliver much thereof till wee see a greater security then as yet wee can discover and

1. O. C. Vol. 31. No. 3515, 20 Nov. 1670.

2 Ibid. No. 3546.

the greater parte of your treasure allso lyes still by us together with your currall and other goods undisposed; but as soon as the danger blows over and trade revives, we doubt not God willing to quitt you of them."

6. French version of the loot of Surat

Abbe Carre was himself an eye-witness of this second loot of Surat and hence gave a long description of it, but the portions containing new things only are given below. None of these is referred to in the English accounts, only No. 5 is borne out by the Dutch letter. Herein we have an information on (1) the reason for the invasion; (2) the secret understanding between the Governor and Shivaji for making a show of a fight and then leaving the city for pillage; (3) Shivaji's demand for a crore of rupees; (4) refusal of the people and Shivaji's entry into the town; (5) a message to the three European nations to show flags on their Factories, so that they might not be molested; (6) bold defence of even the neighbouring houses by the French; (7) poisoning of the Governor by order of Aurangzeb for his treachery; and (8) pillage of the city and Shivaji's departure.

"Shivaji was short of money; partly in different wars he had waged and partly in the court, he had exhausted his treasures. This is what made him resolve to plunder Surate for a second time. He took himself there in a manner different from before.

He, therefore, opened a transaction with the governor over a piece of intelligence and when an understanding was reached with him, he haughtily demanded of the city of Surate a sum of ten millions, (threatening that) otherwise he would come himself to plunder it.

Having sent word to the inhabitants about the day and hour he would enter into Surate, Seva-gy exactly kept his word. He might have some twelve thousand men with him and *it was astonishing how a town, sufficiently well-fortified and inhabited by more than four hundred thousand men, did not make the least resistance*; either terror had damped

their spirit or so many people, differing so much in nationality and interests and so little used to arms, embarrassed one another sooner than rendering aid to one another and to the city. Seva-gy wanted to plunder at ease and he came to Surate to take booty and not to fight. He was at peace with the governor. He sent an officer of his army to the residencies of the three nations of Europe he dreaded most, the French, the English and the Dutch, and gave them a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers.

The violence was extreme and no one was spared. Our French people behaved boldly and wore such a confident look that they saved their houses from pillage. They even compelled the soldiers to leave the neighbouring houses where they had been led by fury and avarice.

The treason of the Governor of Surate having been reported, the Mogol resolved to get rid of him by poison, and in the same way as he had caused Jesseingue, Governor of Decan, perish for the same reason, a means unworthy of a Prince who exercises upon his subjects absolute right of punishment.

One morning, the army suddenly entered (the city) and the confusion was similar to that in the past. The Europeans were vigilant and armed in their factories, the natives, some naked, others scantily dressed, were running through the streets without knowing whereto. As the purpose of Seva-gy was only to make fun of the Great Mogol, he did not exert himself further.

But he did no harm to any one of them. While he was doing this, the soldiers left nothing valuable in the city, though the master did not plunder as in the past, there was no lack of soldiers to rob. Seva-gy ordered to sound the muster call and then quietly set out on a march for the top of the Gate (Ghat), sacking all the places of the Mogol, like one taking leave of not only these (places) but of life as well.

Such is the history of Seva-gy, who *while we were at Surate*, made himself the subject of discussion throughout

the whole of the East and rendered his name terrible to many a king who had experience of his arms or his intrigues which he conducted with equal skill."

7. The Dutch account of the second sack of Surat ¹

"The French who here established a factory in the district under Sivasi's government had been informed by *an autograph² letter* of his intended invasion with the advice that they should not disturb themselves, for that he would take care of their safety. On his arrival the French factory was surrounded by Sivasi's soldiers, who were noisy and

The French
offer no resist-
ance.

turbulent neighbours but otherwise inoffensive. The French did not attempt to make any opposition, although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen

cannons of fair calibre, 400 fireballs and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered two of their black servants to be shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by valuable presents they had obtained from Sivasi's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation.³

On board the English vessels were plenty of whites to defend their factory. They were sent on shore, numbering

Gallant defence
by the English.

110, among whom was a Colonel, on his way from the King of England to the King of Persia. This colonel did good service.⁴ The English

factory had been attacked by Sivasi's mercenaries and they were on the point of being overpowered when the colonel saved the situation, but before Sivasi withdrew from the town, a better understanding had been arrived at.

The King of Cashar (Kashgar) had put all his reliance on the French. A little time before the arrival of Sivasi

The King of
Kashgar
plundered.

he had taken shelter with all his treasures in the old palace caravanserai, just opposite the French factory, but was soon forced to leave it, when all his wealth fell into the hands of

1. I. O. D. Records, Vol. 29. No. DCCIXIII. 19 November 1670.
2. Another evidence that Shivaji was not illiterate.
3. This is contradicted by Carre, but confirmed by Aungier.
4. No mention of it in the English accounts.

Sivasi. The king now reproaches the French for not having come to his assistance¹ and threatens to harm them whenever he finds an opportunity. He has already written to the king of this district about them saying that such deceitful people should not be allowed to reside in the land. Before Sivasi's appearance at Surat, we had embarked the effects of the Company and the most valuable merchandises on board the Galeot (Galliot) "*Fortune*" and despatched

The Dutch not molested.

to the basin of Sualy. We could only oppose to Sivasi's hordes 35 men in all, but luckily they did not molest us. A messenger² had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet and requested that we should send one of our people to give our assurances that we would not interfere for or against him. Our messenger was brought in the presence of Sivasi who asked him as to the best plan to despoil the principal merchants of their possession, and was required to bring the answer the next day together with that of the English to whom the same problem had been submitted. But when the messengers were ready to start the next day the news spread that Sivasi and his troops had left the town. Two of Sivasi's men who had come to the factory to serve as escorts to our messengers were thus left behind, and we did not know what to do with them. We could not trust them in the town, for they would certainly be killed. We could not keep them in the factory, for the Governor would demand them and we should be accused of harbouring the enemy. We had them conducted at night outside the town and they safely reached the headquarters of Sivasi.

The cause of this hasty departure of the invaders cannot be ascertained. Nobody opposed him and nobody seemed inclined to disturb him. He left Surat on 16th October and on 23rd it was again rumoured³ that he was returning with 6,000 horse and 10,000 foot and that he had already reached

Departure of Shivaji.

1. The same charge is advanced by the English.

2. Confirmed by Carre.

3. Confirmed by an English letter of 12th October 1670.



Sultan Muazzim.



Shivaji in the thick of the Fight of the Battle of Veni-Dindori.

Pant (Paint), a place about 25 miles distant. At once there was a general exodus and the town was changed from a busy port into the death-like quiet of a desert. The Turkish merchants, who were using the Caravanserai as their factory left the place in a hurry. The English and French also abandoned theirs, leaving only half a dozen men to guard the removal. We got reinforcements from the fleet in all 52 men and placed two small guns in readiness with as many muskets and other implements of war as we thought necessary. Our small force, with flags flying and the drums

The Dutch display courage.

beating, thus proceeded from the fleet to our factory. This display of courage on our part had a good effect on the effeminate Moorish regents who had fled into the fort on the river. When the rumour of Sivasi's arrival proved false, we were highly commended and the Governor promised to write to the King about it. These repeated false rumours keep the town in a continual state of excitement, specially as it is certain that Sivasi is camped about 35 miles from Surat and can reach this place in three or four days.

Of course trade is entirely at a standstill. The affairs of the company were progressing so well here that we heartily deplore the unsettled state of affairs. The little Banian vessel which will take this letter to Ceylon is ready to start on her voyage we must therefore conclude. On the shore of Suvaly. November 19th, 1670."

Trade at a standstill

8. Battles of Vani-Dindori and Umbarkhindi

The European sources make no mention of the two memorable actions fought by Shivaji for the safe conveyance of the precious spoils captured from the ill-fated city. Departing from Surat, Shivaji took the main road to Nasik and intended to reach Konkan through the pass of Kanchan-Manchan. But Prince Muazzam, hearing of the news of the invasion of Surat, had already despatched Daud Khan to intercept Shivaji and this he did near the small village of

Vani-Dindori. Shivaji divided his force into several parties in order to distract the enemy. He left one division to guard the pass of Kanchan-Manchan, another part of his force was sent to safely convey the immense booty to Raigarh, a third division under Prataprao Gujar won a memorable victory over Ikhlas Khan, while he himself with a body of picked soldiers gave battle to Daud Khan. The Raja covered himself *cap-a-pie* with a steel armour, took a double-edged sword in his hand, mounted his spirited steed and charged the Mogul army with great vigour. The battle lasted for several hours. Finally the Mogul ranks were broken, and Shivaji obtained a complete victory over his enemies in a pitched battle. Three thousand Moguls lay dead on the battle-field, while four thousand horses and a large booty fell into the hands of the victors.

Scarcely had the Maratha army, flushed with success, proceeded on the road when it was intercepted at Umberkhindi by a heroic Amazon, the wife of Udairam, the brave officer of Mahur, at the head of 5,000 Moguls. But this dauntless lady was reduced to such a perilous position that she had to beg for peace from Shivaji who granted her request and sent her back with much honour and rich presents.¹

9. English soldiers rewarded

"Mr. Streynsham Master having formerly advised us of some irregular actions committed by the seamen that were sent up for the defence of the Companys house at Surratt they being very prompt to offer violence², to the estate of the natives; Wee then to remedy and stopp their proceedings in such an unlawfull manner and keep up our wonted credit and reputation thought good to enorder Mr. Master to promise the seamen a gratuity for their encouragement,

1. Scott's Deccan, II. 25-27; Sabhasad, 64-65; Shedgaonkar, 64; Duff, 111.

2. After Shivaji's departure, the English sailors too took to plundering.

in case they behave themselves decently and soberly, which Mr. Master accordingly did; and now that Sevagy is departed and the troubles over, the menn expect the performance of our promise. Wherefore wee mett this day to consider what is necessary to allow them that were at Surratt and allso to gratify those that were actually in service at the Marine to defend the warehouses and after due deliberation wee have thought good to give the officers 20 rupees each man, and the seamen 10 rupees each which wee thinke sufficient for the present, hoping that the Hon'ble Company will further gratify them on our recommendation of them." ¹

10. Suspicion against the Europeans

As the European factories were not molested by Shivaji, it was naturally suspected that they were in league with him.

"The news of greatest talke in towne and court now is whether the 3 Christian nations made a league with Sevagee, when he was here, and which of them did which the court is very inquisitive after, and the king hath wrote to the Governor to know the truth of the Report." ²

11. Rumour of Shivaji's return

"Having received advice from Mr. Streynsham Master at Suratt that the towne is now pretty quiett and Allarum of Sewagee's second coming blowne over at present wee thinke fitt that musters of the severall parcells could be sent up." ³

"The second⁴ rumour of Sevagys returning againe to Surratt caused the Tanksall or mint to stopp and putt the town of Surratt into so great a distraction that the Sharoffe who bought the last percell of gould brought it us back againe and so the bargaine made with him was null but since the same person being desirous to accomplish and goe on with his former contract, wee thinke good not to

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 96, Swally Cons. 17 October 1670

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105 Fol. 99, From Surat 3 January 1671.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, p. 108. 10 November 1670. Cons. Swally Marine

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 3 Fol. 117. Swally Cons. 12 October 1670.

deny him in respect he is a responsible person, and therefore conclude that he goe with his former bargain allowing him 15 days time from the 9th instant."

A letter of 9th January 1670-71 from the Swally Marine to London again conveys the news of another expedition of Shivaji against Surat.

"Here¹ is also come newse of Sevagy's army forraging within forty miles of Surat, the Towne is againe in great feare, but we trust in God to preserve your Estate."

12. Exodus to Bombay

It is now evident that not only were trade and industry at Surat seriously dislocated, but even life and property were in constant danger. As the Hindu merchants of the city and even the son of Haji Said Beg had expressed their desire to settle down at Bombay, the English resolved to transfer the Residency to their own Island. The last raid offered a golden opportunity to take such a bold step, but the Governor and Shawbunder of Surat dissuaded the President and Council from going to Bombay. Their reasons are recorded in O.C. 3538.

"This² is the needful account of your affairs in Surat to the 7th of this month when your servant Gerald Aungier was in a readiness to embark himselfe with the assistance of some of his Councill for the Island Bombay, the shipps being all laden but the Governor and Shawbunder of the Towne having notice of his intention sent a message to him by the chiefe Broker that if he vallued the honour of the nation or the Company's interest he would desist from his voyadge at present, for that the King would take it very ill should he forsake the Port in this conjuncture and probably recall all our priviledges, besides that some enemies of ours and particularly the Vockanoaise (to whom we gave noe Present last yeare by reason of severall abuses he had offered us) had informed the King that Wee had made a

1. B.P. Unav, Vol. 4, 121.

2. O.C. 3538, 9 January 1671.

League with Sevagy and assisted him in burning the Towne which false suggestion would be believed at Court if the President went to Bombay; Sevagy's country being so neare it, and 'twas to be feared the King would very much resent it wherefore they advised that he would neither goe or speake of going downe at present, for that it might prove of great prejudice to us, other arguments they used touching the disturbance and obstruction which our business would suffer in his absence, in consideration whereof it is the Councells advise that Wee ought not to give any occasion of jealousy to this King by the Presidents departure, wherefore his journey is suspended at present and the shippes ordered to be dispeeded for Bombay from whence Wee have desired the Deputy Governor and Councell to give you full relation of your concernes there as well to the trade as Fortification &c., ordering them to dispeed the shippes in 48 hours at furthest."

13. Services appreciated by the Directors

The Directors appreciated the services rendered by all their servants during the last expedition, advised the President to be circumspect in his departure for Bombay, and instructed him to strive hard to finish the fortifications of the Island.

"We take¹ notice what you write concerning Sevagees plundering and firing Surat and of your actings in that time and God's preserving you and our Estates (as Wee have said before), of your gratifying the seamen there, and referring the Comanders to us, wee approve of what you have done as to the seamen, and when, please God, the Comanders arrive, we entend to consider what you write concerning them, and wee shall not be unmindful of your great care and prudence in the management of that affaire, in order to the preservation of our Estate.

We alsoe take notice not only of the feare of future troubles by Sevagee but from some persons within that

1. L. Bk. Vol. 4, p. 459, 23 June 1671. London to Surat,

Government which wee doubt may occasion your being unsecure where you are, as well as to interrupt Commerce and Trade, wherefore wee recommend it to you (as wee question not but that you will) to bee the more careful timely to avoid

Bombay to be
made the centre
of the English
trade.

any such danger, and the more to consider how Bombay in such case may be of use, both as to security and the better carrying on of our Commerce, not that wee would have you thinck of any sudaine remove, but in case of necessity, and that Bombay may be the better refuge, wee would have you finish the Fortifications, and put it in the best posture you can, which wee hope the last years supply will

Fortification
and defence of
Bombay.

much enable you to doe, and that you may be better enabled thereto, wee intend by our next shipping to send you about the like number of soldiers as wee did the last, or soe many as our ships can conveniently carry, with powder, guns, and other Ammunition as wee shall judge needful, and wee intend to send a quantity of Guns to lye constantly at Bombay, to be disposed of to the Natives as you shall see occasion, for wee thinke it noe prejudice to us, that the Natives Jounks are furnished with Guns to defend themselves against their piraticall or other Enemies. Wee trading in peace with them, therefore advise us what sorte of guns will be most suitable."

14. Shivaji again near Surat

"The newse of Sevagees forces repairing some 50 miles hitherwards, whereof they say Dillil Ckauns Duan and the new captain of the castle hath had advice, which hath put the towne these two days in great feare." ¹

A few months later in October, there came the news of the appointment of Mahabat Khan as General against Shivaji. "We desire your honour, &c., would oblige the Captains to charge some men with us, wee having severall not fitting to carry a muskett yett are able to hall a roape. The Prince is expected with his army every day in Cullian, and its

believed the Prince and Sevagee hath broken off there correspondence. Wee hears Moobutt Ckaune is made General against Sevagee."¹

"This king having sent downe some force with this new Governor Ghasty Khaun for the guard of this port; there being at present no noise of Sevagees armyes
New Governor of Surat. comeing neare us, wee have thought good to send downe on this ship Sergeant Thorpe together with souldiers keeping only one file of musketers which also we shall send downe when we judge ourselves totally secure from all danger."²

It has been seen that Shivaji had demanded from Surat an annual tribute of 12 lakhs of rupees to be regularly paid him as a ransom from his repeated expeditions. The Governor and inhabitants of Surat did not seriously take this threat and made no payment. A Maratha army of 15,000 men advanced against the city. The account of the panic created by the news is preserved in a letter dated 3rd February 1672 and sent from Surat to London.³

"Yours of the 13th present came to hand the 23rd January and therein take notice of what you write concerning Sevagys gathering together all his forces, wee
Maratha forces at Ramnagar. have been for these four dayes very hottly alarmed by the arrival of some forces of his at Ramnaghur which continue there still and are not remooved and tis not knowne whither they are designed, but this Governor and the whole towne are very apprehensive of Danger; although wee thinke he intends no harme to us, yet in prudence wee have thought good to prepare for him in the best manner wee cann and although wee be not over well-manned, yet we doubt not to come off as well as our neighbours."⁴

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105, p. 55, 26 October 1671.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 16 Swally 13 January 1672.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 18, Surat 29 January 1672.
4. B. P. Unav Vol. V, p. 1, O. C. 3674,

“Your President had prepared himself to take his passage on the “*Advance*” Ffriggott for Bombay and had in a manner taken his leave of the Governor of Surratt who was well consenting thereunto; when on a suddaine news came that Sevagee was neer us with an army of 15000 men which put the Citty in a great fright and made us prepare for defence; this new Governor also hath bestirred himself more prudently then any of the Predecessors, beating downe all houses without the wall¹, which before was a shelter for the enemy, and ordering strict watch at the gates to keep in the inhabitants who were running out of the Citty; he also sent a Civill message to your President desiring that he would lay aside the thoughts of going to Bombay at present; for that he could not answer his departure as things now stood nor would it be well taken by the King; his argument being reasonable your President thought good to condescend thereunto and the rather for that you have a considerable estate under our charge, which he cannot leave in danger; wherefore wee have determined to send away the “*Advance*” with all speed possible, hoping to dispatch her in few days after the “*Charles*”. And for that it hath unfortunately happened that for two years together your President hath bin hindered from going to Bombay to his owne trouble and no small detriment to your Island, we have thought it our duty upon serious consideration of your affairs to offer you our humble advice, that it seems now consistent with your Interest to settle your Chief Government on your Island Bombay and to that end you would please to order your President to reside there constantly, except extraordinary emergencys may require his repaire to Surat or elsewhere.”

Another alarm
of Shivaji's
approach.

Departure of the
English President
to Bombay
postponed.

Chief Govern-
ment to be
transferred to
Bombay.

1. The construction of this brick wall was ordered in consequence of Shivaji's attack in 1664, but it proceeded very slowly. Jean de Thevenot, who was at Surat early in 1666, says that the walls were then rising; but Fryer in 1674 found them still unfinished,

15. Effect of Shivaji's incursions in 1672

A true picture of the decay of the Mogul Empire is drawn as early as 1672 by the English. This letter is important in manifesting the part played by Shivaji, the great rebel, in bringing about the general ruin in the southern provinces of the Empire. One of the seven reasons given for the departure of the President from Surat to Bombay, is stated to be the ruin of all trade and of the city of Surat.

"7th July.¹ The trade of Suratt and of the whole country of Industan being totally obstructed by intestine trouble the whole body of the Kingdom in disorder, the dangers and ruines of a civile war, growing daily more and more evident, threatening a general ruine of all trade and of the city of Suratt chiefly, your President with the advice of his Councell thought it high time to provide for the security of your estate and trade, and to improve the opportunity of raiseing your owne port. For seeing we can not dispose of your Goods at Suratt to any profit nor Keep your Estate on Shoare with any security, through the continuall alarms of the enemy and covetous exactions of the Governor and Officers of the Towne, who taking advantage of the generall disorder and the King's ill government committ all violence without controule and if not constantly sedd with great presents put dayly affronts upon us and disturbe your affaires, common prudence calls us to fly from dangers which we are not able to oppose, and to settle by degrees the body of your trade on your owne Island, where in truth it ought to be."

"Our persons (as you truly feare) are in danger; for allthough for the honour of the Nacon, we shall not leave the house, yet you cannot expect that with a few youths here we can defend it against such a resolute enemy whose designes are wholly bent to distroy this towne and port, nor have we any confidence from what overtures may have passed between you and the enemy; whome we know ever to have been treacherous; we have application only to Almighty God, the Authour of peace, that he will defend us in the assaults of

Views of the
English.

¹, B. P. Unay. Vol. V, pp. 17-18; O. C. 3649, 14 June 1672.

our enemys and preserve us to performe our respective charges faithfully." ¹

"Naggar Chaune is gone with his army, who were very abusive to this townes people; he is gon Pippwarra way for feare of Sevagees forces." ²

Sevagee is makeing great preparacone, haveing as its said 16,000 men ready, his army being increased by the addition of 4 great regiments of horse; which have deserted the Mogulls service and fled to him under the command of Ciddy Halal

Defection of
the Mogul army.

Goddora and two others; and it is said many others are coming away from the Moghull, its thought he designes to

Shivaji against
Surat

give Delel Khan a battle who is now left alone, and if he hath the good fortune (to) disperce that army, he will command all Guzzaratt as

to the and your security in case he should attempt Surratt; wee have good reasons to believe he intends us noe mischief, for his agent is now actually here on this Island, and wee are entering on the treaty to accomodate the former difference and settle a trade hereafter in his country, soe that wee reasonably presume he will not attempt the Companys house or doe any mischief to their servants, yet wee advise you not to trust him much, but to stand upon your guard." ³

"Wee have been continually allarumed by Sevagees forces the whole year excepting the months of August and

Surat alarmed
by Shivaji the
whole year.

September, the towne Gates and all passages stopt up for severall months, those of greatest quality, who could prevaile with the Governour for money gott permission to send their familys out and Secure them in other parts farr distant; In these troubles wee were apprehensive of the danger of the estate we had of your Honours in this Town; the greatest part whereof we sent to Swally; before the raines were sett in; and afterwards to Raneale as the whether did permit;

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fols. 53-55 Surat 20 July 1672.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 57 Surat 30 July 1672.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 106, Fols. 144-145 Bombay 18 October 1672.

which hath put you to some charges extraordinary, yet not to be avoided in such exigencies." ¹

"This day news being brought to town of a great army of Sevagee being come as near as Ramnagar and that 4 of the Kings Umbraws with 4 Regiments of horse, had deserted the kings service and revolted to Sevagee, the town took the allarme and the sheroffs to whom we had sold the Company's treasure who had weighed a considerable part of it, and paid in about 30000 rupees on the account, refused to carry it out of the house." ²

"This news being this day confirmed of Sevagys armys neer approach, no merchants in towne will now adventure on the buying any of our goods; and this night about 8 of the clock the towne receiving a fresh allarme, that the army is on the way hither and but 6 course from Gandavee, so that they may very well be here tomorrow morning, this put us upon a sudden resolution to secure as much as might be of the honourable Companys estate here." ³

"Since our last of the 25th we have bin strongly alarmed by Sevagees numerous forces especially the 28 of night, news being brought the Governor, that they were on their way hither, advanced so farr as Chiklay, which is but (...course beyond Gandavee) and might very well have bin here next morning which putt us to some trouble in making up all treasure again in handy chests.....The next morning the news cooled, they proving but a party of the enemys horses which came to try the fording of the river; are againe returned, to the maine body; which lyes on this side Ramnagar and may be here at their pleasure. These continued troubles are very prejudiciall to the Company, for now no merchants will lay out their money in goods; that they must lie on our hands which we shall endeavour to dispose of, the best we can." ⁴

1. Mss. L. Book No. 1-A, p. 202, 22 October 1672.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 25, Surat Cons. 26 October 1672.
3. F. R. Surat Vol 3, Fol. 25, 28 October 1672,
4. F. R. Surat Vol, 87, Fol. 87, Surat 31 October 1672.

"We find no merchants any way enclined to buy the whole parcel (of broad cloth) in regard to the sudden and expected danger hanging over their heads and threatened by Savagees forces." ¹

"Since our last great alarme, we have bin pretty quiett ; we heare the army continues about the same place, not farr from Bander (Bahadur) and Dillell Ckawn, but hitherto no engagement" ²

16 Panic in 1673

Just after the rains throughout the month of October, 1673 the people of Surat were kept day and night in anxious awe of an approaching Maratha army, and hence the trade of the city was very much dislocated.

"The towne being strongly allarmed by Savagees forces and the gates shut up by order of the Governor, the Moody was ordered to get in readiness provisions of Biskett, Butter, Rice, Doll &c for 100 men for 1 month and 20 mds. of powder to be sent on board the recovery at Umra." ³

"Here is a suspitious report of Savagees intentions to plunder some part of the kings country very suddenly and for ought as we know Surat may be in his eye, for it is most certain that he hath made 2000 wallets ready to convey what plunder he can get, having also a considerable flying army for that account." ⁴

"It is confirmed to us from Choule and other parts that overtures of peace are closely prosecuted betwixt the King of Vizapore and Savagee who hath a considerable Army ready of horse and foote and thitherto maintaines his Frontiers against the Mogull and Bullole Choune, and its generally concluded that the Kings of Bijapore and Golcondah do covertly furnish him with men and money, and that he also covertly fees the Generall and Commanders of the

Triple Alliance
against the
Mogul.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 27, Surat Cons. 11 November 1672.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 91 Surat to Bombay, 12 November 1672. L. Bk. No. 1-A. P. 228.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Part 3, Fol. 38. Surat 7 October 1673.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 106, Fol. 202, Bombay 10 October 1673.

Mogulls Army which hath qualified their heat against him, soe ' its thought that noe great action will be performed between them this yeare, yet the preparation that Sewagee makes causeth us to believe that either he expects to be assaulted, or designs to make some notable attempt in the Kings country.

Two days since wee had newes that parte of his army were gone towards Surratt, thereupon we had got the *Hunter*

Shivaji near
Surat.

Frigott well mann'd to be sent up for your assistance, but haveing sent spies to enquire the truth thereof, we understand his Army lies still about Murr (Mahad) and therefore wee keepe the *Hunter* here as yet ready upon the least notice of his designe to sail towards you, and though wee hope Sevagee may find employment in these parts for a month or two, yet wee advise you to send downe your goods to Swally Marine, soe fast as you can and keep soe few in Surrat as may be, for Sevagee is much provoked by the Siddys burning severall small Townes in his Country, where he hath used much cruelty, which doubtless Sevagee will endeavour to revenge in Surratt or some other place. Accord-

ing to your advice wee shall keep spies upon Shivaji's agility. him, tho in truth we know not how to trust any of our intelligence, for that his designs are kept exceeding close, and his Army never keeps any certain place of abroad and may surprize your partes before you or wee are aware of and therefore were not our condition at present very weake, wee would gladly send you up the *Hunter* and *Maybone* also for your greater security, but we can scarcely spare men to man one of them, yet in case you are sencible, she will be of any use unto you, upon your advice wee will send up the *Hunter* Frigott to lye there untill the ships come." ¹

"We are truly sencible of the great prejudice the Companys trade suffers by the continuall Allarmes with which the Towne of Surratt is perplexed with your desires in sending spies to attend his motions, . . . for as you will observe wee can better doe it from hence then you from Surratt,

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. V, Pp. 76-78. Bombay to Surat 23 Oct. 1673.

and shall not be wanting in anything to our powers to contribute all means for your timely advise and security."

"Wee intend very suddainly to send you the *Hunter* Frigott in Company with the Salt Fleet bound for Broach well-manned for Your assistance, and in regard here *wee have dayly newes of* *Sevagees intention to visit Suratt*, which if

he doth you may be in some danger and then the Frigott will doe you good service, but wee hope if he doth come there is such a fair understanding betwixt us, that he will not disturbe your persons nor the Honble: Companys concerns there."¹

17. Surat subject to chronic alarm during 1674-5

At the end of July 1674 Shivaji made a demand on the Surat Governor for the payment of the tribute due to him for the last three years, so that in case of refusal he might send his flying columns to plunder the city.

"We are thinkeing to send the Hoigh downe to you, the latter end of this month with your Persian provisions and the remainder of your garden seeds if wee are not necessitated to keep her here for the preservation of our goods, and for as Savagee a few days past hath sent an express to his bramin here, to demand, of the Governor

Chouth
demanded for
three years.

900,000 rupees for the Chouty for 3 years past, or else threatens to vissitt him after the rains. So there is also a current report in towne that Savagee hath ordered his fleet abroad to surprize the Judda and Mocho Jounks at the rivers mouth, which the kinsman of Mmundgee, who with 150 more Lascars of Gogo now in Savagee's (?) hath promised to undertake, about which the Governor sent to know if wee heard of it, into which affair we desire you to enquire and advise us speedily.

We desire your advise in case Savagee should send forces against your place either by land or sea, what confidence we may repose on the articles of peace lately made between you and him or if you could procure his cole

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. Pp. 81-82, Bombay to Surat 23 October 1673.

and send us, wither it would protect us and the Hon'ble Companys estate in their house."¹

The Surat Factors request Bombay "to send a corporal and two files of souldiers to remayne with them there, in regard there is expectation of Sevagees forces coming to Surat."²

"If we hear from you in answer to ours of the 1st current that there will be no danger or feare of Savagees forces coming against this Citty the next month, wee shall continue our resolution to send downe the Hoigh with all the Persian Provisions."³

"The towne is againe strongly alarmed and some of the gates shutt up, the Governor demands 10,0000 rupees of the rich merchants of the towne, for the defence of the towne, they mett together and drew up a rooka (representation), to present the Governor to which they have not yet his answer."⁴

"Wee heare orders are given that noe hattmen stirr out of the city gates wee suppose occationed by the Dutch and French Pettiwick, the Dutch second being gone with 2 Hoighs for Cambay and the French have their 2 Hoighs & a pinke gott out of the river, now in the Hole would have carried their lead from the marine on board, but t'is stopt pretending they would carry it to Rajapore and sell it to the kings enemys what the issue will be jealous of both nations he hath soe highly affronted them and the Dutch threaten highly when their ships come.

Bawder Ckaun hath lately sent orders that no provisions be permitted to be carried out hence or from Broach, saying that Sevagee is supplied thereby."⁵

"Wee doe not find the towne as yet allarmed by Sevajees forces nor are we disturbed, they are so frequent with us if he comes this way ; wee shall keepe our house the best we can, though doe wish there had been more English in the 2 files you sent."

Fresh alarms of
the approach of
Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 187. Surat to Bombay, 1 August 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Fol. 33. Surat Cons, 8 August 1674.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 189. Surat to Bombay, 12 August 1674.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 204. Surat 16 September 1674.
5. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 216-17. Swally 4 October 1674.
6. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 223. Surat 14 October 1674.

"The towne is strongly alarmed by Sevagees fforces near Ramnagarr, the people of Balsarr, Chickley and Gundavee are fled and the Banians here packing away what they cann do privately. Wee heare that there are 3 or 4,000 Bills (Bhils), a wilde people belonging to the Rajah of Rannagurr that doe at present hinder Sevagees fforces passing the streight of Ramnagurr to whom is proffered 100000 rupees for passage. At this tyme wee wish wee had more of your souldiers, as well for a Guard at the Maryne where are lodged all the goods wee have to this tyme embayled." ¹

"As concerning Sevagee I have noe further to advice since my last, he being certainly gone out with a great army on a designe kept very private, some say, he is gone to Shivaji gone to Satara. *Sutara castle, a castle he tooke the last yeare,* but nothing certaine, so soon as I can learn his intentions, I will advise you thereof with speed." ²

"The people of this towne were lately ready to fly upon a false allarme that Sevagees fforces were approached as near as Gundavee and had burnt the towne, but they came noe nearer then 4 course on the other side Ramnagarr, and believe their business was to put fresh provisions and men into his strong holds, they are now retyred and these people at present at quiet." ³

"Sevagees forces (as wee wrote in our last) being re-tired from Ramnagar, wee are in present at peace." ⁴

"Wee are sorry to understand that disturbance that is att Suratt by reason of the alarams given by Sevagy's army the greatest part whereof commanded by himself in person gone up the Gath towards Bander Kaun's Lascar and have given him a hot alaram but whether he intends to assault his camp or else make bravado and so passe to Surratt or some other place and where he designes to plunder wee

Maratha forces retired from Ramnagar.

Shivaji gone against Bahadur Khan,

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 244. Surat to Bombay 22 October 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 1. Bombay 25 October 1674.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 246. Surat to Bombay 28 October 1674.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 234. Surat 3 November 1674.

cannot tell. Our guards here at the ffort are at present very thin caused partly by reason of the sickness of many English of whome we have lost severall in the unhappy month of October and partly by the dis-
Bombay with in- charging (?) numerary Topasses in hope
sufficient garrison that ships would have arrived according to our expectation; notwithstanding which if you desire a supply of 4 or 6 files (?) more to be constantly by you for 3 or 4 months tyme, pray give us notice thereof and wee will not faile to furnish you with them or so many of your Majesty's as you shall want. The account you sent of money disbursed for peons wages shall bee passed to your credit.¹

"Thanks be to God wee have lived free from the allarm of Sevajee, there being noe news at present where his forces are, so shall not desire any more of your souldiers from the Island..."²

The English decided not to sell their gunns to Shivaji, because such a public action would provoke the Great Mogul against them. In July too they again refused to sell the guns.³ Even on 5th December 1676 the Surat Council confirmed their former decision not to sell the brass cannon to the Raja, for "it is a matter of great consequence, and we know not how farr he may be trusted."⁴

"Wee are glad to hear that the towne of Surratt is not apprehensive of any danger from Sevagee, there is a
Rumour of peace rumour, here alsoe of peace between *Uram*
with Aurangzeb *Zaeb* and him but we give little credit to it, for the Mogolls army hath lately fallen downe upon Cullean Bundy and burnt the poor Casaus (?) houses there; with little other mischief to Sevagee or his country and tis said the army since is retired againe to some distance of and Sevagees people are returned to Cullean and hee hath a considerable army ready to invade the
Shivaji's plunder- king's country againe, and if wee did not
ing expeditions. believe there was a good understanding be-
 twixt him and the Governour of Surratt, we

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Bombay 8-9 November 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. P. 244. 13 November 1674.
3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2. P. 97. 9 July 1675.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. P. 90.

should fear that he would take revenge on that place, for we know not where els hee can goe to bear the charge of his army or gett plunder, haveing already robbed all the other places of note in his dominions." ¹

"Wee begin to be allarmed with Sevagee, but hope it will (be) over, though wee are apt to believe he will disturbe us this yeare." ²

The same news was repeated on 26th October, but they trusted that God would preserve their estate from all danger. A few days later, the Surat Council sent to Karwar the Raja's pass to be made use of when any of the Generals of Shivaji should molest the English there. ³

"Finding the towne of Surratt somewhat free from Sevagees allarms, we have thought good to discharge all the Topasses whome wee now send downe by the *Unicorne* and keep only 2 files of Englishmen here which wee hope will be enough for the security of our house if occasion require." ⁴

18. Approaches to Surat fortified by Shivaji

"Wee haveing heard a report as if Sevagees army were coming hither to plunder this place; wee doe now by Masters desire you to make a diligent enquiry into the truth thereof and advise us the motion of his armys, and if you are certainly informed they are moving towards Surat, wee would have you send us intelligence with all speed by express." ⁵

"We had very hott alarmes from Sewagees army coming to plunder Surat which required us to put ourselves in a good posture of defence as wee could and so make use of some of her (*Frigatt Revenge*) men, our house being very thin, soe that now wee shall keepe her and what worke she wants shall be done to her here." ⁶

"The other side is copy of our last enclosing the Honourable Companys overland advices unto you, which wee forwarded per Express; these goe by the French Pattamarrs;

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 68. Bombay to Surat 27 Feb 1675.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 116. Swally 14 October 1675.

3. O. C. Vol. 36, Nos. 4123, 4127.

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 88, Fol. 128 Surat 6 December 1675.

5. O. L. Book No. 2, P. 116. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 31 Surat 18 April 1676.

6. Ibid. No. 2 P. 126. Surat to Bombay 46 May 1674.

by whome wee take the opportunity of writing notwithstanding wee have little of moment worthy your notice.

We have lately been twice alarmed very hotly by Savagee's forces, and the towne continues yet jealous of

Conquest of
Ramnagar by
Shivaji.

his approach; in regard that a body of his men keepe hovering about Ramnagurr; the Rajah of which place he hath beaten and made his excursions into the Coolys Coun-

tries, *settled* a

Party of men and fortified a Pindolle, a strong hill in the said Country, which place is not 3 dayes march from Surat, soe that if he

Fortification of
Pindolle.

come not now, wee may reasonably expect

him here the next monzoone, and to add to his speedy and feasible marches, it is thought he hath brought the Portu-

The Portuguese
forced to give
passage to Shivaji.

guese, to that Extremity that they dare not deny, or oppose his Passage, through their dominions, soe that this City will have a troublesome and unquiet neighbour, and put a

stop to all trade of this part if not totally ruine it which God divert to whose protection wee commend you &ca." ¹

"Sunderjee Pervooe (Prabhu) is arrived, but wee have not thought good to shew him any outward Countenance nor receive his visitte as yet till wee hear how he is received by the Governor of the towne, for wee thinke not good to give them any occasions of Jealouseys; from the beginning of this month, this towne of Surat hath been in continuall alarmes by means of Savajees forces under the Command

Moro Pant
captures Ram-
nagar, Pindolle,
etc.

of Mora Punditt, who having beaten the Rajah of Ramnagurr out of his Country and taken *Pindolle*, and *Parnerat*, (?) (Peint) is now within 3 days Journey of us, and threatens to destroy the towne (Surat), if the Governor

doth not buy his Peace, with a good summe of money, touching which they are now in Treaty. It is said alsoe

Shivaji forced the
Portuguese to
allow him free
passage to Surat

that Savajee hath Procured free Passage for his Army through the Portugall Country, and Liberty to settle his people, at Umbassaree and Daman in order to make his Approaches to Surat and returne the more secure, by

1. O. L. Book No. 2. P. 129. Surat to Fort St George 25 May 1676.

which Proceedings, he seemes resolved either to destroy Shivaji to have this towne, or to bring it under Contribution. cantonements at Wee Pray God direct all things for the best, Umbassaree and but hitherto wee have melancholly apprehensions for the Companys trade in these Parts."¹

"Wee doe observe what you write as to the troubles in Vizapore, which alsoe wee here to be in a distracted condition, through the dissentions of the Bijapur kingdom Umbraws, in like manner by Sevagees distracted through People, through the frequent robberyes and Shivaji's raids oppressions of his Army, that all trade there is Impeeded and our ffactors Complaine that their cloth Investments are at a stand, by reason they can gett noe weavers to settle to work. In our last wee advised you, how great danger this towne of Surat was inn, of being plundered, by his forces that were at Pindolle, but since that (thanks be to God) he is retreated, Into his owne Country without advancing further, yett wee feare wee shall heare from him againe, in October or November, for he will not be quiet till he hath reduced this Port of Surat to pay him contribution or worse, which Gcd divert to whose Protection wee commend you &ca."²

"Sevagees army under the command of Moro Punditt having taking Pindolle from the Rajah of Capture of Pindolle. Ramnagurr (which is a considerable castle about 3 days journey from Surratt) the Generall having left about 4,000 men to defend it, went back to Rairee. Sundergee Pervooe finds but a cold reception here, which makes him threaten hard, and foretell the miseries of plunder and desolation to this city; wee desire you to have an eye to the proceedings of Sevagees army soe soon as they come out of their quarters, and if you have the least intelligence of their motion this way, faile not speedily to advise us by expresse."³

"Our rents were not much increased last year, though something they were our chiefe rent. The Custome is

1. O. L. Book No. 2. P. 130. Surat to Bombay, 27 May 1674.

2. Ibid. P. 149. Surat to Fort st George. 21 June 1676.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, p. 46. 4 July 1676.

Bombay encompassed by the Portuguese and Shivaji.

farmed for 27000 Xs., but wee are so encompassed with the Portugueze and Sevagy on all sides, wee cannot expect our trade greatly to increase; for the reason of the flourishing trade of Surat and other Sea Ports is this, that Merchants who bring their goods from other countreys in shipping, land them and transport them up the countrey from thence for sale, or sell them to other Merchants who doe the same, and again Merchants buy inland goods, bring them freely down to port without molestation, pay Customes or much charges, where is alwayes shipping ready, whereon they lade them for all parts of India. Now the egresse and regres for Merchants up the countrey from hence is totally obstructed, the Portugueze having the Islands of Caranjah and Salset,

The Portuguese closed down communications with Bombay.

which almost surrounds us, and they are ever exquisite seekers of all wayes imaginable to doe us mischief, envying as wee suppose the sudden prosperity this place is rose to. The chieftest, nearest, and best passe up the countrey is by Tanna, where formerly they tooke off all goods which passed by 3 p. cent, but now for the sake

Customs at Thana raised to 10%

of only Bombay they raised it to 10 p. cent, which is equivalent to a totall forbidding all goods to passe. Likewise all timber for shipping and houses of durance, which wee may call the oak of India, growes up at Cullean, Bimurly, and must necessarily passe by Thana, where they take 33 p. cent. custome. They have this yeare forbid all rice to be trans-

Timber and rice from Shivaji's country.

ported to Bombay, and doe often put excessive excises upon even hearbs and fruit and hens, which poor people bring over at Bandora, but in this and most other things their malice shoots much short of their intention, for, thanks be to God, we have alwayes provisions in abundance,

Provisions plentiful.

our Island being commonly rather a granary of corne then otherwise, from whence it is transported to Rajapore, Goa, and other places, and it shall be our care never to see the Island unprovided of provisions. But wee could find other wayes to passe up

the countrey with little trouble were there peace between the Moguls and Sevagy, or that the Mogul would take all this countrey about us ; for about 2 dayes journey up the Hill between

**Wars impede
trade.**

the Moguls and Sevagys dominions lies a perpetuall seat of war so that no Merchants can pass without apparent hazzard of being plundered, so that wee cannot expect Merchants should land their goods here without knowing where or how to dispose of them, that wee often wondered how so considerable a

**Why Bombay
prosperous ?**

custome could be annually raised, and wee can attribute it to nothing but the justice, freedome, and security people enjoy here above other places, many families of Braminys dayly leaving the Portuguezes territories and repaire hither frightened by the

**Conversions by
the Portuguese.**

Padrees, who upon the death of any person force all his children to be Christians ; and even some of the chiefest who still live at Bassin and others build them houses here, therein placing their wives and children against a time of danger. Wee have hopes time will settle these parts in peace, that Mer-

**Advantages from
the situation of
Bombay.**

chants may be induced to bring down their rich goods from up the countrey, the custome of one of which ships would amount to what received here in halfe a year, this Port having in respect of situation and convenience the advantage of Surat, Goa, and all the Ports on the whole Coast. Goa lying so far down below the great places of Guzzarat, Dilly, Branpore, Ouraungabaud, & ca., where the great glut of goods which supplies Europe and all India is made, [India growing there narrow from one sea to the other that it is very chargeable bringing down goods thither; hence Surat is one of the worst roads in India and extreemly dangerous in the freshes, and the transport of goods up by the distance very chargeable, whereas Bombay lies in an excellent latitude for the whole trade of India, and is a most excellent harbour, winter and summer, which is a great inviter of Merchants and for a small charge wee was ran up a stone causeway from the Fort allmost to the Mint without : in which ships may at any time ashoar, carine,

and mend, or ly there the whole yeare with as much safety as in a Dock; and upon the countreys being in peace, and our landing our Europe goods here Merchants would easier be perswaded to transport them on the Maine as at Surat; yet all that was transported in shipping to forreign ports would be so much custome gained to your Honours &c; but these are happineses in posse, and to be prayed for.¹

Your Honours humble Servants,

John Petit, Charles Ward, Francis Day, John Hornigold."

19. Prosperity of Bombay

"Yet² if wee doe not fall out with Sevagy wee dare promise 3 times the quantities as this yeare sent; we are induced to say if no quarrell happen between us and Sevagy, because wee shall be forced to make the greatest part on the other side of the Bay about 20 miles of up the river of Salset, where wee have got together a good parcell of weavours whom wee cannot yet perswade to come over, though have hopes in time to effect it. However the 5 p. cent which wee now put upon the cloth for weavours will be taken away, instead of which wee must pay 2 p. cent to Sevagy, and perhaps 2 or 3 p. cent more for charges, yet if wee paid 15 p. cent, it will bear lesse than the expences of any factory, but then it will be objected the cloth is bought by that expence cheaper then the Island cloth, to which wee answer that wee have yet probable hopes to equallize the cheapnesse of other factorys cloth, for besides the reason above given wee have hopes to have our cotton yarne come cheaper to us then yet hitherto it has done, so that at leastwise to make it stand in competition or surpass any of the Guzzarat cloth, if not come very neare the prizes of Rajapore and Carwar."

It was resolved by the Surat Council that the soldiers be not sent to Bombay.

1-2. Orme Mss, 114, pp. 6-9, and p. 15 has some portions of this letter. Cf. p. 29. Forrest's Home Series. Vol. I., pp. 120-121. Bombay 24 January 1677.

20. Shivaji's designs on Surat

"Next the President and Councill considered of sending downe the souldiers that have been kept here all this monsoone for the security of the Company's estate; but in regard the towne are jealous of Sevagees visiting them this yeare, wherefore that the Company might not be in want of convenient assistance to defend their estates and their servants lives, should he againe burne and plunder the citty." (Factory Records Surat Vol. 4. Fol. 45. Consultation in Surat 12th April 1677.)

"Worshippfull &ca.,

This Citty of Surat and the Countries adjacent *have for these 4 years been under a continued feare of being surprized by Sevagees Army*, for his souldiers are garrisoned and lodged securely in Nunsaree and Gundavee, and the cheife officers taken up the Desys owne houses, who with

Shivaji's army at
Nansaree and
Gundavee

their ffamily and the Cozzys and the cheife men are all fled to Surat, and Sevagees men doe not only force contribution from the Country, but come boldly into this towne with 40 and 50 horse at a time and publiquely demand provisions and contributions from the Governor and the Kings officers, and 'tis confidently affirmed

Negotiations of
the English with
Shivaji's army
near Surat

that Sevagees Army increases dayly more and more, and that many of his soldiers are lodged privately in the very Town of Surrat upon some designe which hath caused the Captain of the Castle to raise 500 soldiers more for his defence, and to keep an extraordinary strickt watch day and night; and

Parties of
Maratha soldiers
levy tribute

you may conceive that our Ffrench and Dutch neighbours as well as ourselves have the same apprehension for their Masters estates and our owne liberties, But should Sevagee surprise the Towne there is no possibility for us to oppose them, but must keepe as faire tearmes with him as wee can, and it is somewhat to our contentment that you maintaine with them a faire understanding at Bombay,

Maratha soldiers
secretly living in
the town of Surat

Fair understand-
ing between
Shivaji and the
English

as also our friends at Rojapore, and they
alsoe doe reciprocally towards you, soe that
whatever designes they may have against
this towne, yet wee are willing to be-
lieve that he hath noe ill intentions against

us. However wee trust him not, and would willing-
ly use all convenient means to satisfie ourselves whether he
meanes well towards us, and have thought good therefore to
write a civill letter to Morah Pundit, who is Generall of
his army, desireing him that he would give his instructions
and strict orders to Trumbuckgee and the rest of the
officers that do now command the army, or whoever shall
hereafter command in his absence, that whatever attempt
they make upon the towne, they do not offer any violence
to the English house or Nation or to any of their Broker or
servants immediately depending upon them, and that they
would send the said orders to us to show to the officers
in case there be need. Wee send you herewith the coppie
of our letter to him which wee desire you not to send by
Narransinay, for his proceedings are very tedious and slight,
but wee would have you send Captain Keygwin together
with Caus Moody for his interpreter with it who is to bring
an answer together with the said order. This wee effect-
ually recommend to you, and if you conceive anything elce
that may tend to our further satisfaction or security, wee
would have you put it in execution and likewise advise us
what you can learne concerning Sevagee and his army and
your judgement thereon, which is the needful touching this
affaire.

The English
sent a letter to
Shivaji

Wee have since thought good to write one letter to
Sevagee also of the same tenor to that to Mora
Punditt, and whereas wee have ordered Captain
Keygwin to manage this designe, now wee con-
ceive it may be done by less expence, by send-
ing only a discreet sergeant whome you may
accommodate with the Companys horses and things
necessary for his charge, which we desire may be as
moderate as can be contrived; and wee give instructions
to Caus Moody to enquire what newes he can, that

wee may be instructed as fully as wee can expect in such a conjuncture. And faile not to write what newes you can, where Sevagees person is with his army, and also where the army under Mora Pundits command doth take up his winter quarters: ¹

Your Honours humble servants,

Gera Aungier, Charles James, Casar Chambrelan."

"As to the Letters to Sevagee and Mora Pundit, if not already sent forward, wee leave it to you, to consider whether they will require Captain Keigwin's going soe farr as Rayre with them, or whether it might not as well be done by Cox-sunnay or some other person with far less charge to the Company, for when he was first designd for that service, both the President and wee did suppose Mora Pundit had been at Cullian Buinde (Bhi-wandi) or some of those places neerer to Bombay." ²

"Touching Captain Kegwins going to Rairy wee wrote you our opinions in our last, and seeing those letters the President wrote to Savagee and his ministers are not yet sent forward. Wee doe not think it necessary they should in regard the newes of the Presidents Death will have reacht them before they now can, but there being a generall Jealousie in towne that so soone as the raines are over Sevagees forces will draw againe this way, whereby wee shall be in continuall allarmes, wee could wish wee had those orders to the commander-in-chiefe of Sevagees army that may come this way which was wrote for in those letters for the better security of the honourable Companys and servants, which if you thinke they may be procured wee would have you use your endeavours to obtain them." ³

"Wee have thought it convenient to keepe some 20 in 30 Soldiers here by us for security of your goods to and from by water or land, and of your house at Surat, not

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, Vol. 40-41, Surat 26 May 1677.

2. O. L. Book Vol. 3. P. 8. Surat 20 July 1677, Cf. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, pp. 46-7 6th July 1677.

3. O. L. Book Vol, 3, p. 53. Surat 31 July 1677. F. R. Surat Vol, 89, Part II, P, 50, Cf. Orme Mss, 114, p. 43,

knowing how soone any of Sevagees forces from Ramnagur and Pindolli might assault this place (they being castles of his not above 2 days march from the citty) of which the inhabitants are very jealous now, that a new Governor is here settled who totally refuseth to maintaine any amity with him by presents as the other covertly did." ¹

21. The last alarms in 1679

"Wee doe finde that you keep about thirty soldiers at Surratt, and that the charge at Bombay is not thereby lessened, and therefore though wee doe allow you during the time of danger from the Sevagees Army neere you to continue them there and noe longer, yet you must take care that wee be not charged with dyet nor double pay for them and that the said 30 men be part of the number of soldiers now established to be kept on the Island, and not supernumerary." ²

"Your Island of Bombay hath bin lately disturbed by some alarums from Sevagees forces, ordered by him to endeavour the burning this king's fleet wintering there, but by the care and vigilance of your Deputy Governor &ca., all things were in soe prepared a posture to receive them that they were forced to let their designe fall; this gave us occasion to represent to the Governor of Surat the hazzard of his Majesty's ships, as well as charge to us, wherein wee have soe prevailed with him, as to importune us noe more for their wintering there for the future, which will ease the Island of many inconveniencys and troubles." ³

"The city ⁴ of Surat is often times still alarmed with the approaches of Sevagees forces and is verily believed, if not otherwise diverted, will certainly this yeare attempt once more to surprize it, being highly exasperated from some unusuall

Shivaji tries to capture the Mogul Fleet wintering at Bombay
Shivaji's proposed sweep at Surat.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Part III. Fol. 26 Swally 21 January 1678.

2. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII. P. 84. Surat to London L. B. V VI, P. 48. 28 February 1679.

3-4. B. P. Unav. Vol VII. Pp. 103, 104 O. C. 4497 24 September 1678. Surat to London.

indignities acted upon some of his people, fallen into these Moores hands, soe that the Inhabitants of Surat doe now more dread him than ever, if being assured that he hath declared its utter ruine upon his next coming with fire and sword; which hath made us take into our consideration the security of your estates at present in the house by as speedy a disposall thereof, as appportunity will give us leave."

"We have lately been hotly alarmed with Sevagees approaches to this Citty, but it pleased God, The rumour of Shivaji's approach to Surat proved untrue, it proved only a party of his men who hath burned and robbed a village or two about two days journey from hence and are retired." ¹

A further account of this alarm in the month of April 1679 is found in Dr. Fryer's Travels. He had left Surat for Broach on his professional visit, but on his return he found the city deserted on account of the rumours of the approaching army of Shivaji. One month later, the new Governor boldly pursued a party of the Maratha horse and had an encounter with them. A number of casualties took place on both sides.

22. Fryer's account of Shivaji's expected raid upon Surat

"Which gives occasion Seva Gi, and a Neighbouring Raja, the one to move towards Surat, the other to set upon Brampore (Burhanpur); which had put such a Consternation on the Merchants that at my return they were all fled with their Wealth, Wives and Families, not thinking themselves safe within the Walls of Surat; which are now compleat and able to beat off a strong Enemy, would they stand to it; But having formerly felt the hostile Cruelties of Seva Gi, besides the present Governor being a better Politician than Warriier, has hitherto only Mulcted the Banians to cast a Crust before this Wolf, and he still expecting the usual Tribute, descends now in hopes of the same Booty, Burning and Spoiling the Country about till they send him a Peace Offering; of which they having informed the Emperor now the Walls are Built, that he Taxes them as much as before,

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII. P 130. O. C. 4595. Surat to London 5 April 1679.

and that his Musters are not half filled for the defence of the place, Morad Beck the present Auren Zeeb's Armour-Bearer in all his Wars, is coming with force both to displace him, and to succour the place :

Who took Possession in the beginning of May, and the late Governor parted well content with what he had gotten during his holding that Employment.

This Exchange brought some Blows upon Seva GI's pilfering Troops, being encountred before the latter end of the Month by the new Governor's Soldiers, not without loss, some Cartload of the slain being brought hither to be Interred.

The Rains are this year set in with that violence, that the very Tops of the Trees hereabouts are all under Waters and since the great Mogul by reason of these interruptions cannot go on to overcome the Pagans, he wreaks his Malice by assessing them with heavy Polls, that are not of his Faith, under his Dominions; and those not able to pay, are compelled to turn Musselmen, so that they begin to desert in abundance. ¹

The Rains being over, great preparations are making to go against obstinate Pagans, the Emperor marching out of Juan Abaud (Jahanabad) 100,000 strong, besides Ordnance, Elephants, and other Warlike provisions. " ²

Surat could not enjoy a long spell of peace, because for the last time in his life Shivaji once more advanced against Surat. In the month of December the citizens were struck with consternation on account of a fresh alarm from the near approaches of the Marathas.

"Consultation held in Surat the 8th December 1679. Certain intelligence being brought to this Citty the last night of Sevagees burning and plundering Dungom, Chupra, and many other considerable townes adjacent hath struck a Generall consternation into all the inhabitants here that he hath alsoe an eye towards this Citty, which they are the more prompt to give credit unto, in regard to the great treasure in ready money that lyes at present in this towne,

Shivaji burns
and plunders
Dungom.

1. Shivaji Vol. II. 215—222,

2. Fryer, Vol III. 161—163,

which may give a reasonable invitation to him to draw downe his forces this way; and which he may the more

Surat defence-

less.

facilie performe now all these partes remaine destitute of considerable force to oppose him; soe that wee doe now conceive it our duty to take some reasonable care for the preservation of the Honble. Company's estate and our owne persons from an enemy exasperated against us for our disputing with him before Hendry Kendry, especially since our house is now wanting of any souldiers or others to defend it; and therefore wee doe conclude to enorder the hoigh and country boates to be sent up from Swally soe soone as conveniently it may be, and that all the treasure remaining in the

The English prepare to escape to

Swally.

factory be packed up ready to be shipt off, and all other goods remaining in warehouse of which there is noe probability of their speedy vent; alsoe that the broad cloth be sent downe to Swally rather than detained here to be whited, now wee are under soe eminent a danger from Sevagee; and that spyas be kept out at the severall passages to this city, by which means wee may have speedy advice of his approach and soe be better able to make a securer escape to Swally." Cf. Shivaji Vol. II, p. 211. ¹

Naval Activities of Shivaji in 1670

Shivaji was threatening Surat not only by his land forces, but by his large fleet as well. The movements of his navy were anxiously watched by the English at Bombay, as their infant settlement might have been surprised by him. The following documents of the year 1670 speak for themselves.

23, Shivaji's fleet in Bombay harbour

"Wee are very sorry to hear Sevagee hath been soe valiant as to venture once more to plunder Surat, but are glad to read our masters are like to be so little sufferers. Wee have been alarmed here by 60 or 70 vessells belonging to him, some whereof came in and others kept out, in

1. F. R. Surat Vol. IV. p. 105.

the mouth of our port 2 or 3 days. They declare they came for salt but some old acquaintance of the Deputy Governor told him they were hurried here (?) from severall ports, with order to follow their Generall wheresoever he should lead them, and to bring him off or die with him. We shall not trust them, admitting none to stay on shoure after 6 at night not to come on shore till that time in the morning. Wee have also doubled our guard and raised our malitia, which wee shall doe soe long as they ride in the road

Alliance between
the prince and
Shivaji came to
an end.

The prince is expected with his army every day in Callian and it's believed the Prince and Sevagee hath broken off their correspondence. Wee heare Moobutt Ckaun is made Generall against Sevagee." ¹

"Touching the prohibition which Sevagy hath ordered for the cutting of ffire wood in the islands by the Marine, that the Deputy Governor and Councell be ordered not to offer any thing of fforce to Sevagys people for the procury of sayed wood ; but that they write a civill letter to the Governor of Cullian Bundy to complaine of prohibition letting

The English ask
for cutting wood
near Kaylan

him know that hitherto wee have held a fair correspondence with him and that nothing hath been acted on our partes but what hath tended to ffriendship, that some overture hath passed of late between Sevagy and the President and Councill of Suratt touching the settling of ffactorys at Rajapore and other places which wee shall have little inclynation to if he offers the least injury unto us or any of our people at Bombay, that wee have thoughts of settling a great trade at Cullian Bundy if he doeth not force us to allter our resolutions by breach of amity between us, that a possitive answer be desired from the Governor of Cullian Bundy that wee may govern ourselves accordingly." ²

It appears that Khoja Alla-ud-din, the envoy of Prince Shah Alam, was engaged in a dangerous conspiracy with the Muhammedans of Bombay and thus he endangered the security of the island. Thereupon the President and Councill ordered

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105, Part II, pp. 54—55, 26 Oct. 1670.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, P. 98, 28 Oct. 1670.

a general list of all Muhammedans: males and females, to be made and ordered the vagrants to leave the island at once. The Muhammedans, Hindus and Christians were not to meet in large numbers except at the time of their devotion, and the Muslims were not to congregate in the house of the envoy who and whose retinue were, however, to be treated with respect until their conduct rendered it impossible.¹

"Honourable and my honoured friends:

News of Shivaji's coming puts the Bombay people into consternation.

Your two letters of yesterday are before mee. Your Honour etc. directions therein shall be observed in case of the enemy coming, of whose approach within sight of the towne, wee had even now a very hott alarm, when I had wrote the first two lines of this letter, all the people runnin out of the towne with bag and baggage, over one anothers backes and I sent up men to the top of our flagstafe to looke out who saw the dust flying very much to the south part of the towne and soe concluded it was his army, upon which wee quartered our men, fitted our house, loaded our great guns and put all things in the best posture wee could, and now the feare is somewhat over and the people say 'tis Anayght Ckaune, come to conduct the Kashkar King to court which caused it; others say a company of Banjoras fell together by the eares without the towne which might cause the alarum.

All the boats are stopt from goeing over the river, with the towns people and a drum beaten in the towne, that the people should not run away but they will not much regard it.

Your Honours etc. prudent order in case of the enemys approach either by land or sea, or both, I shall observe to the utmost of my power, and stand on our defensive posture without requiring any termes of parley until they first move

S. Master prepares to defend the factory against Shivaji.
and desire it, though we are very sensible our force here is very small, not being above 30 men and boyes when all the strangers are out of the house, and if you could spare us about 30 men more should esteeme ourselves very strong, if

1. F R, Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 93. Swally Marine Consultation 28th October 1670,

our Portuguese and Topasses doe play their parts, as wee hope to compel them to it, if their hearts faile them; Peons wee cannot believe any will stand by us."¹

22. Shivaji's fleet at Nagaom

"Wee are certainly informed that Sevagee with a considerable fleet is at Nagaom, about 17 leagues off of us, where he had made provision of all things for a seige, or storme, having victualled the fleet and army for 40 days at least, and besides he has made extraordinary provision of utensell etc. for mining, pickaxes, showells, and crows of Iron etc., fitting for such an action having about 3000 men ready to put on board, and depart with the fleet at a minutes warning; where he aimes wee cannot tell, or imagine, but tis good in case to be jealous knowing who he is such, for yesterday was on this place a Bramen of his (who came as wee since understand from him directly and meeting some friends fell into discourse, and they enquiring what news he told them, his master was bound upon some desperate designe and nominated 7 or 8 places which he thought his master must aime at, amongst these Bombay one, but his business here as he said, was to gett some pilots, he stayed not above 2 hours on the island, for had he made any longer stay, wee would assuredly have knowne more or had secured his person."²

23. Fleet to help the land forces in raiding Surat.

"The Generall and Admirrall of the *fleete which consists of 160 small vessells* counted by my owne servant, (whom I sent as a spie) is one Ventges Sarangee, commonly called Durrea Sarangee with whom, I having had a correspondence these 7 or 8 years, and alwayes found him reall and oblidgeing, I was resolved to try if I could gett out any thing of his designs, soe wrote him a civil letter wishing him good success in his voyage and promising what assistance lay in my power; in lading three of his owne shippes

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fols. 62-64. From Surat 17th November 1670. (Letter of Streynsham Master),

2. F. R. Surat Vol, 105, P. 72; also see O. C. Vol. 31 Nov. 3515,

that are here to take in salt ; desiring him if he could without prejudice to himselfe, abvise me where he was bound to which he answered that though his designe was carried very privately, yett if I would send a trusty person, he would by word of mouth give me notice, soe I sent the Moodys son to him who arrived the next day with orders from Sevagee (at the place of his rendevouzes) ; he tooke him aside and swore him to secrecie, and then told him his master was marching to Surat, with 10,000 horses and 20,000 foote and that he with 3,000 souldiers and a great number of Pioneers was to meete him there ; the Bramanys have told him, that the 29th day of this month, Surat castle should be delivered him, which if he carried, he would then to Broach ; he likewise bid me keepe good watch and trust noe body and that I should doe well to lett noe vessell enter unsearched ; how farr this words are to be taken, I refer to Your better judgements.

Wee shall not trust him, and till his fleet sayle wee all lie upon the works, and for their better encouragment I there accompany them ; this day. wee begin our Bastion haveing finished a very strong brest worke and almost our great gate.

P.S. The Sorangee likewise told him that if the Christians did not attempt to hinder his designe, his master would not medle with them."¹

"Yesterday by a letter from the Deputy Governour and Council at Bombay wee are advised that
 The English on guard at Bombay against Shivaji's fleet, Sevagy is making great preparations by sea and land having as 'tis credibly reported
a fleet of 160 sayle of vessells small and great and an army of 30,000 men by land ; but his intended designe is unknowne. Nevertheless our ffrinds at Bombay are prudently jealous, least he make an attempt on them, and therefore desire to have a recrute of powder sent as also the 25 men which came up with the *Cairo*. Wee cannot returne them their 25 souldiers of whome in these perilous times there is a necessity to guard the companys treasure that is coyning at Surratt....."²

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 78. Bombay 21st November 1670.

2. F.R. Surat Vol. 3, Fol. 112. Consultation Swally Marine 24th November 1670.

"Here is intelligence come to the Desy, that Sevagees army is very numerous at Ramnagurr and other bordering places.

In regard Savagee comes with such an army by sea, I
 European nations
 to stop Shivaji's
 fleet at Swally
 thinke it would be convenient, if all the 3
 Christian nations made a compact defensive
 and offensive, together to preserve themselves
 and deny him an entrance or abroad neare
 Swally, by land or sea; so farr as they can reach, for
 Swally is accounted wholly the Christians and 'twill redound
 much to their dishonour to lett him attempt any thing there
 and if wee who are here should be surprised; it will concern
 you there to revenge the damage upon his fleete,
 which may easily be done to his no small loss."¹

"Sevagees ffeet was to the northward a Thursday
 morning from Nagaum a towne hard by Tall
 Shivaji's fleet sails,
 but returns after
 three days
 and Friday past by here and Saturday past
 by Mahim, soe wee concluded them bound
 according to the Generalls information (to the
 Deputy Governor) for Surat, but a Saturday morning at 8
 a clocke by Sevagees order, there were two ffrigatts well-mand
 with oars sent out after them with two malldars, who have
 order to bring the fleete back againe; Savagee himselfe being
 returned back againe after he had gone 3 days march, what's
 the reason wee cannot guesse, but if they overtake them,
 and bring them back, the Deputy Governor doth not
 question but to advise you by the next, intending to send a
 person to the Generall as soon as he arrives in port, having
 not elce at present we subscribe. . . ."²

"Being againe allarummed from Bombay of Sevgy's
 great preparations both by sea and land and
 English prepara-
 tions at Bombay
 for defence
 against Shivaji.
 not knowing whither he may bend his forces
 his designe being kept very private, we think
 it prudence in us to provide for the safeguard of
 the Hon'ble Companys island Bombay so well
 as possible wee can in this exigency of affaires, and in
 respect the road of Bombay is at present destitute of any

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fols, 80-81 From Surat 28th November 1670.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 86 Bombay 28 November 1670.

shipp or vessell to countenance it or on occasion to defend it from attempts, wee resolve to send downe the *Little Charles* to ride there till the present danger is over, she being intended by the Honourable Company for the service of that port, where she may be repaired as cheap or cheaper then here carrying materialls downe in her, and by her shall allso be sent downe the powder and other provisions intended for Bombay and wee are the rather prompted to this conclusion in regard that Sevagy hath already enordered some of his vessells to ride in Bombay roade; and the Mallabarrs are allso very insolent and so bould that they have taken severall ffisher boates from the stakes.

The certaine newse of Sevagys great preparations so well by sea as land (as 'tis credibly reported) to assault and surprise the city of Suratt the second time hath occasioned this our meeting to consider a meanes for the security of the Honourable Companys estate now in Swally hole and on the Marine, which is so great that our greatest industry as well as persons must be employed for its safeguard and to that purpose as allso the upholding the credit and reputation of our nation, wee conclude that, being invited thereto by the Ffrench and Dutch who are alike concerned for their respective interests, wee doe send a ship to the Barrs ffoot to guard the entrance into the hole.

Upon advice from Mr. Streynsham Master that Sevagy was reported to have advanced very neare Surratt with a puissant army, and allso that he had putt on board the hoigh the Honourable Companys treasure that was a coyning, the Councell resolved to send up Henry Oxinden with a guard of Englishmen to bring it downe to the Marine by land. In regard the hoigh is to remaine at Surratte for the greater security of the Englishmens persons that are there, in case they are forced to a retreat."

24. European League at Surat against Shivaji

"I have both your letters of yesterday before me to reply to; one by the returne of Peon; other by Mr. Henry Oxinden received this morning after receipt of that by the peon. Yesterday evening I went to the Dutch Commandore and acquainted him with what you ordered about the keeping Sevagees fleete out and denying them entrance into Swally hole. Whereto he then replied that he would consider of it and send me a finall answere this morning and the reason why I have not sooner wrott you this day is because I stayed for this answere which he sent by Signr. Peeke, that he had but one shipp in the road which is still full laden as she came from Batavia; wherefore he hath deemed it not convenient for her to goe out of the hole, but within the hole, he would doe as much to annoy the enemy, if he should enter in as one shipp could doe; and doth dayly expect a shipp from Vingurla and another from Bassora; which when they arrive shall be employed as shall be found agreeable to the good of the three nations, for he doth in all things consent to the league and confideracy as tending to the common good and preservation of all interests in these perilous times. I learned by Signr. Peeke that they are not yett resolved whether they shall defend their house or leave it; wherein I perceive they incline to observe to doe as wee doe; I have sent downe the Presidents two screwed gunns and one Pistoll and the Turkes (Tarkish) of Arrowes by Mr. Oxinden; the three bows were all wanting strings which I have sent to be fitted them with and shall follow and have also sent out to looke for more bows and arrows. I have taken 15 peons to serve in the houses on this occasion and have sent for 10 lascars to manage our small ordinance which our souldiers understand not and soe will be unserviceable if wee have not men to play them."

Shivaji's fleet against Bombay or Surat.

"Wee thanke Your Honour &c. for your jealous care of us, in fearing that Generalll enemy to trade, Sevagee attempt anything against this. Island for whose coming though wee carefully provided for the same reasons that your Honour &c. conclude might deter him from an attempt; induced us to believe that his fleet was bound to some other places which

might be easier carryed and more proffitt to him, for here he could expect little lesse then a passage of his men into another world; the continued absence of his fleet, which notwithstanding he enordered to returne, are not yet come back, gives us a just cause to feare, that the generall advice of his intentions to Surat is too true, but if soe, wee doubt not but he will finde Your Honour &c in a readiness for his entertainment." ¹

"Wee heare not what is become of Sevagee or Oramzeeb who thus letts him run on his roguery; soe would willingly heare something from him; neither can wee heare, what is become of his fleet, but the Portugall armada met with 12 of his vessells, and tooke them haveing left them at Basseen, and is gone in persuite of the rest, Sevagees fleete passing Deman tooke a great shipp, of that place, built in that port and bound at Surat, being there sold for 12,000 rupees and this causes the quarrell.

P. S. Since writing the above wee have certaine intelligence that the remaining part of Sevagees fleete is returned to Debull." ²

The English hasten the fortifications of Bombay against Shivaji

"The fortification goes on in an hopefull manner; when it is finished wee doubt not to become more considerable to our neighbours then wee are at present. In the interim wee have not thought it convenient to undertake those other workes of dockes, cranes, wharfes, &ca., nor lining out the grounds for the citty, nor draining the overflowen lands, for they are workes of time and charge and not of such absolute necessity at present as the fortification is for our neighbours on the Maine, the Mogull and Sevagy being in arms; and the latter having a great army near us, reason perswades us to stand upon our guard and to hasten the fortification what wee cann possible, that it may be as well as security to our owne people as allso to such strangers who, flying the dangers of warr on the Maine, may come and shrowd themselves with us." ³

1. F. R. Surat Vol 105. Fol. 92, Bombay 16th Dec. 1670.

2. F. R. Surat Vol; 105. Fols. 96-97, Bombay 17th December 1670.

3. O. C. Vol, 31, No. 3538, Surat to the Company. 9 January 1671,

CHAPTER XII

Shivaji's Relations with the English

It has been seen in Chapter VI that the English did not succeed in obtaining any compensation from Shivaji for the losses sustained by them at Rajapur. From 1665 they were engaged in a severe struggle with the Dutch for trade and colonies in the East as well as in the West. To add to their plight, London was visited by the Great Plague and the Great Fire. Hence the commercial activity of the East India Company was much reduced in India for some three years. When the misery caused by the war, the plague and the fire, was over and national life was restored to its normal level, the Company's agents here in India resolved to try force for bringing round Shivaji.

1. Reprisals on the notorious rebel Shivaji

Randolph Taylor was given commission on 14th August 1668 to make reprisals on vessels belonging to 'our old perfidious enemy, that notorious rebell Seavage,' and, if possible, to settle a factory at Rajapur.

"There is our old perfidious enemy, that notorious rebell Seavage (who) hath hitherto escaped unpunished for all the villanyes and robberyes done us, which wee had hoped to bee quitt with before this, but the warrs with the Dutch prevented us until now, and therefore if you shall bee soe happy as to meete with any vessells belonging to his ports (which are many lying upon the coast) or that have sailed thence, use

The Dutch War prevented the English from obtaining compensation.

your best endeavours to seize or destroy them; by which means wee may not onely hope to idemneify ourselves for the losses allready sustained, but alsoe bring him to tearmes for the future of more honest and faithfull abearance, and force him to give us some good security for free trade in the country and kingdome of Deccan; which can never bee safe untill something of this nature bee effectually done in making them sensible of the necessity of our ffriendshipp, that they may see how unsafe they are without it; therefore this wee

The Captain
was to surprise
ships of
Shivaji's ports.

account the neerest way to bring him to a treaty, soe that wee earnestly entreate you endeavour the suprizell of all you can meete with, and bring them to us, taking care and giving your strict orders that nothing bee purloyned, but that a true and just accompt bee taken of whatever shall bee found in the vessells. There are many that will bee much about this time returning from their several voyadges of Mocha, Aden, Muscat, Persia, and Bussorah, that our hopes are strong you will encounter with some of them.

The English
attempted to
re-establish the
factory at
Rajapur.

Wee promised you see something more of Rajapore, which is that you reserve a day or two to spend in that road, and put Velge (Valgi) ashoare, giving him his lesson how to carry himselfe in his discourse, soe as that it may not bee suspected that wee seeke them but that hee pretend some buisynesse of his owne, and that by his importunity you may permitte him to land, but carry him noe higher then Jettapore, and thence lett him gett upp the best hee can, and search into the inclinations of those people to peace, and if soe what present satisfaction they will give us for past losses and security of better abearance for the future, and if you find the proffer anything reasonable, enter into a treaty with them and perswade them to send some person of quality to us to confirme a league, to which give them encouragment as you shall see cause." ¹

1. Forrest, Home Series, I. Pp. 222-24.

Similarly, the captain of the *Bantam* was instructed to capture all vessels of 'many seaports belonging to our implacable enemy' coming from Mocha, and that of the *Charles* to destroy vessels of the 'Rebel Savagy' in the Rajapur Road.

"But if you shall encounter any (vessels) that have not (an English pass) and can master them, bring them with you; especially if you can learne they belong to any port betwixt this and Goa. For there are many seaports belonging to our implacable enemy Savaje, with whom wee would gladly quitt scores, for hee hath bin greatly in our debt these many years."¹

Shivaji's
vessels to be
captured.

2. Attempt to secure Pen

The Portuguese were collecting heavy duties on goods going through Thana to Bombay.

"Nothing can come out of the Moores countrey but must passe that way, where all things are made to pay for, some goods 10 to 20, and all timber 33 per cent, or what they will aske; which is a great eyesore and hinderance to all trade, indeed wholly destructive to Bombay, and keeps out all merchants' egresse and regresse, for those that come by sea must reshipp them again or suffer themselves to be thus exacted uppon by the Portugall. It is a royaltie belonging to the Governour of Basseen, who spightfully annoyes us."²

To avoid these, the English Factors attempted to secure possession of Pen from the Mogul Governor of Kalyan.

1. E. F. 1668-69, p. 12. 25 August 1668, Cf. F. R. Surat, vol. 105. P. 60. 20 Oct. 1668,

2. E. F. 1668-69, p. 83. 2nd Nov. 1668—Surat to Co.

"We are informed from Capt. Gary that he hath made a reasonable good progresse in amicable correspondence with the Governor Abdollatkaun (Abdulla Khan) and Diwan Merza Cherimbim (Mirza Karim Beg) of Cullian and Buinde who advised him that they had written to the Prince, Sultan Mazum at Orangabaad, that he might have a Port on the other side of this Bay, called Penne¹ from whence there is an inroade both into Indostan and Decan, and the way good. Tis true, it lies in Sevagees Country, but as Sevagee is become Orangshahs Vassall, he is to do whatsoever is commanded by the Prince."

The English
tried to
secure Pen.

"This Penne he (Gary) had in his eye by reason of Tanna, and great obstruction to the Passage up to Cullian and Buinde, it lying between Bombaim and Cullian and Buinde; the Portugueses being so unkind neighbours to us that they will not let us passe by Tanna without paying excessive Customes: wherefore there is a necessity of Contriving some mean expedient with the King of Portugal from the Company, to have those arbitrary exactions taken off; which may be grounded upon the originall graunt of this Island to the King of England, it being very improbable that the King of Portugal gave his Brother of England a House without a doore for free egress and regress."²

3. The English try to possess Phaty port

It was soon found out that there was no ground of expecting any trade with the faithless rulers of Kalyan, that the Dewan was 'nothing but surface and deceit' and changed colour several times in a day. Having been disappointed in this enterprize, the English assumed a reconciliatory attitude towards Shivaji.

1. Pen, in Kolaba District, on the Bhogavati creek, about 10 miles from its mouth
2. B. P. Unav. Vol. 3. Bombay to Surat. 6 Oct. 1668. J. Goodier, H. Ycung, Tho. Cotes.

"Yesterday¹ wee received two letters from the Governor, Obdollochan, and Diwan Merza Cariem Beague, by two messengers both persons of condition, attended with thirty men. The purport was kind congratulation and assurance of affection and respect to us.....desiring much that an English factory were settled there. Wee gave them free entertainment, according to the custom here, and dismis'd them very well satisfyed as to the present state of the government, which they had heard much of and earnestly coveted to see. They brought severall merchants with them to buy goods, (as they pretended). Wee hope hereafter to bee soe supplied as to satisfy them, if in earnest. Wee had greate encouragment given to us at the same time by the person that convoy'd them, the formerly mentioned Cojah Alladyn, as to the flourishing of this port; who made to us instance of his affectionate respect for the English nation and gave us greate hopes of a port at Phaty, custome free; soe that wee shall not need now to concerne ourselves soe much in Thanna as formerly, for anything except onely timber, the conveyance of which overland will bee too chardgeable, if wee can have it from Gundavee and Balsar, as formerly advised. Things goe on hopefully here still, beyond expectation for soe short a time; all sorts of people being abundantly satisfyed in this revolution and change of government, who (unless their hearts bely their faces) are very much pleased with the same. Wee have enquired concerning the above mentioned port Phaty (which lyes in our view), and wee find the condition of it (by the description of Alladyn, who hath written the enclosed to Sir George) to bee this, vizt., it is a barr'd place and a shole water; soe that any goods thence exported or there imported must bee in vessells, and not in greater shippes. Hee himselfe is gone, leaving his promise behind him of

The English
were requested
to establish
a factory at
Kalian.

Bombay
flourishing.

The English
expect to obtain
Phaty Port.

using his utmost endeavours to procure a free passage for merchants' goods to be transported from the said port to Orangabad without any lett or interruption..... At Cullian they have gone forward in the building of a shipp, and make provision for more; wherefore they desire to be furnished with 30 or 40 iron guns, from 10 to 15 cwt. apiece."

"According to your command, wee shall at convenient time enorder such as wee employ to treat Seveages servants civilly, wherever they meete them but not to enter into any contract with them, letting them know the greate damage the Honourable Company hath suffered and the abuses offered to our people on severall occasions, for which wee expect satisfaction and reparation before wee enter into any league with their master; all which wee suppose will come to his eares by one or more of his servants, though..... wee are not of the opinion that ever hee will be brought to a peaceable treaty till hee be forced to it (yett wee wish otherwise)." ¹

Civil treatment
with Shivaji
for securing
reparations.

4. Shivaji's invitation to the English

Shivaji was also anxious to invite the English, the French and the Dutch to Rajapur for establishing their factories there. The Maratha agent at Chaul offered good terms to the English.

"At Upper Chaul Gerther (Girdhar) ² was civilly treated by Seveages servant, who (sitting there to receive 1/10 part customes of what that Governor takes for the King) gave him encouragement for the procury of saltpeter and pepper at reasonable rates, and then importun'd him to goe with

The English
were offered
facilities for
trade.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. P. 63. Bombay to Surat. 25 November 1688.
2. Girdhar or Girdhardas was first an agent, then a broker and afterwards the chief broker of the English at Bombay. He was employed by his masters in various negotiations with the Maratha and Mogul Governmets up to 1678 at least.

him to his master Sevae, who was then at Ustamee,¹ a place, some 12 miles off Chaul; but having not order hee refused his proffers and soe left him, to return to us.

The Governor of Upper Chaul sent us a letter partly congratulatory and partly invitatory to settle a factory there or in any other place within his power to trade freely to advantage of both partyes, adding assurance of doing all the kindnesses for us within the verge of his ability and such like."²

"We have newly received a letter from Sevaees servant (mentioned in our last), wherein hee offers much of civility and kindnesse to us from his master; but whether it bee freindshipp and reality, or designe and counterfeit, wee judge not at present; onely resolve to watch his waters."³

5. Causes which led the English to seek Shivaji's friendship

Several events happened in the last two months of the year 1668 which induced the English to be civil to Shivaji and seek his friendship. The first was the naval fight between the English and Maratha ships off Rajapur and the subsequent raid of the Malabars on Bombay. The second was the approach of an Arab Fleet to help Shivaji, possibly in his design to capture Bombay. The third cause was the grant of a phirmaund made by Shivaji to the French. It was rightly feared that the English might lose the chances of having trade in Shivaji's territories.

"Hee (Capt. Smith) tells us of an encountre (?) hee had at Rajapore with two of Sevaees vessells, the full relation of which wee leave to his owne mouth. Wee find the Mallabarrs of late very daring here, even in ken and prospect of our port; soe that they have taken severall boats of Bandora. Which

Daring
exploits of the
Malabars.

1. Ashtami, on the Kundalik river, opposite to Roha.

2. E. F. 1668-69, pp. 73-74; 30 October 1668. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 48.

3. E. F. 1668-69, p. 87. 12 November 1668.

provoked some here soe much that they would faine have gone out in some of your boats to attempt them, as counting it is a dishonour and fowle disgrace to see them taking boats under our noses; yet for want of order wee could not empower them."¹

"By a trancka newly arrived from Muscatt is come advice that the Arrab fleete, consisting of 19 shipps and 5 or 6 friggotts, on whom is 4,000 men, was departed for the coast of India; some thinke against Bombay, others to joyne with Sevagy, who, if the news bee true that came lately to Congo by way of Scynda (Sind), *had taken Chaul from the Portugalls*.....Neither is this kingdome at present free

An Arab
Fleet to help
Shivaji against
the Portuguese
of Bombay.

from troubles and confusion; for besides the damage received by the Portugalls, in forcing from them soe greate a sum as 3,000 tomands, the Eusbenges (Uzbegs) or Tartars on the other side have surprised and possessed themselves of Mossendron and Asterabad, two large townes, with their territories."²

Chaul
conquered by
Shivaji.

The opportu-
nity of the
Moguls against
the Portuguese

"If the Mogull be in earnest, we thinke the Portugalls are in noe condition to withstand him, espetially considering the embroiles they are allready engaged in with the Arrabs and Savage; but the grave proceedings of these Easterne princes in matters of disputes, and espetially in warlike attempts, gives us reason to thinke they will both well consider of it. But let the successe be what it will between them, we little concerne ourselves with what the Mogull can doe against Bombay. Some little disturbance we expect at Surratt, which, now your ships are dispeeded, will not lye very heavy to your prejudice; and wee doubt not but patience and prudent manadgment will secure your estate and trade from any rough encounter.

1. E. F. 1668-69, p. 88. 12 Nov. 1668.

2. E. F. 1668-69, p. 44. Gambroon to Surat, 26 Nov. 1668.

"The Portugalls armado.....retourned to Goa without having done any considerable damage to the Arrabs; onely brought the Pertians to allow them 3,000 tomands of the 5,000 they demanded; which they carryed away with them, but was much resented by the King, who of the Ckaun of Laur will have satisfaction. Their retourne this monzoone with a greater force (as they threaten) in Aprill is accordingly expected." ¹

The French secured a Phirmaund to trade in all the port towns in the possession of Shivaji who was also anxious to have the English factory at Rajapur.

"They (the French) have settled at Rajapore and have mett Sevagy, who gave them some clothes and a phirmaund to trade freely in all his ports. When they were with him, hee was very inquisitive why the English did not come alsoe; saying hee would give them all what hee had rob'd of them in his customes; but the country merchants told him the English demanded ready money. Hee shooke his head and said noe more." ²

"The French put in at Batticola and Mangalore, but did nothing at either place. At Rajapore, wee heare, they put a broker ashoare; but Sevagy would not let them have the English house. Whilst they were there, tis said an English shipp (which must then bee the *Charles*) came in, in the night and shott them sorely. They spoke not of it at Callicutt; but the people of Rajapore say it was an English shipp, though shee did it and went out againe in the night." ³

"The desperate debts included 'Sevagys and the Rajapores debts,' which might prove recoverable, 'there

1. E. F. 1668-69, p. 209-10. 24 Jan. 1669.

2. E. F. 1668-69, p. 116, 16th Dec. 1668.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 79. 31 Dec. 1668. Calicut.

being some fair overtures on foot tending to a good accomodation between us, of which, when ripe, we shall not faile to acquaint you."¹

The English began to levy duties at Mahim on goods coming from Shivaji's territories. The merchants of these parts were naturally against this new levy. Their grievance was represented by Shivaji to the Bombay Government which, to please the Raja, abolished the duties levied at Mahim.

6. Customs duties of Mahim given up to Shivaji Raja

"Sevagee Raja having by his servants requested a favour of noe great Import not exceeding 300 rupees, considering wee are (not?) in soe good a condition to reckon with him as wee hope in time we may, wee thought to meete him with the same confidence; having likewise much occasion for a good correspondence with his people on the maine from whence most of Provisions come hither and wood in espetiall which is not to bee had elsewhere), for which wee have now greate occasion for our Chinam &c. And not onely for these reasons are wee inclined to comode him, but also to invite other Merchants hither and continue a constant trade to forraigne partes as Mocha, Persia &c., on condition they may have 2 yeares Customes given them, which was late made 3 per cent for all goods intended to forraigne Parts by Sir Gervas Lucas, but never registered or ratified, but rather exacted from some few Merchants who bring their goods from the Maine and out of Rivers in this Bay, there they alsoe pay Custome and this Custome of 3 per cent or any other was not formerly taken, nor is allowed in the Forreall (rent-roll) of Maym, for goods brought in boats and put into ships riding in Maym, Bombay and Trombay (in which jurisdiction this Rice was laden but not in the Port), but on the contrary expressly forbidden; soe on this consideration wee were the

Reasons for an
accommodation
with Shivaji

more ready to gratifie Sevagee Raja (who would not willingly have paid it as wee were informed), as alsoe in hopes these vessells may return hither with Merchants which wee presume is aimed att, by the Honble. Company, soe long as wee retain our right of Customes which we shall doe, and yett shew much of favour if your Honrs etc. approve thereof, and of what wee have now done in presenting the Customes to said Rajah, and wee doubt not but it may prove to advantage in small time." ¹

7. Shivaji aims at Salsette

Mr. Young, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, received a secret despatch from Yashaji Raja soliciting help from the English against Shivaji who, it was observed, was preparing to pounce upon the Portuguese possession of Salsette. He sought advice from the President and Council on this matter in his letter of 20th March 1669.

"The 18th currant Essagee Raja, whose Country lyes just over against us, sent a private message unto mee in particular enjoyning secrecy. The import was that Sevagee intended to fall on some Aldeas on the maine in his Government, yett belonging to the Portuguese, and when overcome them resolved for Salsett. Withall he desired halfe a mand of good English powder, and at a distance endeavoured to bee satisfyed if hee might expect any assistance of a few souldiers and a small recruite of other warlike materialls, if hee had occasion; but not urging much, requiring a positive answer, I complimentally promised to serve him in what I could, having kept a good correspondence with him on the score of a good quantity of excellent stones ready cutt and square for faceing which hee hath promised, but the conditions are not yet made; wee shall much want large boates to fetch them. Hee is a Raja that may be

1. F. R., Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 108. Signed by Young, Adams and Coats.
17 March 1669.

made good use of on divers occasions, his Country lyeing so very neere us, and as hee saithe, Sevagee's neighbourhood cannot consist with convenience especially in Salsett. This is but the beginning of our correspondence, I know not what may follow, soe entreat your order how I shall proceed in case hee should demand any assistance from us, and whether I shall proceed to treat with him alone, and thus singly write touching matters of this Import, for I finde many affaires here are to bee managed by myself, wherein tis not proper allwaies to take advice in some matters, when I allwaies desire the opinions of those you have appointed my Councill; who, I presume, somewhat scruple the signing many things they neither understand nor meddle with, belonging more properly to my owne despatches, being matters military and touching the Government, which may bee fitt for mee to give you an account of in general letters." ¹

The
Englishmen
were powerless
to refuse
Shivaji's
demand.

"We have not, neither shall wee, lett goe our privileges by the favour extended to Sevagy Rajah for once, and to him alone, not intending to make it precedentiall; yet there, thought fitt to preserve our honour by giving that which we could not retaine; if hee would deny payment, when wee were not in a capacity to force it, and our necessities depended upon his courtesy, as for wood, etc., which upon a quarrell started, would have bin denied us, as now wee have received it to our greate satisfaction; and there is plea enough to call him to an accompt hereafter; for this or other pretensions...Wee take notice what you say of Essagee. The facing stones hee hath may bee of excellent use; but if you think not fitt to permitt us to deale for them wee forbear. A good quantity wee have allready received." ²

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. 3; F. R. Surat Vol. 105; E. F. 1668-99, p. 222.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. P. 117. 17 April 1669; F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, p. 11 mentions the coming of Yashaji's men to Bombay.

The Surat Council warned Bombay not to be a party in Essagy's quarrels, for 'we have enough to look to our own.' ¹

8. Negotiations suspended

The war which broke out between Shivaji and the Great Mogul, put a stop to the negotiations with the Raja on the restitution of the losses at Rajapur. The Surat Council sent instructions to the Deputy Governor of Bombay in their letter dated 5th March 1670:

"The warr (that) broke out between Sevagy and the Mogull hath putt a check to some overtures which were made to the President of an accomodation with Sevagy touching the Companys demands on him; but we hope they will yet goe forwards and if you heare any further thereof wee desire you to advice us, but wee would not have you appeare too forward lest (lest) you undervallue our pretence and make him coole." ²

9. Shivaji, the neighbour of the English

By the conquest of several castles in the Thana and Kolaba Districts, and the re-capture of Kalian-Bhivandi ³ in March 1670, Shivaji came to possess the mainland opposite Bombay. As the city depended for its provisions, timber and firewood upon the country under Shivaji, the English were compelled to seek his friendship.

"Sevajee is againe become our near neighbour, and recovered from the Mogull many of his castles on the Maine
opposite to us; tis credibly believed that the
Surat alarmed Prince of Orangbaud hath called him in and
asists him with Mony; his progresse is such that the
inhabitants of Surrat are strongly alarrum'd, running out of

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. I, pp. 70 and 77. 28 April and 23rd June 1669.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 2, p. 152. 5 March 1670.

3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 6, pp. 21 and 34 refer to the capture of Kalian.

the towne and hideing their treasure, both Dutch and French keeping armed men for defence of their houses in case of approach to assault the towne; and wee have sent from hence 40 soldiers to secure the Company's estate there, yet we do not think he will adventure soe farr from home but rather make use of his time in regaining as many castles as he can before any strength shall come from the Mogull to oppose him, which cannot be expected untill the rains are past. This his progresse hath caused great disturbances in the neighbouring territories and deprives us at present from commerce with the Maine, and is also a great impediment to carrying on of the Company's investments in Surrat and other places, and a hindrance to the sale of their goods. No moneys are to be procured, the Sherroffs and merchants having hid their treasure." ¹

"We are in very great want of timber of largest sorte as well for the making of carriages as other uses, for those carriages which they send with the guns from England are improper to mount the guns on the bastions. This sort of timber wee must procure from Cullian or Buinde, now in Sevajee's possession." ²

Kalian under
Shivaji

"The supply of timber is so absolutely necessary for the Island that wee would not only have you enter into a correspondence with Sevagees Governor of Cullian for large timber for carriages, but for building of shippes and friggatts also." ³

"Sevajee is our near neighbour, whose designs I will never trust, though I keep a fair correspondence with his Ministers, who are now repossessed of the opposite Maine, for from thence this Island is furnished with its greatest

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 11. 30 March 1670. Bomb. to Persia.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 5. 21 March 1670.

3. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 4. Surat to Bombay. 2nd April 1670.

supplies; wherefore I will add only this injunction, that your care may be the greater to prevent any surprise." ¹

"Wee highly approve what you have enordered Mr. Grigbie to furnish us with timber from Billiapatam and Callecutt, where it may be had good (and) cheape. If wee are well supplied from those parts, our obligations to our lordly neighbours will not be great, for as you observe while the port of Cullian and Buinde hangs in suspence, sometimes in possession of the Mogull and others in the possession of Sevajee, according to the variety of fortune and the motion of their armyes, that port cannot be a staple for merchants, and soe at present wee shall have not occasion to pay any customes at Tanna, but only for the timber wee bring by that passe, and therefore shall not proceed in any treaty about the customes of Tanna, the farmer having a year and a halfe to come before his time is out." ²

The country
round Kalian
was unsettled.

Many Bhandaris of the mainland had settled down in Bombay, but their loyalty was suspected by the English. It was believed that in a war between Shivaji and the English, the Bhandaries would assist the former and thus prove serpents in the bosoms of the English.

"The Bandarines you have before complained off for insolent, disorderly and dangerous fellows, and now their refusing to pay their duties to the Renders of the Arrack renders them more culpable; wherefore wee leave them to your justice and care; and in case they are but a burthen to the Island, it is safer to discharge them, for they are of Sevagees country, *and if he should have any designe against us, they would be snakes in our bosome.*" ³

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 13. 14 April 1670.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 6, p. 23. 12 May 1670. Also Bombay letter of 29th March 1670.

3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, p. 27. 10 July 1670.

10. The English prohibited from supplying war material to Shivaji

The English got a letter or *Nishan* on the 30th of July 1670 from Sultan Muazzam, the Viceroy of Aurangabad. They were ordered to give assistance to a castle of his that was lately besieged by Shivaji's forces, with powder and ammunition, and not to accommodate the people of Shivaji with any manner of warlike provisions. In the consultation held on 3rd August 1670, it was resolved that the advice of the Surat Council should be obtained, "knowing how necessary it is to keep the both of said parties our friends who are so near bordering upon us, and that Savagee at this time possesseth the opposite main, from whence this Island is accommodated with the most of its provisions and other necessities, especially with firewood."¹ This decision was conveyed to Surat on 5th August. In this letter we find an amusing information that the English were asked to assist the Captain of Kerridrug (Kurdudrug) with powder, shot and warlike provisions, 'whereas we advised you, the said castle was taken by Sevagee some months since.'²

The Surat Council held a consultation on 16th August and resolved to postpone a reply to the Prince's *Nishan*.³ Their sentiments were expressed in a letter of the *same* date.

"The importe of the Princes Neshan lies in his desires that you would furnish the Castle of Kerrandrug with amunition and not supply Sevagee with any warlike stores, which admit of noe other construction then that you would joyne with him in the warr against Savagee. Now how

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. I. Pp. 6-7. Cf. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 34; O. C. 3433.
2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 6, Pp. 40-42.
3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 3, P. 79.

it can be safer or prudent for us to engage on either side we leave you to judge. Wherefore, in case you shall judge it necessarie to write an answer to the Prince, we desire you would be cautious how you word it, that you doe not engage yourselves, by any possitive promise, to assist his castles with amunition, for thereby you will ensnare yourselves in greater trouble then at present you may foresee. Let your answer be as oblidginge as can be, but in generall termes" ¹

11. Directors' orders for resettling the Rajapur Factory

"Wee observe what you write concerning your Discourses with Sevagie or his Instruments about sattisfaction for our losses at Rajapore and resetling of a Trade there. Wee hope you have proceeded in a further Treaty with him, in order to the accomplishment thereof, if not done before the receipt hereof, wee desire that in such a way as you shall think most convenient, you further treat with him in order to sattisfaction and resetling of a Factory there. For a settlement there would be convenient for us, *in some other respects as well as for trade* in the Commodities it affords, and being he doth so earnestly invite wee hope it may bee with security, especially if you can obteyne sattisfaction for what hath bin formerly taken from us." ²

Reasons for
a factory at
Rajapur

12. Terms for the treaty

The English were anxious to resettle the factory and hence they had sent a letter to Shivaji, but no reply had been received till 12th July, 1671.

"Wee shall not answere anything to what mentioned about Savagee till wee heare what answere he returned to a

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 44-45.

2. B. P. Unav. IV, p. 139. 23 June 1671. From the Court of Directors to Surat. L. B. IV. P. 462.

former letter sent him by the Deputie Governor, which when received we shall send a copy of both the letters, and then shall proceed according to your instructions, only wee desire to know whither it be expected that Sevagee should make good the kings of Decans, Rustum Jemahs and Timjees debts, they being entered in the accountt sent us; as for what the Rajapore merchants owes, without doubt Sevagee will force them pay it.”¹

Shivaji is represented to slight the English friendship in his reply sent to them on 12th August.

“This serves only to acquaint Your Honour etc. that the Deputy Governor received an answere from Savagee, a coppie of which, alsoe the Deputy Governors letter, Shivaji's letter to the D. Governor. herewith sent you translated into Portuguese by which Your Honour etc. will see how he slights our friendship.

The Deputy Governor hopes that the contents of the letter he wrote Sevagee will be very satisfactory, he having taken the advise of Symon Seron Shamsharan and Ramsynnai, to the style, thereof; it was more significate in its originall in gentu than Ramsynnai (as he declares himselfe) could put it into Portuguese. Wee have nothing else to add concerning this affaيرة untill wee heare further from Your Honour etc.”²

Yet we learn from another letter that his ambassador offered certain terms for the consideration of the Bombay Factors.

“I shall here alsoe declare the chiefe subject he (Shivaji's ambassador) insists on:—(1) He first desires to know what wee demanded; and was answered 32,000 pagodas which (he) thought as too a great summe; his master was able to disburst it when anything of future benefitt might ensue; (2) he mentioned alsoe the building

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105, pp. 184-6. 12 July 1671. Bombay to Surat.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 194 Bombay 12 August 1671.

of a fort in his country in any place, bordring on us to secure a trade to the island from the main and promised all assistance towards it; (3) but his chiefe designe is to procure an aid against Danda Rajapore which he confesses (to be sensible) is not to be effected of, but if granted, his master will contrive how it must be, soe privately per manadged that the Mogull will never have any occation of scenting it, and all the overture he hath hitherto made per what I can gather, were on yours account.

The ambassador haveing bin of late in disgrace with his master for takeing a bribe for a parcell of goods bought per Mr. Ball of Sevagee, hath pitched upon your treaty to regaine his masters favour which makes him very willing to farther your business on our side as much as he can; he is very pressing to have Ramsunay along with him; lest when Sevagee should hear our demands and have noe hopes of our assistance, the Treaty should be broke off." ¹

The Bombay Council conveyed to Surat the news of the negotiations held between themselves and the Maratha ambassador.

"Wee take notice what your Honour etc. write as to our demands on Sevagee; all which hath bin discoursed to his ambassador in that manner that wee have neither given him hopes that wee are easily satisfied, not given him cause to think that we may not be brought to hear of any reasonable treatys the summe of 32,000 Pagoths principal with the interest of 1 p. c. per month for soe many years as that hath bin due, at first startled his ambassador, but he tooke it down in writing and promised to acquaint his master therewith, and referred us to his returne back againe which he hoped would be in 15 or 20 dayes, he being gong to his master upon a late order issued from him contrary to his former intentions or expectations." ²

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 109. P. 9. Bombay 9th September 1671.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 11. Bombay 26 September 1671.

The President and Council at Surat welcomed this move and, to expedite the accommodation, proposed to send Mr. S. Ustick as their representative to Shivaji. The reasons for taking such a step were detailed in their letter of 30 September 1671 sent from the Swally Marine to Bombay.

13. Ustick to be sent as an ambassador

Mr. Stephen Ustick was Secretary to the Bombay Council and in November 1671 he was also made Lieutenant to Captain Shaxton's Company on 4 s. per day. In a few days, he was relieved of the Secretary's office, and entrusted with the work of the embassy to Shivaji. He was recommended to the Company by the Surat Council "as a person who deserves your recommendation and our best respects."¹

The Surat President sent to Bombay the following instructions to be observed by Ustick in his treaty with Shivaji who had sent an invitation to the English to settle at Rajapur.

"We conclude it reasonable in regard your advise that Sevagy hath sent over an Eddy to treat with you, that he be used with the same respects, and to that purpose as also for the more speedy concluding the accomodation between him and us, wee thinke good that *Mr. Stephen*

Shivaji's
ambassador
come to secure
war materials.

Ustick and Ramsany be sent over to him to make knowne our demands and urge the justness thereof; endeavouring by all meanes possible to bring him to some result as to what satisfaction he will give for the losses sustained by his plundering Rajapore, and to the manner how it shall be paid, letting him know if he gives us such encouragement that wee againe settle in his port, he may obtain from

1. F. R. Misc. Vol. 2. Pp. 158-9; O. C. Vol. 32. No. 3594.

us those advantages that other nations doe in whose ports we trade, but we would not positively have them promise him those grenadoes, mortar pieces and ammunition he desires, not absolutely deny him, in regard wee do not think itt

The English
unwilling to
sell guns and
ammunition.

convenient to help him against Danda Rajapore which place, if it were in his possession, would prove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay; and on the other side, our denyall is not consistent at present with our interest, in respect wee beleive the keeping in suspence will bring him to a speedier conclusion of the treaty, hoping thereby to be furnished with those things he desires. Therefore they must use such arguments, as may persuade him to come to a speedy accomodation with us, which is the chiefe intent of our sending them over. *Inclosed we send such instruction as wee call to mind*, if you can add any instructions there unto, wee desire you would not faile to do itt. ¹

"P. S. Wee had almostt forgott to advice that a convenient present be sent to Sevagy by Mr. Ustick and also that he sett out in a handsome euepage befitting the Companys Honour, which wee leave to you to performe as you shall see fitting." ²

14. Instructions to Ustick

Instructions to be observed by Mr. Stephen Ustick in his Treaty with Sevagee, Dated Surat 25 September 1671.

"The confidence wee have of your prudence encourageth us to recommend this affaire to your management wherein you must employ your best care and caution, *for you are to treat with Sevagee, one of the most polliticke princes of these easterne parts*, and for your better direction wee thinke good to give you these following rules.

Shivaji, one of
the most politic
princes.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 87. 30 Sept. 1671.

2. Ibid, 5 October 1671.

At your first address there is noe doubt but he will receive you with all demonstrations of an outward friendship, when you must give him to understand that you are sent by the Governor and Council of Bombay to treat with him and declare the just demands of the Honble. Company, which, if he shall thinke good to grant, he may assure himselfe of all such offices of a friendly correspondence from us as he can in reason expect. If he asks what our demands are you may say wee aske but two things, to witt, an honourable satisfaction for the losses and injuries wee have formerly suffered, and security for the future that such violence and illegall attempts shall never be put upon us.

As to the former, in case he askes what satisfaction wee require, you must tell him that the amount of our losse is 32,000 Pagothaes, of which you may shew him the particulers if he desire it, giving him an account as to the reasonableness of every one of them; wee beleive he will scruple against many of them and will be hardly perswaded to pay soe great a summe, but you must urge that he hath already given full satisfaction to all others who suffered at the same time with us, and if he should deny it to us it would argue the little esteeme he beares of us or the small desire he hath of our friendship for encouraging him the more to tearmes of a reasonable accomodation, you must instance to him the great advantages which the Port of Suratt and many inland cytys of Hindustan, the ports of Carwar, Biliapatan and Callecute and others have received by the English Companys trade, and consequently the vast loss which his ports of Rajapore, &ca., have suffered for want thereof. You must alsoe urge the riches and power of the Honble. Company as alsoe the exact justice and integrety of their dealing, esteem'd and honoured by all nations with whome they commerce. To these you may add their remackable wisdom and moderation, manifest in this to all

the world, that notwithstanding they had many opportunities and sufficient power to revenge themselves of the injuries received, by seising of the shippes and subjects belonging to the said Sevagee, whereby they might have paid themselves to the full with advantage whatsoever damage they have received, yet they have hitherto forborne repaireing themselves in this nature. Out of hopes that Sevagee would at length consider his owne advantage, and of himselfe without force propose tearmes of peace, which seeing he hath thought good at last to resolve on, the Governor and Councell are willing to deferr those orders which they have received for endeavouring restitution of their injuries susteyned, till they understand what course Sevagee will take to give them satisfaction; for the effecting whereof the more speedily you must order Ramsinay to certifie him in plaine tearmes, that untill restitution be made the English will never settle at Rajapore, and that you have positive order to end and determine that affaire before you can heare or treat of any other particu^{er} with him.

Moderation of
the English in
not seizing
Shivaji's ships.

After those and such like arguments have been deliberately and calmly debated 'tis probable you may come to some issue: if you find him to scruple the payment of soe great a summe, you may order Ramsinay privately to demand how much he is willing to allow, and which way he intends to pay it, whether all in money, or part in money and part in the customes (which soe soone as you understand, you must send advise thereof with all speed possible to the Deputy Governor and Councell of Bombay to be transmitted to us). But that the expectation of farther order from us might not put a demur to the Treaty with him wee thinke good to let you know that if you can bring him to allow (blank) Pagothaes, wee should be content, provided it be paid in ready money or in some other effectuall manner, where wee

Minimum
compensation.

cannot give any positive direction since wee know not what he will propound.

As to the second part, to wit, security for our future trade in case wee seize at Rajapore, you must demand what course he will take; wee herewith send you certaine articles, which after you are agreed as to the matter of satisfaction you may propose, but not till that be concluded on.

Articles for
the security of
trade.

'Tis probable that Sevagee will demand of you that wee should assist him against Danda Rajapore, with men, gunns, morterpeeces and amunition.

To this you must answer that as to matter of engaging with or assisting him in his warrs, he cannot with reason expect it from us, who are merchants and have a great estate of the Honble. Comapany's and a vast trade in all his dominions but you may give him this assurance in generall that

Assistance
aganist Danda
Rajapuri.

when a firme peace is concluded with him he need not want anything that England affords, and in this you must be carefull that you doe not positively promise nor positively deny him any thing, but onely in genrall tearmes you may promise him the same advantages with the Mogull and other princes with whome wee traffique, enjoy from us. ¹

15. Ustick's departure postponed

In spite of these instructions, Ustick could not leave for Rairi. The reasons for delaying his departure were given in a letter from Bombay to Surat, dated 23 October 1671.

"There are four reasons that as yet wee have not dispeeded Capt. Ustick. The first is his owne indisposition; the second, wee cannot at peresent learne where Sevagee is; the third wee are informed his Embassador is come as farr as Chawle towards us; and the 4th is, wee have not anything fitting to present him withall here, therefore desire wee may be furnished

with a befitting present from you, by which time wee hope all the other obstacles will be remooved. " ¹

" As to Lieut. Usticks going to Sevagee, whose journey wee conclude necessary to detard till (wee?) hear once againe from Sevagee, his embassador haveing wrote Ram Sinai that he will be here in 5 or 6 days and then they may both goe together; by which time alsoe wee may be furnished with a present from Surratt befitting a person of Sevagees quality, there (?) being nothing procurable here for such designe and the Hon'ble Company hath nothing but course cloth and sword blades in their warehouse. ²

The Surat Council sent to Bombay a present consisting of a few articles, as two scarlet pieces, five long swords, two mirrors, some tweezers and pamarins. ³ Ustick was to be instructed to offer this present after the success of the negotiations.

" We have by the *London* sent you a present for Sevagy of considerable vallue, perticulars whereof are expressed in
Presents for Shivaji.
 invoice. So much as you thinke good thereof you may send with Mr. Ustick, the rest reserve by you. But our opinions are that it is not fitting to give any present to him untill a finall determination of the business with him be made, least (lest) after he hath received it, it should not be concluded, which would be a dead loss to the Company and dishonour also." ⁴

On reconsideration, the Council cancelled its previous order, because "Sevagee being a Prince of an high spirit and puft upp with his late success may understand it as an affront to him, therefore we order that the present be delivered him at Mr. Ustick's first appearance, which we hope will convince

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P. 25.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106, p. 22. 13 Oct. 1671.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. 7th November 1671.

4. F. R. Misc. Vol. 2. P. 118. 1st November 1671.

him of the candour of our dealing and cause him to put a greater value on our Friendship." In case of failure in his mission "wee desire he (Ustick) would take his leave of his proceedings; notwithstanding what passes, wee desire you to continue a faire understanding outwardly with him."¹

"This goes per our Scrivan Ram Sanay; whom wee have sent per the pressing importunity of Sevagees ambassador;

Ram Shenvi
sent to Surat
for more
instructions.

who is returned with order from his master to treat with the President and Councill, and was very earnest to goe to Surratt in compliance with said order, proffering to goe as a private man or Fuckear (Fakir=a beggar) rather than not goe at all; but wee have at last persuaded him to stay (till?) the returne of Ram Sunai; who is made acquainted per him with what his master expects; whereby your Honour etc. will finde the chiefest designe of makeing peace with us, is in hopes of an underhand assistance against Danda Rajapore and till something of that is granted, he will not pay a penny; wee doubt not but Ram Sanai will give your honour etc. soe much satisfaction as to gaine an approvall of his comeing; for he hath had severall dayes discourse with the ambassador and our order, wee not being able to doe it ourselves wanting a linguist; and the Deputy Governor is sick; if your Honour etc. approve of spareing Sevagee 3 or 4 great gunns, he sayes he will finde Portuguese that shall buy them of us; as if for their owne use; and soe our name not brought in question. Girder informes us that the place on maine he proffers us over against the port, would be great proffitt for the Company; for they may have all sorts of Decan goods that way paying easy costomes; if wee did buy for one yeare all sorts of commodities that were for our turne; though wee paid some with dearer than in other ffactorys, it would be a meanes of drawing great trade to those parts in a small time; wee need not add any

1. O. C. Vol 32. No. 3688. 30 November 1671.

thing more as to the business, but refer you to Ramsunai who we desire you to returne with speed; that soe Lieut. Ustick and he may returne with Sevagees embassador for Raire." ¹

"Wee shall accordingly as formerly advised keepe Captain Ustick and the present till Ramsenwees returne and then follow what farther order wee shall receive per him." ²

The Surat Council sent to Bombay the following reply on 30th Nov. 1671.

"Ram Sinay brought us your letter of the 8th current and hath in private discoursed with us, (as to) what Sevagee by the messenger last sent, proposes to us by Shivaji's terms unacceptable. way of accommodation and what he demands from us in order to the supply of his warr against Danda Rajapore, in both which wee find soe great subtilly, selfe-policy and unsecure inconstancy on his part, and soe great difficultys and apparent hazard on the Company to deale with him on these tearmes, that wee begin to dispare of bringing the business to any issue in the way it is now carried, and it was put to the question whether wee should proceed on a further treaty with him or no; but for that it might not be laid to our charge that wee have fayled on our side, wee thinke good to continue our order for Mr. Ustick to proceed with Ram Sinai and and doe confirme our former resolution, that till the matter of satisfaction for the Companys and nations former losses be first determined, wee cannot with honour or safety consede to anything which he proposeth, for that is the groundworke on which wee must build our future correspondence with him, which if he will not yield unto, all treatys with him are in vaine; and from this judgement wee may not

Reparations
essential.

1. O. C. 3589; F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fols. 32-3. Bombay 9th November 1671.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 40. Bombay 24th November 1671.

recede without apparent prejudice to our masters interest and our owne reputation.

Wee observe you are under a mistake in two things:— first in overweening and putting too great a vallue on the proffer which he makes of a place on the maine, where he flatters you with a permission to build a castle for the security of our trade. Itt appears to us a polliticke cheat to defer us totally of all hopes of ffurther satisfaction for our past losses. You seeme to us (building on Girders opinion) to be fond of this place, as what may tend to the Companys future profit; wee soe farr as wee yett can apprehend thereof, are of a contrary opinion, judgeing that it may rather eclipse then advantage the growth of the island Bombay, for us to settle on any place on the maine soe neare itt, for the trade will certainly be all carried thither; whereas otherwise itt will be brought to the island; besides wee can no way admitt of putting the Company to the charge of building a fforte or house there for the constant expence thereof will be insupportable and render all goods that shall be very deare; however though the advantages thereof may appeare in tyme, yett it is prudence in us at this conjuncture, to tell him now wee have (no) occassion of any of his ports, but rather as wee have done hitherto so many yeares; that wee shall by good providence continue still to live without him.

Place on the
main not
wanted.

Bombay
officers warned
to be cautious
in dealing with
Shivaji.

The second mistake that you are in, appears in your undervalueing our owne condition as to wood. Sevagees officers have, it seems in noteable pollicy, given the Deputy Governor to understand our great want thereof; but the Deputy Governor might have answered that wood growes in other places adjacent as well as in his country, from whence the island may be supplied though with a little more charge, and that Sevagee vessells would serve very well to bring it to us. In fine as wee before cautioned, you have to deale with the most pollitique people of all these

parts who make a notable observation of the least things which may accidentally passe from you in discourse, which may turne to their advantage and therefore you must be very wary of what passes in talke from you, that may tend to the weakening of our cause or lessening our reputation and this caution wee doe more especially recommend to Mr. Ustick who will be often engaged in discourse with Sevagee and his people touching these and other matters, and therefore wee advise him to apply such answeres as may most preserve our credit and not give Sevagee occasions to undervallue us." ¹

Shivaji's envoy brought some samples of cloth from the prize goods of Surat for giving these to the English in compensation for their losses and expressed the desire to sell the same at Bombay.¹ The Council, having asked the advice of their superiors at Surat on this matter, were replied to as follows:—

"Wee have seen the musters which Ram Sinay hath brought up belonging to Sevagees envoy which are prize goods of Suratt, to witt cuttanees (katanis), Romalls; and no ways proper for the Comany to deale in but in regard wee presume Sevagy hath no ready money to spare if he will pay us in those goods what shall be agreed on to be due for satisfaction of our former losses, wee thinke good that Mr. Ustick accept thereof, taking care that they be not overrated but cheap and good in their kind, wherein its necessary that he have some Banyan to assist him." ²

The Bombay Council sent a reply on 15th December, 1671.

"We take notice what your Honours, etc. resolucons

1 and 2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 7, Surat to Bombay 30th November 1671.

are as to the treaty with Sevagee and shall proceed according to your orders therein but Sevagees ambassador haveing brought 600 rupees worth of cloth of severall sorts which he pertended he did only doe to continew the treaty,

Reasons for
postponing
Ustick's
departure.

his master having as he saith our resolve to send him one more if he had not found out your contrivance and that wee will not take them off his hands at his owne price doth very much anger him, and he denys to goe with Lieut. Ustick; moreover he tells us that his master was gone his progress and now not easily to be found or treated with; and wee, though we have enquired, cannot as yet learne his present residency which hath forced us to detard the dispatching of the Lieut. till wee can receive an answer from him, haveing wrote to him our intentions of sending an ambassador to treat with him according to his former desire; it may probably be that (per?) accident Lieut. Ustick may not set out till an answere may be returned to yours; if soe then wee desire to know wheather your Honour etc. would have us deteyne the Lieut. till the ambassadors departure or noe when Sevagees ambassador hinted our want of wood he had his answere how and where it might be fetched; as to the place proffered on the maine, wee shall neither argue for or against it, but referr it to Your better judgement.

Lieut. Ustick when he goes; shall be furnished with a handsome present for the Rajay out of those perticulars sent downe per the London. Wee have acquainted him what with farther advice in your letter." ¹

"Yours of the 15th passed month wee received the 27th Ditto and therein take notice that Sevagys ambassador seems to be much concernd that you will not take off his hands those 6,000 (?) rupees worth of goods that he brought allong with him to dispose of; they being

Goods not
bought from
Shivaji's
ambassador.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 106 Fo^l. 56. 15 December 1671.

not comodity proper for the Honourable Companys use, wee cannot answer the buying of them and therefore you did well notwithstanding his anger to refuse them. If the Embassador absolutely denys to proceed allong with Mr. Ustick, lett him goe without him when you will be certainly assured that Sevagy is returned from his progress and has took up his residence in some one of his castles."¹

16. Ustick's Journey to Rairi

Lieut. Ustick was to start on his journey to Rairi on 15th January, 1672, but was detained by Shivaji's message that on account of his war with the Mogul he would not be at his capital. After a month "Sevagee by an Envoy desired that an Ambassadour might be sent from hence to treat with him about the losses at Rajapore. The President, upon application formerly to him, ordered about 700 Rupees to be provided for a present for him and Mr. Stephen Ustick to proceed as Ambassadour, and that the value of 600 rupees should be sent to him as a present and 150 rupees amongst his officers and servants, according to the discrision of Mr. Ustick, and that 10 Bandarins should wait on him as his guard, with two Englishmen and a couple of horses and cooleys for his pallankeen, and 200 rupees in money."²

"Wee wish Leiut. Ustick good success in his journey and treaty with Sevagy *and would have his going kept as private as possible*, and give it out that he is to treat about nothing but the recovery of our losses received at Rajapore and the redemption of the hoigh, that no jealousy may possess this kings ministers to our prejudice."³

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 14. Surat 1st January 1672.

2. F. R. Misc. Vol. 2, P. 138. Bombay Consultation 22 Feb. 1672.

Cf. Bombay letters of 13th January and 20th January 1672 to Surat.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, Fol. 23. Swally Marine 1st. March 1672.

"Mr. Ustick sets forward with Sevagees Ambassadors tomorrow; the charges of the present and his expences we compute will amount to 1000 rupees; by our next we shall send you a list of our presents.

Savagee we hear is at Recir (?Raيرة), Diller Cka. has, as Savagees Embassador informs us at least 60000 horse and that his master durst not meddle with him; we cannot hear the *news of Moolier* confirmed, tho said Embassador came from Culleen the other day." ¹

Finally, Ustick started on the 10th of March, 1672 on his embassy to Rairi, the castle-capital of Shivaji.

"Besides Savagee haveing generally a great army up and down Callian, it would be necessary to finish our ffront curtaine speedily which at present is very low; and there is noe doubt but as success may make him presumptuous; soe our fort is a great eyesore to him; and Lieut.

Bombay Fort
an eye-sore to
Shivaji.

Ustick went the 10th instant; here inclosed goes copy of his present; the person that came from Savagee declared himselfe alwayes an ambassador; but none we suppose can thinke he let goes for any thing elce than to demand satisfaction." ²

"Lt. Ustick is still at Upper Chaule; wee expect dayly to hear once more of his departure toward Savagee; wee would faine have him procure and admission whatever came of it; for if he will not comply and the Lt. comes back in any time; you may finde his May fleet laden with salt which will be a vast loss to him." ³

17. The Failure of Capt. Ustick

The Bombay Council in their letters to Surat and the Company, dated 14th May, 14th June 1672 and 11th

1. Orme Mss. Vol. 114 Sect. 1. P. 17. Bombay to Surat. 5 March 1672.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 74. 13 March 1672.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 86. Bombay 9th April 1672.

January 1673, related the result of the embassy of Capt. Ustick who had returned to Bombay on the 13th of May 1672 without having succeeded in his mission.

"Yesterday arrived Lt. Ustick from Sevagee, who after a long and tedious attendance had halfe an houres discourse with him and his Bramines to little effect, but at last proffered 5000 pagodas toward our losses, and promiseth if your honour will please to settle a factory at Rajapore to shew all kindness and civility imaginable to the factory and this was all could be got from him; he immediately setting forth with 10000 men one way and Moro Pundit with as many another way; but it is thought may both meet at Surratt; this wee thought fitting to advice, though wee are sencible it is very late in the year for him to goe to that port, yet the Governor of Surratt having soe farr disgusted the merchants as to cause them to make a generall complaint, it is probable (not daring to appear at court) may per the consent of the Prince deliver the towne to Sevagee." ¹

"As to the Treaty with Sevagee, we have made a fair progress in it, having sent Mr. Ustick lately to treat with him in person, by whom he was received with extraordinary respects and outward expressions of much friendship, but as to satisfaction for former damages, the disproportion betwixt our demaunds and what he pretends to have taken from us is soe great that we shall hardly come to a right understanding therein. We hope to prevaile with him for some allowance, but now much we cannot assure ourselves off, *his great sucresse haverng made him as high in his owne thoughts as he is reputed in the eye of the world.* We are not wanting to let him know how considerable your power is, and how

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 106, Fol. 105. ~~Bombay~~ 14th May 1672.

advantageous your commerce will be to his Ports, nor doth
 Sevagee need a monitor to tell him the want we have of
 his wood, with which your Island is supplied, and the other
 emoluments you will reape by haveing his Countrey open
 unto you, soe that the benefitts of a fair
 Friendship naturally advantageous. correspondence being reciprocally, there is no
 doubt but we shall close in the end, and
 there is nothing (to?) sticke betweene us
 but ascertaining the summe to be agreed upon for
 satisfaction and the manner how it is to be paid, concerning
 which we hope to give your Honour a more full account
 in our next." ¹

Mr. Ustick was received very kindly by Shivaji himself
 who expressed a great desire to keep friendship with the
 English and to have them back at Rajapur, but great
 difficulties arose on the point of making compensation for
 former damages at Rajapur.

"We demanded one hundred thousand Rupees, they
 offered 20,000, declaring that Sevagee never made more
 advantage by what was robbed of the English; and that
 many particulars entered in our charge did
 no ways concern him; and was taken in the
 chests, trunks and warehouses of particular
 men (English factors) it may be was plundered
 by his soldiers, but he had never anything
 thereof, and therefore would not satisfy for it; but what
 (booty) was received (into his hands) and entered in his
 books, he was willing to restore or make satisfaction for. While
 these things were transacting, Shivaji was engaged in a
 great design against the Cooly (Koli) country, whereupon the
 minister appointed to treat (with Mr. Ustick) being called
 away, Mr. Ustick also returned to Bombay....."

Breakdown of
 the negotiations
 between Ustick
 and the Maratha
 Minister.

We have a hard and ticklish game to play, for the King (Aurangzib) being highly enraged against Sevagee, should he understand that we are in peace or hold any strict correspondence with him, it might probably cause him to order some disturbance to be given to your general affairs, not only in these parts but in Bengal also. On the other hand, we are forced to keep fair with Sevagee also, because from his countries we are supplied with provisions, timber and firewood, and likewise your inhabitants of Bombay drive a good trade into the main (land), which would be a great prejudice to your island if it were obstructed. On these considerations, we judge it your interest to suspend the treaty at present as to public fame, tho' privately if we can end it to your advantage we shall.....We shall have great difficulty to recover anything for those gentlemen (i. e., English factors) who suffered particularly in that loss at Rajapore, for Sevagee, it seems by the merchants of Rajapore, hath understood what did belong to the Company and what to particular men; the latter he disownes totally...Had it not been for our standing on some satisfaction for them, we had ended the dispute before now, but your interest and good of the island will put a necessity on us to bring it now to some speedy issue at the best terms we can, for in cases of this nature particular concerns must not interpose to the prejudice of the public. " 1

"The difference with Sevagee wee have brought to a fair way of finishing, having formerly sent Mr. Ustick on the said subject; but for severall reasons, could not accomplish anything. But since he having sent two envoys with a letter, wee doubt not but to bring this business to a fair understanding agreeable to our demands and your satisfaction." 2

Reasons for
postponing the
treaty.

Two envoys
from Shivaji.

1. O. C. No. 3722; F. R. Bombay Vol. 6. 21 December 1672.
Bombay to the Company.

2. B. P. Unav. Vol. 5; O. C. 3741. 11 January 1673.

18. Shivaji's envoys

After the return of Mr. Ustick, Shivaji sent his envoy to the Bombay Government for further negotiations, but on account of the rumoured invasion of Bombay by the Dutch, the English were not in a mood to discuss matters with the ambassador.

Finally, on 10th February 1673 "the envoy was received by the Governour and after he had delivered a letter and a present consisting of some small peeces of stuff, he was dismiss'd, in regard the hott discourse of the Dutch coming did not permitt time to treat; but he pressing earnestly for an answer to the letter and that he might give his master some account of his transactions at his returne, he was this day admitted to a hearing, when, after much debate, he proposed only the value of 7000 Pagothas, which he said his Master would satisfie to the Company, either in money or custome of goods, which being debated in Counsell

7000 pagodas
offered, but not
accepted.

It was resolved that, in regard the Envoy pressed earnestly for a speedy dispatch in reference to his masters order about other affaires, that this present was not consistent with the Companys interest to conclude the Treaty, for that the Envoy took advantage of our present warr with the Dutch.

Whereupon ordered that the Treaty should be at present suspended and that a civill letter should be wrote to Seavagee, giving him the reason why wee cannot as yet conclude, declaring that after the noyse of the Dutch fleete is over, wee would againe renew the Treaty. That the Envoy be at his dispatch gratified with a small present in regard of the trouble and charge he hath bin at in coming twice over about this business and to keepe him our freind for

Suspension of
negotiations.

the better conclusion thereof to the Companys advantage." ¹

While the old differences had not been made up, a fresh cause of quarrel arose in the plunder of the English Factory at Hubly.

19. Sack of Hubli, 1673

The Maratha forces under the celebrated general, Prataprao Gujar, made an incursion into the Carnatic, captured several forts and plundered many rich towns. Hubli, a mart of very considerable trade, ² was looted in April for several days, and vast riches were carried away from there. The account of the plunder of the town and of the English factory in particular is given in the lengthy letters of 14th and 18th June.

"In our last wee advised your honour etc. of Sevagy's haveing robbed Hubely, and herewith goes a particular account of what the Hon'ble Company have lost there, amounting to Pags Sangare ³ 7894; 32, which wee shall charge to his account in our Books and transferr his account to account current, hopeing it may prove noe desperate debt; if your Honour etc would please to call him to account for it, otherwise you may expect more of the like nature from others as well as he, and bid adue for ever manapeing a trade in Decan, with any credit; it being imagined in those parts, that it's only feare of him that hath kept your Honour etc. soe long from taking sattisfaccon of him for Rajapore business, which hath made the Hon'ble Companys power very much under-valued, soe that now every pitiful Governor thinks he may fleece us like patient sheep...it being now commonly retorted to

The English Company's loss at Hubli.

The English prestige lowered.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 1, Pp. 10 and 23. 4 Jan. 1673; 13 Feb, 1673. Cf. 11 Jan. 1673. Bomb. to Co.
2. O. C. 3779. Orme Mss 114. 2, p. 68.
3. One Sungar Pag.=8 s. 9 d. and 1 Pag=48 juttals.

any one that talks of the Companys power what have they done to Sevagy and from thence they conclude that any one that hath an opportunity, may safely pillfer us without being afterwards questioned for itt.....

Wee have lost severall things of our owne and the Brokers, in the robbing of Hubely which together amounts to about rupees 5,200, the which wee hope

Private losses
of the English.

your Honour etc, will be pleased to insert alsoe in your demands to Sevagy, that when the

Hon'ble Company receives satisfaction for theirs, wee may alsoe for ours. Had it not been for Mozeffer Ckauns advancing with 4 or 5, 000 horse for the succour of the towne, Sevagys forces had left nothing behind them; but upon their approach they all retired, with what they had ready packt up, leaving severall goods out in the streets which they had not time to carry away, yet they escaped clear with what they had got, Mozaffor Ckaune, missing them but by one days way, since which (upon what discontent wee know not ¹) the other lords that were under his command and most of his owne souldiers, have all forsooke him; and he is fallen into disgrace; all his country being taken from him, but what he keeps now per force,

Rebellion of
Muzaffar Khan,
the saviour of
Hubli.

and he not knowing how to bear it, hath putt him in desperate designes and hurried him into rebellion and though his forces at present are but small, yet he hath gotten a very strong Castle, called *Billgom* (*Belgaum*) where he resides; besides, these countrys between Goa and Canara, which are of reasonable strength, he having upon the first of his rebellion, secured them by sending a new Governor hither." ²

On receiveing intimation of the loot of the Hubly Factory the Bombay Council held a consultation and recorded the following opinion on 14th May:—

1. Sarkar suggests that he was suspected of having entered into a secret understanding with the Marathas.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fols. 137-138. Carwar 14 June 1673.

"Wee having received letters from Carwarr intimating the great troubles which are lately occasioned by Sevagees army down that coast, and that Sevagee hath taken

Embargo laid
on a Rajapur
ship for losses
at Hubly.

Hubely, wherein were some considerable estate of the Companys and in all probability plundered and taken away by him; this day (14th May) coming in by stress of weather a vessell laden from Muscatt belonging to Rajapore, one of Sevagees sea port townes, a motion was thereupon made whether the Hon'ble. Company should lay an imbargo on her on account of their demands of Sevagee or no? After serious debate agreed in the affirmative, that the Honble Company should lay an imbargo on the said vessell and secure the goods that they might not be imbezelled untill satisfaction was given by Sevagee." ¹

On the same day a letter was sent to Surat conveying to the President their views on the subject.

"Wee may soe farr as in us lies take care of the securing of the Companys estate which wee have thought good to send *Voggee* (Vaghji) our Broker, with a letter to Sevagee, to demand what damages his army hath done to the Companys estate at Hubely, which if he doth not immediately grant, and give us some security that wee may be free from such disturbances hereafter, wee judge, it will be in vaine to dally any longer with him, but must take some smart course to revenge the wrongs which wee have received and to do the Co. and Nation right." ²

The news of the capture of a ship belonging to the Rajapur port was conveyed by the Council to Surat on 15th May.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 1, p. 47. Bombay Consultation, 14 May 1673.

Cf. O. C. 3779 Bombay Occurrences, 14th May 1673.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 109, Bombay 14 May 1673.

"Yesterday was likewise forced in by stress of weather a vessell belonging to Rajapore, laden from Muscatt, wee
 A ship captured have thought good to lay an embargo on her on account of the Companys demands on Sevagee and hope it will be a meanes to hasten the treaty of peace between us and him, touching the old demands and what damage he may have since done the Company at Hubely, touching which (we?) are now intending to send Mr. Nicolls up to debate with Sevagee, for the more speedy bringing that affaire to some good issue." ¹

Instead of
 Vaghji Niccolls
 to be sent to
 Shivaji.

The reason of preferring Niccolls is recorded in the Bombay Consultation of 16th May 1673. "A Banian will not dare declare our minds to Sevagee with that freeness and effect as an Englishman would." Hence Mr. Thomas Niccolls was to be sent to Shivaji to renew the treaty and demand satisfaction for losses sustained at Rajapur and Hubly. ²

The Surat Residency confirmed the decisions of the Bombay Council in deputing Mr. Niccolls and in resorting, if occasion required, to force against Shivaji.

"Severall affaires presenting from Bombay by their letters of the 14 and 17 current wherein they desire our advice. The Councill mett to consider and determine thereon. The first is concerning that *grand rebell Sevagee* by whome the Honorable Company and their servants are soe great sufferers by his robbing their factory of Rajapore 13 years past, to whom having made severall overtures for satisfaction for the damages, could never yet bring him to any termes of reason, but on the contrary, doth persist in his villanies, having lately robd our factory in

No satisfaction
 from Shivaji
 for 13 years.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 106, Fol. 108, Pombay 17 May 1673.
 2. F. R. Bombay Vol. I. P. 48.

Hubely to the Honourable Companys very considerable
 loss at such time when wee were in treaty
 with him. The President and his Councell
 finding how vaine all their treatys have
 proved and how prejudiciall our forbearance
 of taking satisfaction from him by force hath bin to us;
 encouraging the Mallabares and others to abuse us in our
 trade on the score of our good nature; have determined
 once more to send Mr. Thomas Nicolls
 with a Bannian broker to make a finall
 demand of the damage done us at Rajapore,
 and now lately by his forces at Hubely,
 and if he comes not to a speedy accomodation, they
 desire our advice, if it be not high time to proceed
 against him by force to recover the Company and nations
 right and honour which our forbearance thus long hath
 greatly impaired. Wee having deliberately
 debated the reasons and circumstances of
 this affaire and finding that the fort is of
 sufficient defence against any force hee may bring against
 it and that the Island may have supplys from other
 parts, without absolute dependance on his country and
 that the keeping him from the salt trade, which by his
 vessells he must fetch out of Bombay, will soon bring
 him to tearmes of peace. Wee doe conclude that 'tis
 absolutely necessary to breake with him, but not at this
 time, when wee have warr with the Dutch, but so soone
 as that shall be ended, if in the meane time he gives us
 not sufficient and reasonable satisfaction for our losses
 and security not to interrupt our trade hereafter." ¹

A letter containing the proceedings of the Consultation
 was sent to Karwar. It gave a great satisfaction to the Factors
 there. They approved of the strong measures taken and to

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Part III, Fol. 16. Surat 25th May 1673. O. C. Vol.
 34. No. 3788.

be adopted in future against Shivaji for forcing compensation from him, and added a few more details of the plunder of their factory.

“ Since writing the foregoing lines (vide letter of 14th June) wee received yours of the 24th May and are very glad to see your Honours etc.'s resolution of calling Sevagy to account, both for what the Honb'le Company have lately lost at Hubely, as also for former scores, for till the Hon'ble Company's reputation be recovered againe by some action that may make every one sensible that they will not be abused but are well able to right themselves, wee shall continually be subject to the like affronts from others as well as him. As for what your Honour etc. enorders us for the expostulating with the commanders of Sevagy's forces to see, if wee could gett them to restore what his men have taken away from the Hon'ble Company, it cannot be done, they be now fled wee know not whether (wither); and were they nigh at hand, know their masters minde too well to be persuaded out of anything they have gott possession off, unless wee could be content to take good words for payment. They cannot pretend that they know not our house at Hubely, but it was robbed in the crowd among the rest; for it was the first house they went to, and the Company's broadcloth was brought out into the Bussarr (Bazar), before the commander-in-chief, whose name was Pratabrow, and the house all dugg up to looke for money and a great search and enquirie made for our Broker or his man; thinking if they could have gott them, to have discovered where the money was hid, for these people always imagine wee are never without great summes of ready money in our house.....

“ We take notice of your Honours etc. having laid

an embargo on a ship belonging to Rajapore, on account of your demands from Sevagy, and question not but you will find that without such manner of proceedings your embassages will availe but little more then good words and faire promises; it being a thing as yett unknowne to Sevagy to make restitution, till he be forced to itt. What Rajapore ships that are now abroad are mostly gone to Mocha, soe that if your Honours etc. intends anything against them, your vessells must be out betimes, or else they will miss them.....Sevagys forces had undoubtedly invaded these partes, had not Bullull Ckaune pressed soe hard upon them. 5 or 6,000 men being gott together upon the frontiers for that intent, but now they are all retired to defend their owne. For the future we hope your Honour will be pleased to allow some few English soldiers here, and some small Gunners to mount upon the house that wee may be able to defend ourselves upon any occasion that may happen.

Robbed by Seragy att Hubuly the following goods which were for the account of the Hon'ble English East India Company.

April the 16th, 1673.

Plates of copperware by estimation	83 $\frac{1}{4}$	P. J.
Mds. 21 jutts. per maund	Pag. Sung. =	369-20
Broad cloth 323 peeces in yds	6783 at	
one pag. per yard		6783-0
Sovaguzzees browne cor	12: 5 at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	
pags. per corge		115-15
Scarlett 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pags. per yard		85-36
Dungarees Browne cor	13-3 at pags.	
5:24 per corge		72-15
Gunny 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ Corge at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pags. per corge		71-12
Pepper Candys 4: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ mds. at pags.		
20 per candy		85-24

Lead 76 piggs is $9\frac{3}{4}$ piggs wide by estimation	93-38
candys 5:12 mds at pags. 16: 36 per candy	
B: No. 2 corge 3: 13 ps at 7: 24	27-18
Guinia Buffts cor 3 at 6 pags. per corge	18
Niccanes 1 cor: 4 ps. at $8\frac{1}{2}$ pags. "	10-10
Redd Cotton Yearne for to put the Dungarees	
ends 15 mds at 6 pags. per maund	90
Paper 11 reames	11
Soape 36 mds. at 20 juttals per maund	15
Allom 11 maunds at $\frac{3}{4}$ pag. per maund	8-12
Packing thread 11 maunds	5-24
Ropes $1\frac{1}{2}$ Candys	5
Ready money in the house in pice and pags.	
and taken from the Brokers man being	
seized by Sevagees men	30

Amounts ¹ to pags. 7894-32

20. Embassy of Thomas Niccolls to Shivaji

It has been seen that Niccolls was proposed to be sent to Shivaji as an ambassador of the English to demand satisfaction for losses at Hubli and for those at Rajapur. On account of the continuous wars, the English could not pay a visit to Negotam (Negothana) and Junner and find out their utility for establishing factories at these places. This task as well as that of information regarding the movements of the Maratha and Mogul armies ² was entrusted to Niccolls. He actually started with a party from Bombay, but on reaching the mainland, he found the armies of

1. O. C. Vol. 34. No. 3800. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Pp. 137-142; Carwar 18 June 1673. 48 Juttals made one pag.
2. O. C. Vol. 34. No. 3784. 1 May 1673.

Shivaji and the Mogul lying near each other. It was thought that he would be running a great hazard in his journey, as the people would suppose him to be a spy in favour of the Siddi. Therefore he was called back to Bombay by the Council. ¹

In a week the Council changed its mind and deputed Niccolls as their ambassador to Shivaji. He was given the following instructions on the business to be transacted at Rairi.

"Instructions ² for Mr. Thomas Niccolls to be observed in his Treaty with Sevagee, given him in Bombay the 17th day of May 1673.

The occasion of this your present journey to Sevagee is to treat with him and receive his answers touching severall matters of import.

Severall overtures of treaty hath passed betwene us for the accomodating and reconciling the former difference caused by the violence which he hath used to this Companies estate at Rajapore. Touching which wee were neer come to a conclusion, he having sent one of his Envoyes hither, by name Pillagee, on purpose to bring it to an issue; but the Dutch fleete under Reickloff Van Goens arriveing just at that time, forced us to suspend the treaty until a better opportunity, when it was agreed between us that after the departure of the Dutch shipp[s], Pillagee[e], on advise from us, should returne hither to prosecute and conclude the Treaty. Now so it hath happened that notwithstanding severall letters hath been sent for Pillagee, he hath not appeared nor returned any answer, but we have received a kind letter from Sevagee himselfe, wherein he seems very desirous to conclude the Treaty, and sayes he hath given Pillagee full instructions to make an end and

Account of
Pillagee's
embassy.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. I, p. 46. 10. May 1673.

2. O. C. 3786; also O. C. 3784.

determine the said controversy with us. Since which another unhappy accident hath succeeded,

Hubli
plundered.

for by letters lately received from Carwar, we are given to understand that Sevagees army having surprized and ransacked the city of Hubely, therein hath seized and plundered a considerable parte of the Companyes estate, the perticulars whereof wee have not as yet. Wherefore this new act of violence succeeding the former, gives us reason to suspect that his intentions may be still ill towards us. And for the better understanding what his designe is, wee have thought good

Restitution of
plundered
estate.

to send you up to discourse with him, as well to demand satisfaction for the former injury. As for his last act of violence at Hubely, you may tell him wee have a better opinion of him then to think it was done by his order. If so, you may tell him tis our desire and we do expect he doe immediately make restitution of what hath been plundered from the English if he doth desire to keepe freindshipp with us; but if otherwise, wee desire to know his mind that wee may take a course some other wayes to doe the Company and nation right.

You are earnestly and resolvedly to press for his resolution to this demand before you admitt of any Treaty concerning the former business. And

A Rajapur ship
detained.

you are further to give him to understand that a vessell belonging to Rajapore bound for Muscatt, being driven into this Port, wee have thought good to lay an embargo on the vessell and goods till wee receive his answeare touching this business of Hubely. You may further discourse with him as occasions

Siddi's fleet
not to winter
in Bombay.

serves what hath passed between his enemy Sidye and us, and that wee have not admitted his wintering here, to lett him see that wee doe not concern ourselves in the quarrell betwixt them, and that wee doe not give him

further assistance then the pure necessity and freindshipp to the Mogull requires us, as our present affaires stands, nor shall wee give him further except Sevagee provokes us to the contrary.

You are further to give him to understand that upon the confidence wee had of a good conclusion of the former Treaty betweene us, wee gave permission to severall merchants belonging to this Port to send a fleet of vessells laden with salt for the supply of his country, which wee understand to be a great office of kindness and freindshipp to him, seeing he could not possilbly be supplied by any other meanes; but the said merchants hath presented unto us many complaints that the Haveldars and Governors of the said Porte wherein the salt was unladen doe refuse to pay the money due for the said salt which proceeding wee doe not any wayes understand and esteeme it as a breach of the friendshipp, for that they promised to pay halfe the money in Bombay before the fleete went and the other halfe at the delivery of the salt, but they have totally broke their contract. Wherefore our desire and expectation is that he doth give order to the said Haveldars and Governors to make speedy satisfaction for the said salt, if, he doth desire to keepe amity with us or to be ever againe supplied with the like kindness.

These particulars wee would have you represent unto him in a fair and discreete way, and desire his speedy answere. And in case he gives you reasonable satisfaction that he intends freindshipp and amity with us, you may then move touching the sending of Pillagee hither againe for the concludeing of the former Treaty and setling a future correspondence with us. Wee herewith deliver unto you letters to Sevagee, Annagee Pundett and to Pillagee, which you are to

Salt fleet from
Bombay ill
treated at
Rajapur.

The Envoy to
be invited, if
Shivaji well
disposed for
friendship.

deliver to them with your owne hands and to procure an answere thereunto with all speed.

In case Sevagee himselfe be not there, you are to apply yourself to his sonn or whoever is chiefe in command and to endeavour that you may gaine a speedy dispatch and returne againe unto us before the raines are sett in and you are to advise by all conveyance what you shall learne worthy our notice. Soe comending you to the Almightyes protection and remaine

Your loving Friends.

Bombay, 17th May 1673.

The merchants of this Island are often troubled with the renders of the maine who demaunds coustome of the firewood that is brought hither; wherefore you may endeavour to get his *Cowl* or order that he take noe custome here for such things, nor timber, for he payes noe custome here for such things. But if they make us pay custome, they must expect the like from us. You may also inquire what customes they will take for the passage of goods through his Country to the Mogull or Decan Country and to gett his order to the Haveldares for their passage at the lowest rate you can."

Settle tolls on
goods from
Bombay
through
Shivaji's
country.

21. Diary of Thos. Niccolls 1673

Niccolls left Bombay on the 19th of May 1673, and wrote an interesting diary of his journey to Rairi and of the interviews he had with Sambhaji and Shivaji.

"Having received orders and instructions from the Honble. Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay and President of India, &c. to treat with and demand satisfaction of Sevagee for plundering the Honble Companys Factory of Hubely, as also the old business of Rajapore.

1673 May the 19th. Being Whitsun Munday I departed from Bombay with Samgee, a Banyan and his servant and two servants of my owne and two Peons and six Banderiens and four and twenty Coolies, (in all 37 persons, to goe to Raiery hill where Sevagee ordinarily resides, and about midnight we landed at Neguttanna (Nagothna), a towne at the head of a fine river in Sevagees Countrey, where wee stayed that night.

20th May. Having wrote to his Honour and sent the boate back again, wee came in. Wee proceeded on our journey and left a towne called Polly (Pali) on our right hand, and not farr from it on our left hand a hill called Sier Gurr (Surgad), which Siddy Sambole long kept from Sevagee (though in the middle of his countrey), but at last was forced to quitt it, not receiving recruit from the Sidy of Danda Raspoory. About two a clock wee reached a little towne seated by a river. The townes name is Cooluck (?) where wee boated and travelled about six miles farther and lay that night at Colloone (Kalwana).

21st May. This day wee travelled in the raine and about noon reached a towne called Pawnoosa (Panas) where we dined, and a little before night we came to Raiery,¹ a miserable dirty towne at the foot of the hill of Raiery Gurr, where wee understood that Sevagee was gone on a piece of devotion, as he gave out, to wash his body in Tanck about two daies journey of, and that he would returne in a few daies. I judge Raiery to be 30 miles from Neguttanna.

22nd May. I sent up the hill to Sumbagee Rajah, Sevagees Sone, for leave to goe up the hill to speake with him in his fathers absense, who presently gave order to his fathers guard to let me come up, but it rained soe hard all this day that wee could not goe.

1. It has been called Pachad in other documents.

23rd May. In the morning wee went up that steep hill, where in many places there are staires made, and going into the gate the staires are cut out of the firme rock. Where the hill is not

Description
of Rairi
castle.

naturally strong; there they build walls of about 24 foot high, and within 40 foot of the first wall there is another such a wall, that if the ennemy should gaine one, they have another to beate him out, soe that if the hill be furnished with provisions, *a few men may keepe it from all the world*; and as for water, there are many large tancks cutt in the rock, which every raines fill with water sufficient and to spare for the whole yeare. On the top of the hill is a large towne, though of poore ill built houses, but on the highest peake is Sevagees lodgings, built quadrangle, with a large house in the

Meeting with
Pillagee.

middle where he heares businesse of import. After I had stayed here a while, Pelagee came to me and acquainted me that Rajah Sumbagee was a young man and of little experience in weighty affaires and whom his father did not trust with matters of import, soe delivering his Honours letter to him, I enquired of him why he came not to Bombay to finish the businesse of Rajapore which he had begun. He said there was order for the satisfaction of that businesse, but he receiving noe letter from Bombay, did not goe. In the evening came Geragee Rajah (?) to see me and to buy any thing I had to sell, who discoursed to me much of the greatnesse of Sevagee and his late successe, and that he will now pay his army, and at last bought some cloth of me, but I could never gett of him what I sold it for to the full.

24th May. Sumbagee sent for me to goe sitt in a place where he would come presently to me, where Sevagees Secretary was, who began to discourse about many frivolous questions. One was how many men, horses and souldiers our King had in England. I asked

Discourse with
Shivaji's
secretary.

him how many leaves there were on their trees. He told me he could not tell. Neither could I tell him what number of men and horses our King had. Then the Rajah Sumbagee coming wee left off discourse, and when I sawe he expected to heere my businesse, I told him I

Niccolls
mentions his
complaint to
Sambhaji.

had order, in his fathers absence, to acquaint him that when there was some hopes of making a friendly end with his Father about the old business of Rajapore; that some of his fathers forces had plundered one of our Factorys at Hubely of a very considerable estate, and that I was sent to demand sattisfaction, as well for the one as the other; and withall that I had some other businesse of less import about salt sent into Sevagees countrey by contract, and that now the salt was delivered Sevagees people would not keep their contract; and also that what boates were sent for wood to our neighbouring rivers were of late troubled about customes. To all

Niccolls
returns to
Rairi village.

which the young Rajah answered he could say nothing to these affaires, more then that he would send to his father to acquaint him of my being there and that might hasten his returne, which he expected in a few daies, and desired me to goe downe againe in reguard of the unhealthfullnesse of soe high a place; soe I tooke leave and went downe.

25th May. I wrote ' to his Honour to acquaint him of my proceeding.

1. On receiving this letter from Niccolls, the Bombay Council made the following observations:

" Wee doe with you much lament the *plundering of Hubely*, where wee feare a great estate of the Companys is lost and a greater damage will fall by the disappointment of lading for the Companys shippes; touching the former Mr. Niccolls is gone to treat with Sevagee, who writes us, by reason of Sevagees absence, nothing is as yet, nor be done untill his returne, when wee hope that affaire will come to a faire and satisfactory issue; as to the latter wee trust Gods providence will soe direct us... We shall procure sufficient lading for the Companys vessells." F. R. Surat Vcl. 106, Fol. 121. Bombay to Surat. 7th June 1673.

30th May. Newes that Sevagee had sent for some fresh cloathes, which is a signe that he intends to stay long abroad.

31st May. I went up in Handole to Pillagee to desire him to come to me to take his advice if I had best stay or goe. In the afternoon he came to me and Shivaji's arrival
uncertain. advised me by all meanes to goe, in regaurd it was uncertain when the Rajah would returne, and if the floods should come, I could not pass all this raines.

1st June. Wee had newes that Sevagee hath taken a little hill neare Goa.

2nd June. I sent up the hill Samgee to Sumbagee Rajah to take his orders about the salt business and wood, but in the afternoon wee had certain notice of Shivaji with
his mother. the Rajahs being at his Mothers Castle, about a mile of, and at night wee sawe him goe up the hill.

3rd June. I went up the hill to speak with the Rajah. About 11 a clock he came into the roome where I was and turned all his souldiers out of it, but would not speake with me, it being not as yet a good hour. At 4 a clock he sent to me for what letters I had, soe I sent him his Honours letters by Samgee, and at 5 a clock he sent to me to make me ready, and he would presently speak with me; soe I was brought where he was to sitt but not as yet come, where I stayed for him. When he was neare I rose and met him at the doore and begged his pardon that knewe him not when he came into my roome. All was well, and (he) tooke me by the hand and shewed me where I should sitt, and which was on the left hand near to one of his side pillowes, and then he asked me my businesse. I acquainted him that when there was great hopes of a friendly accomodating the old businesse of Rajapore and that the President had it in his thoughts to choose

Nicolls
invited by
Shivaji.

Shivaji seats
Nicolls near
himself.

persons fitt to send there, he received letters that the Factory of Hubely was plundered of a very considerable estate by his people, which had broken of his Honours thoughts for the present of settling any factory in his countreys, and hath sent me to knowe from himself whither this last businesse was done by his appointment or command, or whither he did approve of the action.

Hee answered, "I never gave any orders to disturb the English in any way of their factorys, but have ever had a good liking or opinion of them." Then I told him, since he had declared soe himself, we still tooke him for our good friend, notwithstandinge our present losse, and being our friend we hoped and expected

Shivaji refuses
to compensate
the English for
the loss at
Hubli.

he would give satisfaction for what was taken from us. He answered, "my people which were thereabouts are there still, and I have not received any letters from them of any such matters; neither can I as yet give you any other answer to your demands, and that it is necessary for me to knowe who the persons were and under whose command, and a particular of what goods were taken.

I asked him, if all these should be produced, would he now give me his promise to satisfaction, but he seemed not to take notice of that question but sent away a servant to fetch some Pawne for us. I sat still awhile. Then he asked me if I had any other businesse. I told I was not yet answered to my last demand. He answered, "I cannot give you any other answer at present."

Then I acquainted him that wee were ready and willing to doe kindnesses to his people, and had made contracts in Bombay to carry salt into some of his ports for them. Yett when they had gott the salt home in their owne countrey, they abused us and did not keepe to their bargain; and I desired his orders to those places that right and justice might be done. He told me

The complaint
re. salt and
fire-wood
removed.

it should be done to our content. Then I told him that of late our boates, which were sent to the neighbouring ports about us for timber and fire-wood were troubled with (by?) certain persons that farmed the customes there; and in reguard wee never used to pay customes for such things before, neither did we make them pay customes for such petty things, wee desired his letters to the habaldarrs about us that wee might not pay custome for them, and he answered, "I will give you my order, you shall pay none hereafter."

Then I asked him, if wee should have occasion to carry goods through his countrey, what customes would he demand of us. He answered he would consider of that.

Then he gave us some bettlenutt and Pawne, and to me two course striped cuttanees (Kutanis) and two salloe (Shalu) sashes, and to Samgee one piece of the cuttanee, and then rose up, and wee parted; and as soone as I came into my chamber, he sent Pillagee to me to tell me I might goe downe the hill and leave Samgee above for the letters. I told Pillagee that I expected I should have spake with him again about Rajapore businesse and that I could not goe for Bombay without Pillagee went with me. Pillagee said he would acquaint the Rajah with what I said, and soe I left Samgee above and went downe the hill.

I expected that Sevagee would have spoke to me concerning the Sidy, but he said not one word of him, neither of the ship, although he received letters this day from the merchants of her, and at his rising from me he was urged to speake to me about it; but he did not, but told the fellow, as I am informed by one of our persons, that if the English would part with the goods, they might, but he could not force them, and I doe

Samaji left at
Rairi, but
Niccolls goes
down to
Pachad.

No talk re. the
Siddi and the
captured ship.

believe he would be glad if wee would sattisfy our selves any such way to excuse him for it.

6th June. Samgee stayed above two daies on the hill ere he came downe, and when he came, brought only his orders about the salt and wood busnesse, and the Rajah sent me word he would send an answer to the President by one of his owne people named Beema Pundett, and that I might goe to Choull to gett a boate, and he should be there in a daie or two after me; soe I left a peon there to come with Beema and wee left Rajery to goe for Choul.

Samaji returns
with orders.

7th June. And met his Honours letter at Nigeampoor (Nizampur) about 12 a clock, where it thundered much and soe much raine fell, wee could not ford the river, but were forced to stay there all night.

8th June. The waters were abated, and wee got over and to Astomee about two a Clock, where I hired a boate to carry us to Choul, where wee arrived at night, and wrote to his Honour of my proceedings, and sent what papers I had from Sevagee, and in regaurd his Honour in his last letter ordered me to stay till I heard further from him, I wrote to his Honour I would stay untill I heard further from him.

The Embassy
returns to
Chaul and
waits there.

9th June. I went to the Captain of Choul to give him a visit, who understanding I lay at a Moors house last night, he ordered me a house and other necessaries in the City, to whom I was much obliged.

This City, or Citadell rather, is built circular, the whole being encompassed with 9 bastions, some after the old manner of $\frac{1}{2}$ moones but most angular, with but few ordinance, but are said to be very good. It is also entreanched as farr as they durst for fear the sea breakes in within; it hath been furnished with fair buildings but now $\frac{2}{3}$ parts thereof are ruinous and the rest hardly two families in a streete.

Description of
Chaul.

Whither occasioned by the unhealthinesse of the place or that they are removed I knowe not, soe that at present there are none but a few souldiers, except ecclesiastick. Within the walls are 6 churches,, viz. St. Domingo, St Francisco, St. Augustino, St. Paulo, Misericorida and De Say. Without the walls are four, viz. St. Sebastiano, St. Joane De Merce and De Madre De Dios and one over the river called Nos Seignora De Marr.

13th June. I received his Honours letter to goe for Bombay.

14th June. I went to Batty, but noe boate come to fetch me.

15th June. In the afternoone the Havaldurr of old Choul sent me word that the Brahmany was come from Sevagee and desired I would stay a day for him at Batty, ¹ which I did, but he came not.

17th June. This morning the boate came and we went aboard presently and about two a clock
Nicolls returns
to Bombay on
17th June. arrived at Bombay with safety.

This is a true account of what passed in my journey to Sevagee." ²

A summary of his diary was sent to Mr. Chamberlain at Karwar by the Surat Council.

"The other is a copy of our last unto which we reffer you. This is only to advice that Mr. Thos. Nichols is returned from Sevagee who will not own that any of his men have done the least mischief to the English, and therefore he demanded the particulars of what we lost at Hubelly and the name of the person that plundered us, for he declared to be ignorant of any such thing, nor did he give any such order and he further declared that he prosecuted a *just war* in his enemies country, if his army

1. It was a small village on a creek not distant from the Portuguese Chaul, Pen and Nagothna. It was also written as Phatty.

2. O. C. Vol. 34. No. 3787.

in plundering any of the enemys towns doth unknown to him meddle with and seize any English goods he *cannot help it*, for in that hurry and confusion which either his soldiers plundered for themselves or the country people seized on, he is no ways liable to answer. This is what he alledges on his part withall, further as a friend advises us that we trade so little as we can into Decan because he is determind to make *a sharp war* there so soon as the rains are over. However he desires to see the particulars of our loss, which we could not show him having not received it from you. Wherefore these are to desire you immediately upon sight hereof to send us the particulars of what the company has lost, that we may demand satisfaction and consult the best way to satisfy ourselves. If Sevagee will not comply with our demands, we would have you send the name of the Chief Commander that plundered Hubelly, and likewise who it was that first entered the town, together with all the circumstances of the war, for Sevagee will not believe that any of his men meddled with any of the English goods." ¹

22. Reception of Shivaji's envoy

A week later, the Bombay Council held meetings on three successive days to consider the question of the negotiations with Shivaji from all points of view. As a result of their deliberations, Narain Shenwi was appointed as an envoy to the Maratha Ruler.

"Mr. Thomas Nicolls being returned from Sevagee presented this day to the Governor and Shivaji's envoy to be received. Counsell a Diary of the journey and proceedings with Sevagee, which being read in Counsell was approved of.

An Envoy being come from Sevagee to treat of the affaire between the Honble Company and him, the Governor acquainting the Counsell therewith.

1. Orme Mss. Vol. II4. Sect. 2, p. 87. Surat to Mr. Chamberlain at Karwar, 21 June 1673.

ORDERED that the Envoy be received this afternoone.

The Governor having intelligence of certain spyes sent from Sevagee for discovering the passages of Sion and Mochimbo where the river is fordable, and there being just susspition that he hath an evill designe to make an attempt on the Island in regard the Suratt fleete wintered here, and there being noe place for an enemy to pass to this Island but at those two places, the following orders, after debate, were passed.

Shivaji's design
on Bombay.

ORDERED First that the passage boats of Sion and Mochimbo be wholly taken away and that a Proclamation be issued out forbidding all people whatsoever to pass either of those two ways from Bombay to Sallsett or any other place upon pain of severe punishment.

Measures taken
to prevent
surprise by
Shivaji.

2. That all persons whatsoever who desire to pass from this Island or come to this Island doe make use of the passage boats of Bombay and Mahim and none else.

3. That two offices be appointed, the one at Bombay, the other at Mahim, for registering the names of all persons whatsoever that doe come on this Island, with their qualities and cause of their coming on and other circumstances necessary to be examined; and likewise the names of all persons that goe off from the Island and the occation of their going off." 1

Consultation in Bombay, 24 June 1673.

"The treaty with Sevagee being again taken into consideration, it was proposed that Naransinay, brother to Ramsinay, who formerly went with Captain Ustick to Sevagee, is a person qualified for the management of the affaire and in whome wee may impose the trust, whereupon.

ORDERED That Naransinay be appointed to accompany Sevagees Envoy to Rairee and that instructions be drawne out for him to observe in the management of

the treaty with Sevagee, and for that the Company have been at great charges already in sending severall persons to Sevagee about this affaire, it being now high time to bring it to some issue and put an end to those expences. The matter being again debated, the result of the Governor and Counsell was that if Naransinay could bring Sevagee to allow 8000 Pagothas to be paid in ready money or goods, and five years, or at least three yeares free custome at Rajapore, that he should so conclude with him and not accept of anything less without further order."¹

Consultation in Bombay, 25 June 1673

"Sevagees Envoy having been twice received by the Governor and declared the occasion of his coming, as likewise the orders received from his Master, the substance whereof being as followeth (vít.):

That Sevagee declaring his desire to accomod(ate) and put an end to the former difference at Rajapore, and, that wee may settle againe in his country, did offer the summe of 10000 Pagothas, which he says is the full amount of what he plundered from the English at Rajapore; which summe, in regard he is not well supplied with ready money, should be paid to the Company in costomes whenever we had a mind to settle in his country. He also declared that

Shivaji's
position
explained.

as to the business of Hubely he knew nothing of it, nor did he give any order to his army to disturb the English there, and that his army did not plunder Hubely, but it was done by the King of Decan's souldiers and the Governor of Hubely himselfe, so that he is no wayes lyable to answere for it. The Envoy made complaint in Sevagee's behalfe touching our giveing harbour to his enemyes shipping and takeing parte with them, and did also, by order from Sevagee, desire to be supplied with 2 or 3 great gunns for his Master; and, lastly, he demanded restitution of the vessell which belonged to Rajapore and came from Muscatt.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol 1, p. 61.

The President first having given him sufficient satisfaction touching the wintering of the Mogulls fleete in Bombay, convincing him with many just arguments that Seavagee had no reason to take it unkindly, with which the Envoy

The English
case.

was fully satisfied; the President afterwards declared unto him that all the other particulars of his message depended in one point, (vzt.) satisfaction for the former damages wee received at Rajapore, which when concluded between us all the rest will follow of themselves. The President also declared that the summe of 1000 Pagothas which he offered was no ways proportionable to the losses the English nation had susteyned by Seavagee, and therefore wee could not accept thereof. Whereupon severall debates arising, and the President having as before convinced him by manifest arguments that it was more consistent with Seavagees advantage then the Company's to give them satisfaction and to end the difference, the Envoy did desire that for the more speedy determination of the controversy betweene us some person of trust might be sent with him to treat further with his Master, and to urge those reasons which the President had already declared, which the Envoy promised also to presente and to perswade his Master so farr as he could to make us further satisfaction. Whereupon the President proposed to the Counsell whether it were needfull to send such a person with the Envoy or no? and it passed after debate in the affirmative that some person should be sent with him. Afterwards it was motioned whether an Englishman should be sent or some other, which being seriously considered and many arguments ariseing.

ORDERED That some Gentue or Mooreman should be sent at present and not an Englishman, in regard that if an Englishman should be now sent., his charges would be great, and there wilbe a necessity of his carrying a present, and it may be might retorne without success or

effecting anything, whereby sending some other person the affaire may be brought to a closing, and then that an Englishman may be sent with a handsome present to make an end and compleat it. And in regard Sevagee gave Mr. Nicolls and the Banian with him a small piscash.

ORDERED That the Envoy be presented with three yards of scarlett cloth, another man with him with 3 yards of course cloth, and fower of his chiefe men being Manlo's each of them with two yeards of perpetuanos." ¹

23. Instructions to N. Shenwi

Narain Shenwi was selected for accompanying Bhimaji as the envoy of the English.

"Instructions given by the President for Nara Simay to observe in the Treaty between the Honble. Company and Sevagee Raja, June 1673.

The Envoy of Sevagee Rajah, called by the name of Bhimagee Pundett having declared on behalfe of the Shivaji's offer.

Sevagee Rajah that he is contented to pay 12,000 Pagodes, in regard of the loss that the English had received by the robbery of Rajapore, the Governor and Councill cannot accept of the aforesaid summe by reason of having to just accompt of the greate loss they had, which amounts to above 90,000 Pagodes, and though the said Envoy declares that Sevagee Rajah

did not receive so much, yett the loss to the English in Rajapore occasioned by him was so much besides the loss of particular

Estimate of the
English loss.

English men, which amounts to near 20,000 Pagodes new besides the said Companys loss. And having an express order from his Majestie of Greate Brittain not to agree in the Treaty of peace with the said Sevagee untill the said summe of 20,000 Pagodes of the said English men be restored, yett the President and Councill, to manifest, their good will have granted, for the consideration of

friendship with the said Sevagee Rajah, to accept, instead of 20,000 Pagodes, the summe of 12,000 Pagodes, to be paid for the said perticular English men, which summe is to be received in ready money or in goods. And as to what belongs unto the Honoble. Company, the President and Councill hath agreed that instead thereof, the said Sevagee Rajah shall grant the English nation liberty to trade seaven yeares time with the port of Rajapore, not paying any customes, or five yeares at the least, which will be a great advantage and profitt to Sevagee Rajah in increasing his estate and credit.

How much
acceptable to
the English.

As to the two gunns that Sevagee Rajah desired by his Envoy, Bhimagee Pundett, you shall answer that after the buisness is ended and peace made, he shall not have only two, but as many as he will, and likewise any other things that he hath need of.

Sale of gunns.

For granting the Customes free for seavan yeares Sevagee Rajah may thinke it too much, to which you are to answer that though wee doe not pay customes for our goods, yett other merchants shall pay for their goods and for any others that the said merchants shall bring in retorne of ours, by which the said Sevagee Rajah will reap great profitt and his Port will thereby flourish.

Gain by the
English trade.

If Sevagee Rajah shall make any question about the vessell of Rajapore which was forced by a storme into Bombay, you are to answer that all vessells that are driven by stormes into the Portugall lands, or the lands of Sevagee Rajah, are lost, which he understands very well; and for this reason the said vessell and goods were embargode.

Justification
for taking the
Rajapur ship.

Concerning the robbery and taking away of our goods at Hubely by the people of Sevagee Rajahs, in case that he denyes it, you are to answer that wee have certaine advises thereof from our Factors in those parts, but wee have not any certainty

Loss at Hubly.

of the quantity that was robbed, which wee shall know very suddainly and then acquaint him thereof.

It is necessary that you shall question Sevagee Rajah concerning the Hoy which last yeare was bought from the Mallabars by the Havalder of Alberein (?), and to endeavor to the utmost to gett an order for the said Havalder to deliver the said Hoy as likewise for some wine that is yett in Alher, for if they delivered the French Hoy, likewise bought from the Mallabar, 'tis but reason that they should deliver our Hoy, it standing much with our credit to have her delivered.

Likewise I desire you to doe your dilligence to conclude and agree with Sevagee Rajah about the 12,000 Pagodes and free customes for seven yeares, giving him good examples for it. But if hee will not stand to it, then follow the last remedie, which I order you to make an end for 10,000 Pagodes and free customes for five yeares. And in case he will not allow the said 10,000 Pagodes, then to agree in nine or eight thousand and free customes for four yeares, of all which you are to acquaint me by a letter to Bombay, that I may order what shall be most convenient."¹

Restoration of
the Hoigh.

Minimum
demands of
the English.

CHAPTER XIII

Shivaji's Relations with the English (*Cont.*)

1. Bombay and Surat Council on treaty with Shivaji

The return of Niccolls did not break off the negotiations, because Shivaji soon after sent Bhimaji Pandit as his envoy to Bombay. After prolonged negotiations from 21st June to about 15th July, Narayan Shenwi accompanied Bhimaji to settle the terms of compensation with Shivaji in person. In the meantime, the Bombay and Surat Councils radically differed in their views on their relation with the Raja. However, President Aungier ultimately brought round the members of the Surat Council to his views for maintaining peace with Shivaji. Besides, these letters furnish an indisputable evidence on the amazing success achieved by the "arch rebel" against all odds in 1673.

"About 7 or 8 days since arrived here an envoy from Sevagee who hath since been received and had two audiences, the result whereof as an affaire of great import and weighty consideration goes herewith in two consultations of the 25th instant which the Governor desires you seriously to weigh and give him your judgements thereon with all speed."

On the receipt of the preceding letter, the Surat Council held a consultation on 10th July and recorded the following decision.

"The Governour our President and his Councill at Bombay advising us of an Eddy or envoy being there from Sevajee, with a desire to accomodate our difference about Rajapore, that wee might come and settle there againe, offering for our satisfaction 10000 Pagodas to be paid us out of our customs

Terms of the settlement.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 106. Fol. 153. Bombay to Surat June 28th 1673.

in that port when wee should settle there, pretending want of ready money. This having bin fully debated in their Councell, the result was to send a person to Sevagee, who if he could bring him to pay 8000 pagodas in ready money, or goods, and 5 or at least 3 years customs free at Rajapore, that on such tearmes he should conclude with him. But this being an affair of weighty consideration, they vallue themselves on our Councells and proceed not thereon untill they have our

Reasons for
ooming to
terms.

concurrence. Wee having deliberated the severall circumstances that move us to an accomodation with him viz the present warr with the Dutch who, joyning with his forces,

may dispossess us of the island; the dependence the island hath on his near adjoyning territorys, for the greatest part of its sustenance, more specially for firewood, but above all the opening a port in his country. The Portugall denying us the pass at Taune (Thana), to draw downe a trade to the island from Orangabaud and Brampore: Wee say these considerations viz., the safety and prosperity of the island, are the prevailing motives that wee joine with our freinds at Bombay to accept so small a sum as 8 or 10,000 pagodas which is not the $\frac{1}{4}$ part the damage the nation susteind in Rajapore, and were it not for the island, wee should (deem?) it dishonourable to the nation to receive less than full satisfaction; and wee doe also conclude that he pay the said summ either in money or goods, accounting his payment in customs insignificant and can never give satisfaction that way to those severall persons concerned in

The ship not
to be released
until
satisfaction
rendered.

that loss. And wee doe further give it as our advice that they deliver not up to him the Rajapore vessell fallen into their Port from Muscatt, untill he have given that satisfaction they have concluded on 8000 pagudes either

in money or in goods. And whereas they lately sent Mr. Nicolls an envoy to him to demand satisfaction for the losses the Honourable Company have lately sustained

by his people robbing their factory at Hubely which he denies saying they were not his people, wee give it as our advice, that if they shall come to agreement with him for the loss at Rajapore that yet wee may have our just pretences against him and collatterall security for the loss at Hubely. It was further concluded to advise his Honour and Councell there that, besides the aforesaid demands on Sevagee, divers merchants of Rajapore were considerable debtors to the Company whose names shall be incerted in the letter and that enquiry be made if any of the said merchants have concerns in that vessell fallen into their power, and to attach the same, if found, for satisfaction to be made and that wee immediately, dispatch away to our said friends our result in this affaire."¹

The Bombay Council in their letter of 15th July admired the courage of the Factors shown in opposing the rise in customs to $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. at Karwar, and assured them that they would adopt a retaliatory policy after the termination of the Anglo--Dutch War. At the same time, they expressed their opinion on Shivaji's activity.

"We esteem Sevagee to be the *grand and whole author* of all these commotions, and our great hope is that between the great Mogull and the King of Wissapore he will be brought to a better order, and confined to more narrow limits, for till then he will not suffer any of his neighbours to be at quiet, and be you assured that we shall not settle at Rajapore, untill we have taken full satisfaction from him as well for the former as latter loss and seeing you are so continually disturbed by your neighbour, we shall consider in due time of furnishing you with some small guns &c., for the defence of your house."²

In the mean time the Karwar Factors had written to Surat a letter whose summary is given in the Surat Consultation of 19th July 1673.

"The Carwarr factors advising now the particulars of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Part. III Fol. 21.

2. Orme Mss. Vol. 114. Sect. 2, pp. 92-94. Bombay to Karwar 15th July 1673.

the Hon'ble Companys losses at Hubely where their house was lately robd: by Sevajees souldiers to the amount of Pagodas 7894:32, besides the factors perticular losses there; of which when the Governor and his Councell sent lately an envoy to Sevagee to require satisfaction, hee returned answer that they were none of his souldiers that did it, although it is manifest that the Companys house was the first they entered and dugg up; all the broadcloth was carried out into the bazar before his Generall whose name is Partabraw. Wherefore seeing there is no probability of security from such a heathen, who while wee are in treaty with him for satisfaction for our losses at Rajapore, gives orders for the robbing our factory at Hubely: Wee can thinke of no better way to recover the Hon'ble Companys and nations right than by taking what vessells belong to his ports, and hearing there are some expected to return from Mocha to Rajapore the latter end of the next month, the Councell thought it requisite to advise their President that hee give Commission to the Commanders of the frigatt hee shall send downe to Carwar to look out and make prize of them." ¹

In a month the Bombay Council sent the *Revenge* Frigot with guns, powder and ammunition for their assistance. Though the Company's armada of nine ships had arrived to fight the Dutch, yet the Council wrote that 'it concerns us to keep friendship with all,' and 'we must put up with affronts and public injuries till we are in a condition to repair our losses.' ²

The Captain of the *Revenge* was first instructed to capture all the vessels of the Malabars and of Shivaji that he met with, but the order was soon cancelled. ³

A consultation was forthwith held at Bombay to review the English position on the Western Coast. The President

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Part III. Fol. 22. 2. Orme Mss. 114, p. 107.

3. F. R. Bombay Vol. I, p. 71; Orme Mss. 114, pp. 114-115.

declared that it was 'necessary prudence to dissemble our design for this year and to make an overture of settlement at Rajapur.' To facilitate their settlement at Rajapur, it was considered advisable to deliver the Rajapur vessel and goods to the owner Sevagee Braminy who as a servant of the Company had formerly been plundered of all his belongings by the Raja's troops.¹ The Surat Council was approached for its consent.²

"Our present difference with Sevagy is not accomodated thoroughly; wee may not value ourselves on the towne of Rajapore; buy up there what goods are procurable for the making up the shippes ladings, for though wee well hope to force Sevagy (to agree to an?) honourable composition for the Company's former loss, had there been peace with the Dutch and the factory of Carwarr well settled. Seeing that wee faile in both the one and the other, the President declares it necessary prudence to dissemble our designe for this year and to make an overture of settlement at Rajapore and in such case if you consent thereunto, it is proposed by some Banian merchants here, that they will procure one good shippes lading at least of goods at Rajapore, consisting of pepper, sticklack, seedlack, Dangarees, Perceolas and other course sorts of cloth, but this designe cannot be putt in execution except wee surrender up the Rajapore vessell which wee have seized and then wee need not make the least scruple of it, by Gods assistance; if greater accident doth not intervene than the President is now apprehensive of. Now this Rajapore vessell is not worth above 8 or 1,000 rupees goods and all which belongs to the poore merchants who are totally innocent of the wrong done to the Hon'ble Company; the owner is now with us and hath brought letters from Sevagee and his sonne and many other great men to intercede for him, but nothing hitherto hath prevailed with us, notwithstanding that Sevagee and his sonn

Reasons for
delivering the
Rajapur vessel.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. I, p. 79. 4th September 1673.

2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 74. Bomb. Cons. 21 August 1673.

and all his principall officers doe promise to come to a faire understanding with us and Sevagee hath againe sent for the accounts of our losses to be examined; the President desires you seriously and deliberately to watch this affaire and to send your answers thereunto with all speed possible; he prays you also to remember the Companys order in their letter, that wee keepe a faire correspondence with all the princes our neighbours and that is a time not to exasperate enemys but to procure friends, and that we shall not want opportunity hereafter to demand reparation for what the Company have suffered and that the delivery of this vessell will gaine the Company and the island of Bombay a greater reputation among all merchants of these parts by whome only we expect the island Bombay to be peopled and our trade increased." ¹

The Surat Council disapproved the re-establishment of the Rajapur factory and the delivery of the Rajapur vessel.

"The second proposall was concerning a settlement at Rajapore for the providing of goods now there, before Sevagee hath given us satisfaction for former damages and his late robbing our factory at Hubely that wee dissemble the business at present and surrender up the Rajapore Jounke that wee have seized in Bombay on that account; which the Councell for many reasons doe disapprove." ²

On the receipt of the Surat reply the Bombay Council held a meeting whose proceedings are thus recorded:

"That the Gentlemen of Suratt Councell seeme to be mistaken in all or most of their arguments which they do urge, and therefore it being put to the vote whether the said vessel should be surrendered or not.

It was resolved in the affirmative with joynt consent and thereupon.

That the said vessel and all her goods be delivered unto the owner and that for these following reasons (vizt.):

"As to the present condition of Sevagee, whom you

1. In Orme Mss. Vol. 114, p. 119 the first half of the extract is dated 26th August.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, Part III. Fol. 33. Surat 30th August 1673.

affirme to be in soe perplexed condition by meanes of

Shivaji
manfully faces
four enemies.

Bullooll Ckaune coming on the one side and the Mogulls army on the other and (the raids?) which you committed and the Sidy with his fleete by sea; and therefore you

conclude him uncapable of doing any mischiefe to this island and consequently there is no necessity of dissembling and keeping fair with him. To which I answere that you are mistaken in your intelligence; for Sevagee is not in soe ill a condition as you wrote him to be; he rather dispiseth and beareth up himselfe manfully against all his enemys, and lately hath taken a very considerable castle called

Shivaji
captures Satara.

Sutarra, in the heart (?) of the Vizapore country; from which numbers of oxen are lately come to Raire laden with rich spoile, and though it is probable the Mogulls army may fall into his country this year and Ballooll Ckaune on the other

The Muslim
generals
continue the
war for their
profit.

side, yett neither of them can stay long for want of provission and his flying army will continually keepe them in allarm, nor is it either of their designe to destroy Sivagee totally; for the Umbraw's maintaine

a Pollitick warr to their owne proffitt at the kings charge and never intend to prosecute it violently soe as to end it; and should wee rashly provoke Sevagee at this time when wee are in warr with soe potent an enemy as the Dutch, wee may justly bring upon ourselves more trouble and danger than wee are aware of, for though you would not last yeare give credit unto it, tis most certainly true that the Dutch offered him a

Reasons for
not provoking
Shivaji.

considerable advantage, if he would assist him with 3000 men to helpe take Bombay, for Sevagee himselfe hath owned it, and upon wintering of the Siddys fleete here; did in his passion publickly threaten, if the Dutch came againe which he would doe; you say he is a rogue and keeps faith with noe man, I say so too; but that is noe argument for us to breake with him at this time and I thinke his owne interest will

persuade him to keepe fair with us, if wee doe not first breake with him, and though I will endeavour to procure by all allowable meanes satisfaction from him, for the Company's losses as well as particular men, soe farr as it lys in my power, yet I declare as my opinion, that in this juncture of affaires here, it is no ways prudent to enter into open acts of hostility with him, except wee resolve to endure your misery of famine on the one side or to make proofs of the Dutch and his united forces on the other.

You say that I pittie the poore men here, but doe not pittie the Companys poore servants who lost their estates and fortunes etc., in this you doe me wrong; Private losses of Englishmen should not hinder the treaty. for had I not concerned myselfe for them in recovering some satisfaccon for their losses, I had ended the dispute with Sivagy neare three yeares ago, and it is the only scruple that now stands between us, and for Sivagy offereth pagodas 7000 satisfacion for the Companys demands and likewise promiseth when the English have settled in Rajapore to give satisfaction to particular men; but though I press never soe much to gett present satisfaction for them; yet if I find impossible to prevaile, I cannot judge it reasonable or answerable for me, to make a publique breach with any neighbour, for particular mens scores; for if you read the Companys orders, you will finde they permitt not any such thing.

You say it is not contrary to the generall practice of all princes in the world, to revenge themselves of injuries done them by another prince on the estate of their subjects and this I grant; but I may consider that our Company though by their sovereigne authority granted them by His Majesty on the island may stile themselves as princes; yet they are a body of Hon'ble merchants and their designe is an honest trade and it is our duty to be very cautious in seizing and making prize of vessells belonging to merchants though subject to Sevagee, who hath done us this wrong and though I am

No order of the Company for capturing Shivaji's ships.

of your opinion that the Companys remarkable moderations and patience in bearing injuries hath gained a standing (?) opinion of the English nation in that point, yet you may observe that they never gave any positive order to their President and Councill for the seizing of any shippes or vessells belonging to the princes in India, noe not of Sevagee, nor the Samorine, though the difference of the one hath bin about 12 yeares.

Now as to this vessell, she belongeth to a Rajapore merchant and if, as you say, Bullooll Ckaune should conquer that towne and country for the king of Vizapore, yett in such a case wee must never expect to settle there, till the said vessell and goods be restored. You seeme to slight the port of Rajapore as little beneficial to the Companys trade. In this I differ from you and affirm that it will prove in time of as great advantage to their concerne as that of Carwarr and exceeding(ly) beneficial to their port and island of Bombay, and though I am glad to heare that you are able in case of necessity to make up 2000 tonns of goods at Surratt, yett if I can provide a considerable quantity of Dungarees, Percollas and other course sorts of cloth at Rajapore on secure conditions and seasonable time for this shipping, I judge the Company will save money thereby for the price of said goods at Rajapur differs at least 20 per cent what they cost in Surat.

As to the opinion of the world which may censure the surrender of this vessell to be done out of feare, that ought to beare noe sway with us, for our duty is to prosecute and provide for the Company just interest without reflecting on, or disquieting ourselves, for the censure of the world, seeing wee are neither in capacity to revenge ourselves nor if wee were, the present times would not permitt it, nor have wee order sufficient to justifie our proceedings thereof in.

As to the order given the commanders, it was wrote before this proposall was thought on and is soone to be

Value of the
Rajapur port to
the Company's
trade.

Public opinion
not to be cared
for.

reverst or confirmed as occation offers, nor doe wee as
 yett lay aside our demands against Sevagee;
 The Rajapur ship restored. but the field is still left open to renew and
 prosecute the Companys right as time and
 reason with due respect to the Companys interest shall
 hereafter direct us. Upon those considerations and many
 others which for brevity sake I omitted, but in due time shall
 be communicated unto you, the Councill of this island hath
 unanimously joyned with me to restore the said vessell and
 goods unto the owner who is now sent to Sivagee with order
 to move another proposall unto him touching further freedome
 and security of trade in the opposite maine, which if it
 succeeds, as I hope it may, will tend much to the Companys
 advantage." ¹

The Council then refers to a letter received from Narain
 Shenwi who had been successful in composing the differences
 with Shivaji and was soon expected to return to Bombay.

2. Second Embassy of Bhimaji

Bhimaji returned to Bombay on 24th September 1673
 in company with Narain Shenwi, the envoy of the English,
 who had been sent to Shivaji to represent the English
 case. Both the envoys came back to Bombay for settling
 some definite terms with the president.

"Naran Sinay is returned and with him the same
 envoy which Savagee sent formerly, who pretends he
 hath order to conclude the old controversy
 Shivaji's envoy of Rajapore with us and hath been once
 Bhimaji at received and now Mr. John Childe, Mr.
 Bombay. Stephen Ustick and Mr. Francis Day are
 appointed to examine and compare the account with him
 and to receive what proposalls hee makes, upon which
 wee shall consider and advise you thereof, hoping at
 length wee may bring this tedious dispute to some
 conclusion." ²

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, 83-6. 15 Sept. 1673.

2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 106. P. 204. Sept. 29th 1673, Cf. Bombay. Cons. 1st
 Oct.; Bombay Occurrences, 1st. Oct. 1673.

Shivaji's Letter to the Governor of Bombay

The envoys brought a letter from Shivaji which ran thus:
From Shivaji Rajah to the Hon'ble Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay: I received your Honour's letter by Bimagee (Bhimaji) Pandit and Narayan Shenvi who manifested the good correspondence that your Honour doth use with me; likewise they treated with me about the business of Rajapore which I have answered and do send them again to treat with your Honour, my desire being only to keep the same correspondence which your Honour doth with me. I shall not say more but desire you that there may bee noe difference in our friendship, for I am very well acquainted of your Honour's prudence. I send your Honour a present, which I desire you to accept of." 1

Bombay Governor's reply to Shivaji

President Aungier sent the following reply to Shivaji on Oct. 6, 1673.

"The honoured Bhimagee Pundett, with Narasinnay, is *this day arrived at Bombay*, who delivered me your Excellency's letter, by which I understand you were in good health, which I esteemed very much. Likewise they informed me about the businesse past concerning Rajapore, that your Excellency would make an end of it, for which you had given order to the said Bhimagee Pundett whereof I was very glad.

I was certain that when your Excellency tooke this businesse in hand that it would bee ended, and all the losse that the English sustained in Rajapore satisfyed; but the said Bhimagee Pundett is very prudent in negotiateing on your parte to our prejudice and to the contrary I would not argue anything because there should bee noe difference in our friendship, and for this reason I doe onely to please your Excellency accept of the summe of 10000 Pagodoes, though our losse was greater, to be paid as followeth (vizt.) 7500 Pagodoes in ready

money and 2500 to bee discounted in the customes at Rajapore. Concerning other particulars treated by Bhimagee Pundett with mee there shall bee noe faile on my parte nor in any other businesse of yours that may happen hereafter, and in the same manner (tis reason) you should treat with mee.

The present you was pleased to send me I received with great joy; at present our English ships are not arrived that I might send you some curiosities. *The bearer hereof Narasinay will present to Your Excellency one Arbia horse and some other things which will serve for your servants.*" ¹

These negotiations gave the English hopes of an honourable peace with Shivaji. The Bombay letter of 23rd October 1673, makes mention also of an expected attack of Shivaji upon Surat.

"Wee are near a conclusion with our neighbour Savagee for the old wrongs of Rajapore, the conditions, when fully determined, shall be sent you and doubt not they will be approved of by you, as suiteing with the Companys Honr. and Interest. The new controvercy touching Hubelly wee have reserved for another time, haveing faire promises for satisfaction in that particular alsoe, soe that if Savagee attempt Surrat, you may be somewhat the safer though wee advise you not to trust him, and yet wee dare say if he hath a kindness for any nation, it's for the English, and wee believe he will not disturb any house, where the English Flag is, but he plainly declares what he findes out of the English house he is noe way answerable for to make any restitution." ²

The treaty
nearing
conclusion.

Shivaji
specially kind to
the English.

Then in another letter, we are informed that the Treaty has been concluded.

"As inconsiderate quarrels with our neighbours are not justifiable, soe a too susceptible and profound patience in

1. O. C. Vol. 34. No. 3951.

2. O. C. 3870. Bombay to Surat 23rd October 1673.

bearing such injuries no wayes consisteth with your Interest,
much less with your Honour. Sevagee holdes.

The treaty
concluded.

a faire understanding with us and we with
him in a covert way. By the shipping we
shall send you a Narrative of our Treaty with him, which is in
a manner concluded we hope to your advantage and
reputation, and we have made him now see

Benefits.

well to understand us, that we persuade
ourselves, his Country will prove extraordinary beneficiall
to your Trade in time." ¹

The treaty was, however, not confirmed and signed by
Shivaji who was away in the Carnatic country for conquering
and plundering its rich towns. The main articles of the
treaty are enumerated in a Bombay Letter of 15th December
1673.

"We have advised your Honours in our letter of
the 23rd October of our treaty and conclusion of peace

The English
treaty not
signed by
Shivaji.

with Sevagee which tho' fully agreed on
between the Envoy and us, is not yet
signed and confirmed by Sevagee himselfe,
in regard he has bin absent, near three
months from his country, being gone with an army of
25,000 men into the king of Vizapore's Country, where he
hath robbed and plundered many rich townes, and 'tis
said he is fallen into the country of Carnatack or Canara
to get more plunder in those rich townes to bear the
charge of his army. At his returne wee

His conquering
expedition into
the Carnatic

shall proceed to have the said treaty
confirmed, which we noe wayes doubt but
he will doe. Our whole proceedings in this
affaire are at large expressed in a narrative apart, sent in
double coppyes by these ships whereunto we humbly
refer you what satisfaction he hath promised to give us
for all that he robbed at Rajapore, as well from the
country as from particular men; wherefore we intreat your

1. O. C. 3779. Cf. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6. 7 Oct. 1673; F. R. Bomb. Vol. 1.
20 Oct. 1673.

order now it shall be proportioned when we also doe receive the sum agreed on, out of which

Distribution of
the sum to be
obtained from
Shivaji.

we shall deduct and make good unto your account what expenses we have bin at for manadging and concluding said treaty,

the remainder is to be proportioned between yourselves and the persons concerned in said losse. We have already advised that in said plundering the City of Hubily, he

No
compensation
for the loss at
Hubli.

hath robbed about 8000 pagodas of your Estate there also, but he will acknowledge noe such thing, and will not make satisfaction for it, in regard there were no English to

own and protect said goods, yet we hope in time to bring him to some composition and allowance for that

Shivaji a friend
of the English.

also, for he is much a friend to our nation, and exceedingly desires our trade again in his ports, and in truth, his Ports of Rajapore,

Dabull, Kelcy, etc., are of exceeding and indispensible necessity for the trade of Bombay, for they

Prospects of
trade with
Shivaji's
country.

will in time yield great quantitys of goods of all sorts proper for Europe, cheaper than we have them at Surat."¹

The advantages of this treaty are thus pointed out in the same letter :

"We have now sent some musters for your perusall, the prizes whereof are charged as they will stand when brought to Bombay, being about 25 per cent

English money
in Maharashtra.

dearer than they may be had at Rajapore,

(2) besides we have hopes that the trade into Sevagees Country will consume quantitys of Europe commodity and (3) particularly be useful for consumption of copper pice, and Tinnys or tinn Budgrookes in great quantitys which will prove of noe meane benefit and advantage

Shivaji
promises to
settle a
warehouse
in Bombay.

to your mint, and expence of the manufactures of tinn; (4) moreover Sevagee promises himselfe to settle a warehouse of hjs merchants in Bombay for the putting of great quantitys of goods which he hath lying by him, which

1. B.P. Unav. Vol. VI, pp. 26-7; O.C. 3910. Bombay to London. 15 Dec. 1673.

will also increase the trade of your port, and (5) your Revenue in customes of said goods. These and many other considerations for brevity's sake omitted, caused us the sooner to hasten our treaty of peace with him, which

Significance of
the English
Treaty with
Shivaji.

we trust your Honrs will confirme and will approve of, accepting it as a well pleasing and advantageous service to you. Had we continued to embarque (embargo)

his merchants vessells, probably we might have got more from them to pay for your losse, but such violent proceedings are not pleasing to God, nor to you, nor have we any order from you as yet to take that course, nor is it consistent with your honour or interest to right yourselves that way, except when absolute necessity requires, when justice is utterly denied, and your estate totally preyed upon and consumed without hopes of restitution; in such case we as formerly advised doe humbly beg your order to doe you right by force and not otherwise, but in this your Honrs. may glory that you have brought Sevagee to tearms of restitution for his robbery of your Estate, which neither the great Mogull nor the King of Visapore nor the Portuguese were ever yet able to doe, all whose countrys he hath sufficiently robbed."

The views of the Directors on the treaty with Shivaji and on the general policy to be pursued in India by their Factors are recorded below:

"We have perused the paper you sent concerning the Treaty with Sevagee, and doe like well of your proceedings, so far as it relates to the

Views of the
Directors on
the Treaty.

procuring of satisfaction for our losses susteyned by us from him, and the opening of trade to Rajapore or elsewhere, and as may tend to a good correspondance with him (which we desire to do with all persons in power in those parts), but as we formerly advised (where you were in treaty with the Portuguese), you must be very cautious how you treat with any prince or person in power, soe as may tend to a difference between us and other Governments there and in particular not in the least to agree to any aid or assistance, for that

ere we are aware, may procure a breach with others, and in case you shall upon agreement with him, enter upon a trade at Rajapore, we desire you to take care, that it may be done with safety and security to our servants and estates and in regard Sevagee claimed ever to have received our Granadoe Shells we doe require that you endeavour to make enquiry what became of them and to procure satisfaction for them.”¹

The following narrative presents the history of the attempts made by the English for securing compensation and commercial privileges from Shivaji in the years 1672 and 1673.

3. A narrative of several treaties with Shivaji

*“A Narrative of the severall Treatyes between Sevagee Rajahas Envoys and the Hon’ble. Gerald Aungier, President. &c., touching the Losses sustained by the Honoble. Company and their Servants occasioned by Sevagees plundering and robbing the Towne of Rajapore in the yeare 16 (59/60).”*²

Sevagee Rajah having made some overtures of composing the old difference betweene the Honoble.

Failure of
Ustick and
Sunderji to
compose the
differences.

Company and him, occasioned by his robbing and plundering Rajapore, Captain Stephen Ustick was sent to begin the treaty with him, but could effect little, for that Sevagee would not heare of making any reparations. After

his return Sevagee sent his Envoy called Sundergee to the President att Bombay, who made soe slight proposalls that the President and Councell thought not fitt to accept them, but sent him back to his Master with an account of what wee demanded for restitution.

1672 (1672/3 February.) Whereupon, in February 1673 Sevagee sent another Envoy called Pillagee to treat againe on said affaires. But in regard the

Negotiations
with Pillagee
also postponed.

Dutch fleete was then upon this Coast and dayly expected to attempt this island, the President thought it not fitting to prosecute

1. L. B. Vol. 5, p. 165. B. P. Unav. Vol. VI, p. 47. London to Surat, 5th March 1674.

2. O. C. Vol. 33. No. 3758. Feb. to 19 May 1673. F. R. Bomb. Vol. I. pp. 95-100.

the Treaty, but to suspend it; and the rather because it seemed not consistent with the Honoble Companys interest to conclude itt, for that the Envoy tooke advantage of our present troubles and warr with the Dutch; soe that the Envoy was dismissed, carrying a civill letter to Sevagee, to keepe the treaty on foote, giving him the reasons why his Envoy was sent back againe with no progress into the busyness hee was sent about.

1673 May¹ 19. Mr. Thomas Niccolls was sent to Sevagee to treat with him concerning our demands and for composing the said difference, who

Failure of Niccolls. could effect nothing and soe returned againe the 16th of June following, unto whose Narrative the Honoble. Company are humbly referred.

June 1673. Sevagee sent another Envoy called Bimmagee Pundett to treat further concerning said affaire, who was received severall tymes by the President, and after many long discourses and treating, the said

Negotiations with Bhimaji.

Envoy was brought to a nearer and better accomodation than any had done before, though farr distant to our demands. Att length, when the said Envoy (as hee declared) could proceed noe further, hee desired to returne home againe to his master, and that for the more speedy determination of the controversy betweene us, some person of trust might be sent with him to treat further with Sevagee, and to urge

Narain Shenavi sent to Shivaji.

those many reasons the President had declared unto him. Whereupon the President sent Naransimay in company with the said Envoy with instructions for his management of the Treaty, resolving to put an end to those great charges the Honoble. Company have bin at in sending and receiving Envoyes about this affaire, giving the said Naransimay power that if hee could bring Sevagee to allow 8000 pagothos to be paid in ready money or goods, and five years, or att least three years, free custome at Rajapore, that hee should, upon those tearmes, conclude with him, and not to accept of any thing less without further order.

September 24, 1673. The said Naransimay returned in company with aforesaid Bimmagee Pundett from Sevagee and was againe received, who after some complements on the first day of his reception, though (as customary) nothing was urged concerning the affaïre in dispute, yett hee declared to the President that Sevagee had given full power to conclude the Treaty, and that he had some objections against our demands, which when answered, he doubted not but to our satisfaction and content to settle and put an end to this affaïre, wherefore hee desired to bee dispatched with all possible speed, in regard Sevagee had a great flying army ready for action, and if hee should march away before his returne, hee should with much difficulty find where his Master was quartered. Wherefore the President ordered Mr. John Child, Mr. Stephen Ustick and Mr. Francis Day to give the said Envoy a meeting on the first of October and to receive his objections against our demands which Commissioners, according to order, mett at Mr. Childs house the said day and offered the papers of the particulars of the Honoble. Companys demands, amounting to Pagothos 39,957: 36 Jetts, with the Intrest thereof, which said accounts was interpreted unto the Envoy.

In answer to this account the Envoy replied, seemed much startled at soe great demand, that his Master sent him with full power and great hopes to end the controversy between us; but what his Master received into his treasury belonging to the English when hee robbed Rajapore, was so disproportionable to our demands, that hee feared little would bee effected herein; however, for the better accomodation thereof, hee desired our particulars might bee examined with his accounts of what his Master really received from the English.

1st. As to the brimstone, Granado shells, brass potts and such like weighty and combustable goods, his Master never received aney, nor can itt be expected, for, said hee, the Granado shells alone would have required 2,000 men or thereabouts to carry them, and his Master at that tyme had the King of

Vizapores forces at his heeles, soe that hee was forced to leave Rajapore and retire to his strongholds, leaving the towne to the Kings army, who had itt in their possession three months after hee had robbed itt, and when hee returned to it, found noe such things, so that itt cannot bee reasonably expected his Master should bee responsible for the same.

2d. As to the debts due from the Rajapore merchants to the Company, hee holds his Master not at all lyable to make satisfaction, for should it please God

Shivaji not
responsible for
private debts.

this dispute between my Master and you bee now composed, and that my Master hereafter should robb Surratt or aney other place where your Factors are, you may as well demand such debts as are owing you in the severall places, hee having disenabled your debtors to pay you by robbing, when you can really expect noe more than your Factory and such goods as are yours to bee free from his souldiers. Otherwise my Master must inquire of you who are your debtors, that he might nott robb them, which cannot bee expected att such a tyme.

3rd. As to the King of Vizapore, Edell Shaw, and Rustome Jemah's debts, his Master is as little lyable to make their debts good as the Rajapore merchants for the afforesaid reasons.

Bijapur debts
cannot be paid.

4th. As for what lost by the severall perticular Englishmen, his Master admired the same should amount to so great a summe (and for the brokers loss he holds himself wholly unconcerned to make good, being a Country Merchant and not liveing imediatly in the

Private losses
of Englishmen
are over-stated.

English Factory), having received in all no more then the following particulars, vizt: one morter peece, three horses, silver bridle, one plate[d] sadle, &ca. horse furniture, silver Mds. $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas, a remnant of Scarlett cloth, one half peece and a remnant of course cloth; five rings, two sett with dyamonds, two with rubyes, and the other with a saphire; sixty three Pagothas Tipkee; ¹ twenty two Dabull Lawres; ² Gold $1\frac{3}{4}$ seer and $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas; two little

1. According to Fryer, a *Tipkee Pagoda* was equal to 4 Rupees.

2. A Lari was at that time equal to 1s. and a Rial=2 Rs. A Rupee=2s. 3d.

brass gunns; eight looking glassess; all which preceding particulars, proceeding by an impartiall valuation, will not amount to above Pagothas 4000, including the 1500 Ryalls³ of 8 belonging to Mr. Henry Revington, which is allowed in the 6½ mds. of silver. To all which wee answered that although he pleaded his Master received no more then about 4000 Pagothas and brings Noransimay who was imployed in this affaïre by the President and Councell to Sevagy as a witness to perswade us that he received no more, Sevagee Rajah himself shewing Noransimay an old book wherein the particulars were mentioned, which although graunted to be true, yett Sevagee Rajah ought in justice to make us full satisfaction, for had not hee robbed Rajapore, the Company had never sustained that loss.

To this the Envoy answered that his Master hath rob'd severall Kings and Princes and many merchants but never made aney satisfaction, and what hee now offers to us is purely out of a desire of friendship with the English who beare so good an esteeme in all nations, and not aney private intrest of his owne, as it appeares by his friendly usage in permitting this Island to be furnished from his territoryes dayly with severall sorts of provissions and other necessaryes, although what assistance the English can afford him, itt may bee easely perceived his Master wants it not for notwithstanding this old difference betwixt us and himself, hee hath been

continually imbroyed in warr with the great Mogull, and his dominions rather increaseth then diminisheth; and for what damage the English can doe him, his Master is not at all concerned at for they can only meete with some few of those merchants vessells which belong to his ports. However, his Master is willing to settle a friendship and good corispondence with us [as] may appear by the tender of 5000 Pagothas to end all disputes between us concerning Rajapore.

To which wee again replyed that this was so farr disagreeing to our demands that wee cannot but conclude with ourselves that he had no order to end the dispute,

Shivaji not
afraid of
the English.

but as others did formerly came on the same account onely to discourse in a formall manner rather then to compose the busyness; and however the little occasion he pretends to have of our friendship and also the little esteeme hee hath of our doing him any injuries his Master hath done us, which

Threat of
capturing ships.

wee graunt he hath sufficient reason to beleive from our long patience and forbearance; but he may remember his Masters salt fleet might have been disturbed here, to his no small detriment, and his owne trading vessells, as well as those of his merchants, if wee once had begunn to seize, might soone requite our loss, and possibly hee may see it sooner then he expected, seeing wee have endeavoured all faire means and cannot procure any thing of satisfaction, and that if hee hath no better tearmes then these to offer us hee need not give himself any further trouble, for wee think this answer not fitting to deliver unto our Governor; but could heartily wish that, since it hath bin so ordered that he and wee are appointed to bring this business to some issue, he would bee so prudent as to so well consider his Masters Interest and to shew the great witt he hath discovered by his many arguments and strong disputes in advising with himself how to afford us some better meane of accomodation, and wee shall be ready to give him an other meeting when hee shall appoint,

3 October 1673. The 3rd current the said John Child &ca, gave Sevagees Envoy a second meeting, and the whole day being near spent in fending and proving the preceding busyness, att last the Envoy consented to allow the English

Bhimajee's
offer not
accepted.

7000 Pagothas. To which wee answered that itt was pittifull a thing wee scorned to accept of. Upon which the Envoy desired a hearing from our Governor, which wee told him he could not, except he had some better tearmes to offer. Whereupon he answered us, so that from it we had reason to beleive he would make some further proposall, and being passionatly desirous, wee promised to use our interest with our Governor for the gratifying his request.

The 4th currant the said Envoy was admitted by the

Governor a hearing in Bcmby Castle, the President haveing before been informed of all passages betweene
 Bhimajee's offer to the President. Mr. Child &ca. and the Envoy; however, was forced to spend maney houres in hearing the said Envoy('s) severall arguments from himself and severall objections, till att leangth the Envoy proffered 9000 Pagothas to bee paid in 7 years tyme in goods and out of the customes when the English settled at Rajapore, but at last his finall proposall was, and higher he dare not rise, having gone already, as hee declared, beyond his orders, to allow us Asmolah¹ Pagothas 10,025, which should be paid as followeth, vizt. 2500 Pagothas to bee allowed in Rajapore Customes of such goods as the Company shall export or import, and the other three parts in goods where they shall be required, vizt. one part immediately upon our setling a factory in Rajapore, one part that day twelve month after, and the remayning part the next ensewing yeare. And for the King of Vizapore, Ally Edell Shaw and Rustom Jemah's debts, Sevagee is to use his utmost endeavours they may bee recovered.

And for such debts as are owing to the Honoble. Company by the Rajapore merchants upon our setling there, if they are able, hee will endeavour to make them willing to give us full satisfaction or such as may bee for our content."

In the Consultation of 6th October 1673 recorded in the F. R. Bombay, vol. I, the last para is ommitted, and the following is inserted in its place.

"The President having communicated the aforesaid Proposals to the Gentlemen of the Counsell, desiring their opinions therein, who after a serious debate, gave their consent thereunto as an Honourable Agreement and consistent with the Company and Nations interest and honour, whereupon

Ordered that Naransinay be sent again in company of the Envoy to Seavagee fully to conclude this Treaty,

I. "The *Sungar Pagod* is 8s. 9d. The *Tipkee Pagods*, 4 Rupees. But in *Vattaw* differs from 100 *Sungar*, to 118 and 123. The *Asmeloh Pagod* is 1 per cent. less than the *Sungaree*." Fryer.

and that he carries with him unto Sevagee a present to the value of 5 or 600 rupees."

4. Embassy of Narain Shenvi to Shivaji

There was an exchange of envoys. Bhimaji had agreed to certain terms, so the English wanted to know definitely whether Shivaji was willing to confirm the decision of his representative. A consultation was held in Bombay on 6th March 1674 for the selection of the envoy.

"The President having received advise that Sevagy is return'd to Rairee, and that he stands to the former agreement and willing to confirme it, the question was put whether Naransinay should be sent to conclude the Treaty or no. Which being debated it was carried in the affirmative and

ORDERED That Naransinay be immediately sent to Sevagy to conclude the Treaty.

Whereas the Sidy of Danda Rajapore hath made his applications to the President desiring him to mediate a peace between Sevagy and him, and the President having communicated the same unto the Gentlemen of the Counsell of Surat, who are very much inclined to goe and treat on the same subject, it was resolved that Naransinay in his treaty with Sevagy should endeavor to find and search whether Sevagee bee inclined thereunto or no; and according as he finds him, to advise thereof, which if hee seemes to embrace, then to send Mr. Henry Oxinden to him as an Envoy to conclude the old business and confirme the Articles of Peace as formerly agreed on; and also to endeavor to make peace and freindshipp betweene Sevagy and the Sidy, which if it pleaseth God to bring about, will tend much to the honor and advantage of the Honble. Company on this Island."'

5. Narain Shenvi's interview with Shivaji

After his interview with Shivaji, Narain Senvi sent an important budget of news regarding the terms of the treaty, the preparations for the coronation, the presents most acceptable

to Shivaji on the occasion of his enthronement, his wars with Bijapur and the Moguls, the internecine quarrels of the Siddis, and the necessity of sending Mr. H. Oxenden as an envoy for concluding the treaty. The portions describing Shivaji's wars with the Mogul and Bijapur have been left off from the following document and will be given in their proper place.

"Honourable Sir,

I arrived at Rairy on Tewsday of the last weeke which was the 24th March and on the same day I went to Banchar (Pachad) to visit Naragy Punditt which place is at the mountaines ffoot, and enquireing for him I encountred with his eldest soone Parlad Pundett (Prahlad Pandit) who advised me that

Nara'n puts up
with Naroji
Pandit.

his father Naragy Punditt was at the mountaines head and made me waite the Rajah Sevagys order to go up; upon which I sent one of my servants to give the Rajah notice of my arrival, who returned the same day with order from Naragy Punditt that I should remaine in his house, untill the time of mourning was over for the death of Rajah Sevagees

One Rani of
Shivaji dead.

wife; which I did resting there five dayes without operating any thing. In the interim came Naragy Punditt to his habitation to celebrate the Gentues New Years day and the next day carried me up the Hill with him and enordered me a good entertainment in a large house where I remained five days more.

Yesterday at noone being the third of Aprill, Naragy Punditt accompanied me up to the Rajahs Court and brought mee before him who received me with

Narain has
audience with
Shivaji.

much courtesy, gave me a seat very neare him, enquiring of Your Honours good health of which I gave him an account and reciprocally returned his complement; at which setting (sitting) I entered on the Rajapore business, and Naragy Punditt according to his accustomed favour in our behalfe demonstrated the matter better then I

Shivaji
consents to
pay money.

expected to his Master the Rajah; on which Savegee presently enordered his scrivans to passe orders concerning this affaire, viz: to pay the Rajapore money at three payments to witt:

2500, Pagodas out of the Rajapore customes, 2500 to be paid; the firste monsoone commencing the first of September next, and 5000 to be paid in two yeares space; to make which writings and orders 3 or four dayes will be requisite; which being effected I will send them to your

News sent to
Bombay.

Honour by Adallye Moody who is now with me; who arriving in safety to Your Honour will acquaint you more clearly on all passages here. I intended to have seen Sevagys writings and orders by this bearer, but seeing it would cost some time before they were finished, and, Your Honour enordering me to send you a Dayly express is the reason I so suddenly dispatht this and the reason I wrote Your Honour not before is because Naragy Punditt desired me not to write untill I had spoke with Sevajee for which fault I desire Your Honours pardon.

I cannot advise Your Honour particularly of what newse here stirring having not sufficient time, but it seemes unreasonable I should totally decline Preparations for coronation. it. Sevajee is making a throne very magnificent on which he spends much gould and jewells intending to be crowned in June next, being the beginning of the new yeare. To this coronation he hath invited many learned Bramines, and will liberally bestow on them many ellephants, horses and money; but it is not knowne whether he will be crowned in person or some other Prince, for it is reported he hath a prince of the Nizam Shahy race in his custody.

Now I desire Your Honour to send Mr. Henry Oxinden imediately with a good present, because I cannot stay long here by reason of the unwholesome waters of the hills. Concerning the present Naragy Punditt enquired of me and I answered him of that Mr. Precious stones and not an Arab horse wanted by Shivaji. Henry Oxinden would bring an Arabb Horse with him of considerable vallue; who desired me to write to Your Honour not to send any, because the Rajah had told him he had not occassion of any, but that in lieu thereof you would

please to send him some precious stones either pearles or diamonds, which may be worth his wearing at his coronation; wherefore I desire Your Honour to send some rings of precious stones or pearles or some chaines of pearles which the gentues wear on their shashes, because these people thinke that the English cannot want pearles and other jewells, being merchants at trade in shipping. Naragy Punditt enorders one to write Your Honour that if you should send a horse, the Rajah would never ride on him, but give him to some of his servants, or souldiers, because he hath many horses as well Arabba as Turkish; which considering Your Honour may please to doe as to you it seems best. Your Honour hath already wrote to Naragy Punditt that you would send an Englishman of Your Councill, which he hath made known to the Rajah; wherefore it is convenient

Henry Oxinden
be sent with a
large present.

that Mr. Henry Oxinden comes with a considerable present in conformity to his quallity which may be about 1000 or 1200

Rs. it is also reasonable that you present the Rajah with something at the time of his coronation, but this present you now send will serve for all. I likewise advertise Your Honour to mind Girderdas to send 25 ordinary thurmas to Naragy Punditt, for which he often persecutes me, and Girder promised to send them just after my departure; God preserve Your Honour is the prayer of

Rairy 4th April 1674.

Your Humble servant

Naran Sinay."

On the receipt of this letter, the Council held a consultation and despatched a letter to Surat giving them the purport of Shenwi's letter and their own proceedings.

Consultation in Bombay 9 April 1674

"Naransinay now treating with Sevagee, having wrote a letter to the President adviseing of the conclusion of the treaty with Sevagee and confirmation of the contract formerly agreed on, and desiring that Mr. Oxinden be immediately sent

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 78-83. Translated out of the Portuguese original.

to him to confirme the Articles of Peace betweene the English and Sevagee, and that he brings a considerable present of some jewells to Sevagy, in regard he intends to make himselfe King and to be crowned, which being fully debated, and considering the necessity there will be of sending a present to Sevagy at his coronation had not the treaty at this time been so happily concluded and agreed on, and also foreseeing the great advantage that will in time succeed to the Honble. Company, it was fully agreed on and

ORDERED That Mr. Henry Oxinden doe gett himselfe ready and be sent to Sevagy with a considerable present to confirme the Articles of Peace between us, and that what things are necessary for the present be sent for from (?) Surat with all convenient speed.

That Mr. Henry Oxinden and Mr. Stephen Ustick doe consider betwixt this and next Counsell day what is necessary to be inserted in the Articles to be demanded of Sevagy and to bring in their report accordingly.

That a letter be written to Naransinay for him to advise immediately what persons of Sevagy's Councell, or great men near him, are necessary to be presented and what value to be given to each of them. "

Consultation in Bombay 4 May 1674.

"The Governor having received a letter from Naransinay wherein he presseth very much for Mr. Oxinden to proceed in his journey to Rairee, in regard Sevagee intends very shortly to be crowned and to sitt on his throne, and likewise it being necessary that a speedy satisfaction touching the Sidyes fleete being here be given unto him, least it should prove disadvantageous to the concluding of the peace now in treaty.

ORDERED That Mr. Oxinden perpare himselfe with all speed to goe to Rairee with the present, and that Mr. John (Child), Mr. Oxinden and Mr. Ustick doe meete this afternoone and put the present in order, and to consider how it must be disposed, and to bring an account thereof the President next Councill day.

ORDERD also That Mr. George Robinson and Mr. Thomas Mitchell doe accompany Mr. Oxinden for his assistance in this affaire.¹

6. The Embassy of H. Oxenden

Henry Oxenden was the second son of Sir Henry Oxenden, the eldest brother of Sir George Oxenden, the famous President of the English Factory at Surat. Henry Oxenden was sent out to India as a writer on a salary of £ 20 in 1662.² He wanted to return home after having served the Company for sixteen years in India,³ but was appointed Deputy Governor of Bombay⁴ in Dec. 1677 and therefore he stayed on for some time more.

He was entrusted with the work of negotiating the terms of a treaty with Shivaji in 1674 and of securing commercial privileges and a due compensation for the losses suffered by the English Company at Rajapur and Hubli. The English Factors had continued to demand reparation for about fifteen years. At last, they succeeded in obtaining it through the tactful and diplomatic address of Narain Shenvi and H. Oxenden. Appropriate presents had to be sent with the ambassador, and special attention was paid to their selection.

7. Presents for Shivaji

"Consultation in Surat, 16th April 1674, Present; Messrs. Gray, James, Gyffard, Chamberlan.

Our freinds at Bombay by their advice of the 9 Currant giving us an account of their proceedings with Sevagee by

Narran Sinnay their scrivann, who they had
 The sum to be sent before to prepare business against Mr.
 paid by Shivaji.

Henry Oxindens arrivall to him. The said Narran Sinnay finding greater success than he expected, for Sevajee being willing to come to an accomodation for the

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, p. 29.

2. E. F. 1661-64, Pp. 94-5.

3. B. P. Unav. Vol VII, Surat Letter. 15th Jan. 1677-78.

4. Ibid. Letter to London, dated 6th Feb. 1677-78.

Companies and their servants losses at Rajapore on such tearmes as he propounded the last year, by the payment of 10,000 pagodees now directed his scrivans to pass orders concerning that affairsto pay it at three payments, vizt. 2500 Pagodas out of the Rajapore Customs, 2500 to be paid the first monsoone commencing the first September next, and 5000 to be paid in two years space.

The business being soe near an accomodation, Narran Sinnay desired the President to send Presents to be sent to Shivaji.

away Mr. Oxinden with as much haste as might be, and a suitable present in jewells and pearles, he understanding that the horses intended him would not be so acceptable, in regard he was making a rich and stately throne and intended to be crownd a King in June next; wherefore the President and his Councell there, having desired us to provide in all haste the following particulars, wee resolve to use our best endeavours to performe it, or so many of them as may be had.¹

2	Pearle both	Rups. 500
4	ditto	800
4	rubys for Ear Jewells	200
1	diamond ring	400
1	ditto	300
1	ditto	200
1	ruby ring	200
1	head Jewell like a feather	700
2	Bracelets	400

3700

List of what is sent to Bombay to present Sevajee:—²

2	Pearle wt. 10 $\frac{1}{10}$	rutties cost rups. 500
4	ditto wt. 18 $\frac{9}{16}$	750
1	diamond ring rose cutt	450
1	ditto	325
1	ditto a table	130
1	head Jewell like a feather	680
2	bracelets	450
	insurance at $1\frac{3}{8}$ per Cent	29 $\frac{1}{4}$

Rupees 3314 $\frac{1}{4}$

At last, Mr. Child, Mr. Oxinden and Mr. Ustick were asked to arrange the presents for Shivaji and others in several lots as these were to be presented. The President and Council, having examined the same, approved of them. The contents of the present were as follows:—

Contents of the
present sent to
Shivaji.

To Sevagy Rajah:

One head jewell sett with diamonds &ca. cost Rups. 690

Two bracelettts sett with diamonds &ca. Cost Rups. 450

Two pearles poiz. Rutts 10 $\frac{1}{10}$ cost Rups. 1650

To Sombagee Rajah, Sevagy Rajahs sonn:

Two bracetletts sett with small rubys. Rs. 125

One breast jewell of 8 diamonds. Rups. 375

To Morah Pundett, Sevagy's greatest favourite:

Two large pearles valued at Rups. 400

To Annagee Pundett, a great favourite:

Two gold chaines poiz. Tolaes 7 Rups. 125

To Narragee Pundett, another favourite:

Two Pamarines cost Rups. 70

To Rawgee Somnatt, Sevagy's Secretary:

Two Pamarines cost Rups. 70

Total Rups. 2690

Besides severall other small presents which are left to Mr. Oxinden to dispose of to under officers as hee shall see occation and for the Company's interest." ¹

Besides small
presents to
officers.

8. Reasons for sending Oxenden

Two days later, a letter was sent from Surat to Bombay containing the second list of the presents and suggesting that Mr. Oxenden should try to secure substantial benefits for the Company.

"Wee are now in answer of yours of the 9th current inclosing us a translate of Narrandas Shinas letter, by which

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 1, pp. 36-37.

wee perceive you are likely to come to a speedy accomodacon
with Sevagee on the condicons that you were the last yeare
treating about, of paying you 10,000 Pagodas

Oxinden might
procure more
privileges.

in full satisfaction for the Hon'ble Companys
and their servants losses in Rajahpore
and wee may consequently inferr that the
Companys late loss at Hubely must be included. Your
sending Mr. Oxinden on that employ wee hope will make
some addition by his procureing us further priviledges for
our trade in his country; the present which you desire may
be sent with all speed to accompany him, wee have been
collecting, these two dayes as near as wee cann in such
particulars as you desire from us, what is wanting, as the
Rubie for the ear jewell, and the Rubie

Nature of
presents.

ring of such value which are not at present
procurable; wee have supplied with a dagger
of neat worke, which wee thinke may be as acceptable to him
as any of the other. The particulars which wee send you
are as followes: (the same as in the previous document).

All which particulars wee leave to Moan Drumdas
(Mohan Dharmdas) and by Volup Lickmedas (Vallabh
Lakhmidas) Sheroffs to send you which they do a cosset that
accompanyes your cooly, the bearer hereof.

That Sevagee is much offended at your favouring the
Siddee in permitting his vessells to winter att your
island, and hath expresst soe much to

Wrath of the
Mogul counter-
balanced by
commercial
advantages.

Narrandas Sinay, wee have reason to believe
and you may doe noe less of the other
interest here, for when the Governor here
or the Kings Generall near you there, shall
come to understand (as certainly they will) this your
embassage, and conclusion of a peace with the Kings
enemy, together with your denyall of their fleett to
harbour with you, you must needs conclude that the
Mogull will take us for none of his friends, and that
wee must be exposed to many injurys, if the Company
doe not also suffer in their trade; but you having soe

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, pp. 153-4. 18 April 1674.

often manifested to us how much the good and well-being of the island both for provisions and traffique depends upon an accomodacon with Sevagee, together with the trade that wee expect to have by the settlement of factoryes in his country, that wee shall patiently endure what these people may impose on us, rather then declyne the interest and benefitt of the Company in their Island.

As Narran Siney doth give you little hopes of procureing peace between Sevagee and Siddee of Danda Rajpore soe wee think is not a business soe facile to be effected, for a warr soe many yeares standing, to be suddenly accomodated. Thus wee have given answer to your letters and having nothing here of newes that offers wee must conclude and subscribe.

Peace between
Shivaji and
Siddi not easy.

P. S. Whereas wee intended to send you a dagger the man that ownes it stands on such high termes for it that wee thought it not necessary to buy it at soe extravagant a rate."¹

They informed Surat that the Royal Fleet consisting of two men of war, 5 frigates and 15 grabs came for shelter into the Bay of Bombay on 24th April:

"Though they have exceedingly importuned, yet I can no way give my consent for their wintering here, and if possible I will get them out.

From the time of their wintering here Sevagee has not suffered any provisions or wood to be brought to this Island from his countries.

Forced to supply ourselves from the Portugal country and Batticala and other places.

Sevagee will use his utmost art and force to destroy the fleet if they winter here.

Caus Moody being lately at Cullean and Negotanna about some affairs there, the Soubidar of those places, Dadagee Pundit told him that he had orders from Sevagee his master, not only to hinder all provisions from coming to this Island, but also to make war upon us from those parts, if we suffered the Siddy's fleet to winter here."¹

1. Orme Mss. Vol. 114, Sect. 3, pp. 104-6. Bombay to Surat 25th April 1674.

The news that Shivaji was offended at the wintering of the Siddi's fleet in the Bombay harbour, caused much anxiety to the Bombay Council.

On 27th April 1674 the President propounded to the Council that.

"Seeing it pleased God to force the Sidyes fleete into this harbor, and that he supposed Sevagy might be offended at our sheltering his enemy soe near them, whether Mr. Oxinden should as yet be sent with the present to conclude the old Rajapore difference and confirme the peace betweene the English and him, or no? Which being fully considered.

RESOLVED That Mr. Oxinden should gett himselfe ready to goe to Sevagy, but that his Journey for the present should be suspended untill the Sidyes fleete be gone from hence, which 'tis hoped wilbe in few dayes if it pleaseth God to lay the high winds and seas."²

Three days later, another consultation was held when it was resolved that the Siddi should be asked to clear out of the port, otherwise his provisions should be stopped.

"RESOLVED That Captain John Shaxton, Deputy Governor, Mr. John Child, Mr. Henry Oxinden and Mr. Stephen Ustick doe all repair this afternoone on board the Sidy, and first of all, after the usual compliments passed, in civill termes to desire the Sidy to depart with his fleete out of this Port urging those affectuall reasons which ought to perswade him thereunto, (vizt.) the great danger the fleete will runn of being burnt by Sevagees people, and the want of provisions and famine on the Island, and Sevagees resolution to declare warr against us if wee doe admitt of any such thing, and in case he still obstinately refuseth to be gone, to put the King's Duay (Duhai-outlawry) upon him, declaring that after 3 dayes time, which wee give him to victuall and water his fleete, wee will shutt up the Port and not suffer any of his men to come on shoare nor any sort of provisions to be sent to them, and to make a publique

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fols. 153-4. Surat to Bombay, 18th April 1674.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, pp. 26-7. Bombay Consultation, Cf O, C. Vol. 34. No. 3918.

protest in the presence of all the Moores there present that if any evil, damage or loss doth happen to the King's fleete, or if any quarrell, breach of peace and amity doth fall out betweene the King and the English on this score, that they are the cause of it and lett the evill light upon their owne heads." ¹

9. Instructions to Oxenden

Now follow the detailed instructions to Mr. H. Oxenden who was deputed to the Court of Shivaji as an ambassador of the English for getting the treaty confirmed by the Rajah.

Complete instructions are given to Mr. Oxenden in this letter, from which we learn that (1) Shivaji had consented to pay 10,000 pagodas for losses sustained by the English at Rajapur; (2) the English were at liberty to settle Factories in any part of the Maratha Kingdom; (3) they were restricted to trade in the port towns alone, but attempt was to be made to have this restriction removed, so that the Company's agent might make purchases and sales in the Deccan; (4) Shivaji was to be advised to make peace with the Siddi; (5) the Raja was to be requested to permit the money of the Bombay mint to be current in his Kingdom, to construct new roads for trade with Bombay and to reduce the transit tolls on merchandise; and lastly (6) the question of the disposal of wrecks was also to be raised. ²

"Instructions given by us the Governor and Councill for affaires of the Honourable Company on the Island Bombay unto our loving friend Mr. Henry Oxinden to be observed by him in the negotiation for the treaty with Sevagee Rajah"

Mr. Henry Oxinden. The experience you have had of all the affairs of moment and overtures which have occurred betwixt Sevagee and us relating to this treaty by means of your dayly assistance of us in Councill where the matter hath been largely debated, may excuse the trouble of our

Oxinden's
intimate
knowledge.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, pp. 27-8, 30th April 1674.

2. Cf. Bruce's Annals, ii, 364.

further animadversions thereon in this paper, but that we may not be wholly wanting to our duty we think good to recommend the following instructions *for your observation*.

The former difference between the Honourable Company and Sevagee at Rajapore being for the present accomodated by a mutuall agreement and contract between us with the particulars whereof you are thoroughly, acquainted our rest work is to endeavour the establishment of a
 Concessions for trade. secure and advantageous course of traide betwixt this island and the countreyes under his jurisdiction which we trust in God, may tend very much to our Honourable Masters interest for the better effecting whereof, we have thought good to send you to the said Sevagee's court at the Castle of Raire that you may in person treat with him touching the Confirmation of those Articles which we herewith deliver unto you and for that the evill custome of these Easterne parts puts the Company to an indispensible necessity of presents in such cases there being nothing to be done in these parts of the world without them.

"We judge it necessary and prudent in this conjuncture to be somewhat more free handed then otherwise we should be, that we may the better prevaile with him and his ministers of State to gratifie the Company in their reasonable demands and to procure the better esteeme and endearment of our Nation and traide amongst them, wherefore at your arrivall when you observe a convenient time you are to present to Sevagee, his Mother, son, etc. those jewels and rarities which are appointed in Consultation for them which we hope will be very acceptable seeing as Naran Sinay informed us they are more desirous of such jewels then any other thing we can present them, which therefore will be more proper and necessary in regard Sevagee is designing to make himselfe a King.

In the Contract signed by Savages wherein he promiseth the payment of 10000 Kings Pagothas for

satisfaction of the Company's losse sustained at Rajapore, there are somethings mentioned which are more then we agreed to in our Treaty with his Envoy, (vizt),

The manner of
payment of
10,000 pagodas. That in the first payment of 2500 Pagothas, it is to be discounted out of 5000 Pagothas worth of goods, which we are to buy of him, and so consequently in the rest of payments which was not resolved upon or agreed to possitively by us, but rather that we were to receive it in ready money which you are to endeavour to press him unto, but in case he declares, that he cannot spare ready money and that he will force goods upon us, you are to be carefull that you doe not take any old and unmerchantable goods and that they be not over prized, to the end neither the Company nor the interest(t)ed be loosers thereby; and if you can possibly procure Pepper, Dungarees, Percollas or any sort of Callicoes proper for Europe, it will be much the better, provided the prices are reasonable, wherein you must regulate yourselfe according to the list of prices which you will carry along with you and for that we observe Sevagee Rajah hath a parcell of old Cannekins (Kimkhabs) which he is desirous to dispose of; we would have you to please him, and for formality's sake looke upon them, but not to medle with them except you find the Company will be gainers by them and not loosers.

Secondly, in that clause wherein he admits the English liberty to settle Factories in any port of his Dominions, we find that Negotanna and Penn, and the parts lying over against Bombay are not expressly included, wherefore we would have you make that one of the Articles that we may settle and build warehouses in any of those parts, declaring that it will be a great conveniency to his own occasions, and a meanes to bring downe traide to that part of the Country.

Thirdly, in the last clause he limitts the English that they shall buy and sell only in port and not transport any goods in the inland Countreyes; this you may tell him is a great inconveniency and discouragement to traide and that which no King or Prince ever hitherto imposed upon us, for in all Industan, Decan, Persia, Arabia and

Permission to
settle factories
in Negothana
and Penn to be
obtained.

Permission to
carry on inland
trade.

the South Seas and other parts where we traide we have liberty to transport goods paying custome at port only. Wherefore you must presse him by all reasonable arguments to make an alteration of that clause and to grant us the same priviledges which we enjoy in other parts, otherwise we shall be very much discouraged and not traide so much as otherwise we shall doe.

Wee reasonably presume that Sevagee will be much offended at the Sidys wintering his Fleete in this Bay, but when he hath understood what endeavours

Explanation for
Siddi's fleet in
Bombay.

we have used to turne him out and how roughly we have treated his men, the perticulers whereof you are to manifest unto him, having been witness of the transactions here, and when you have represented unto him and made him sensible of the indispensable engagements that we have in the Mogull's Country by meanes of traide and settling of Factories in his Dominions, we doubt not but he will in his wisdom be fully satisfied of our integrity, and the full desire we have to keep a good understanding with him, and you may further declare, that he also hath vessells wintering here as well as they and we could not in reason and prudence, deny the Sidy the same kindness, though it be very much against our will and inclination.

Amongst Sevagees chieffest Ministers of State you must particularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Punditt who hath expressed extraordinary kindness and affection to the Company's Interest and therefore you are to communicate unto him all our desires and proposalls, before they be presented to Sevagee, that you may take his advise and approbation therein, desiring him to intercede and mediate with Sevagee Rajah for the speedy conclusion thereof. You are also to pay all civil respects to his Peshwaw or Second Minister of State Moropunt and likewise to Annagee Pundit with whom we may have frequent occasions of corrispondence, so that the nearer intimacy you gain with him the better.

Seeing that the present warr betwixt Sevagee and the Sidy of Danda Rajapore causeth a great obstruction and

security to traide, we hold it consistent with the Company's Interest and becoming our duty so farr as in us lyes,

Shivaji to be
advised to make
peace with the
Siddi. to endeavour an accommodation of peace between them, for if they two were friends, the King of India's fleet now sent to assist the said Sidy would be called home and not molest

these parts and more, wherefore we desire that when you see a fit oportunity you debate the matter seriously with Naragee Punditt, representing unto him the advantages of such a peace together with the charges and misery of the warr, and that it is likely long to continue, at least so long as this King lives, except he makes peace with the Sidy Futtu Chann, which warr if continued may prove a greater prejudice to Sevagee than the takeing of Danda Rajapore will advantage him, whereunto you may add some other arguments which the President hath in private communicated unto which we hope will prevaile with him, as tending to his owne advantage, but if you find him to be adverse to it, you may desist from moving of it to the Rajah declaring that what the President designes is only the office of a good neighbour and friend to them both, for he desires not only to keep peace with his neighbours, but that his neighbours keep peace one with another.

In the agreement made with Sevagee's Envoy Bimagee Punditt touching the satisfaction to be paid the Company for their losse at Rajapore in regard Neragee Punditt whom we have before recommended unto you, did prove the only mediator to bring Sevagee to so fair and good accommodation we thought good to promise him for his

Presents to
Niraji and
Shivaji's envoy. encouragement 500 Pagothas to be paid him out of the said money, thereby to obleige him the more to doe the Company further service in their traide hereafter, and also we promised to Bimagee Punditt the Envoy for his effectual service therein 100 Pagoths; wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirme our promise; but endeavour to put it off to the second or third payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first, you are not to deny them, for it is necessary for us to keep them our friends.

You are to discourse with Neragee Punditt touching the opening of a way for the merchants to convey goods betwixt Ballegatt and the inland Mart Townes of Decan and Negotanna and the Maine over against Bombay, declaring unto him that it will be a great meanes to enrich his Country and secure those parts, for when our traide is once settled there, we shall be better able to assist him in the strengthening those parts against any enemy; wherefore we desire you to press him earnestly thereunto for that it will be a notable advantage to his country.

You are also to advise Naragee Punditt that he use his interest to perswaide Sevagee to encourage all merchants to traide and bring down goods from the neighbouring parts of Decan, to which end it is necessary that he causeth his officers to use them with great kindness in moderate customes and freedome from unjust exactions, for nothing doth more advance traide then that and he will find his Revenue to encrease more by such a way then hitherto he hath taken.

Wee hope the management of this affaire will not require much time, and for that we know not how emergencies may fall out, we cannot limit the time of your stay but referr it to you; for we would not have you returne without some good effect of your business which we presume may be completed in one month or 40 dayes at most, but we desire you to advise us constantly of all passages on receipt whereof we shall give you such further directions as are necessary and we commit you to the Almighty's protection and remain, ¹

Your very loving friends. "

1. O. C. 3963, 11th May 1674, Bombay.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Dutch Records at the Hague

Tragedy of Afzal Khan (See Pp. 49-53)

The first three documents are obtained from the Algemeen Reijksarchief, the Hague. The Dagh-Register of 1661 (P. 40) speaking about Shivaji's victories, alludes to him as one about whom much was reported in the Wingurla despatches of the last year. I wrote to the Archivist for supplying me a copy of these letters, but the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona had also approached him and got the copies. These were translated by Mr. R. D. Vadekar, M. A. and included in the Shivaji Nibandhavali. As there are many archaic words in the 17th century Dutch and the extracts were in manuscripts, Mr. Vadekar could not be sure of the correctness of his translation. Hence I sent a copy of the book to my friend Dr. E. C. Godee Molesbergen, Litt. D., Government Archivist at Batavia. He very kindly corrected the Dutch text and the English translation. Hence the three letters are being reprinted here in their new garb.

✓ The first letter is dated 5th May 1660 and was written shortly after Afzal Khan's incident and the capture of Panhala by Shivaji. This Dutch letter clearly confirms the English evidence that Afzal Khan practised dissimulation and desired to treacherously murder Shivaji.

Copy of the letter of the Wingurla Office to the Governor General-in-Council of India. 5 May 1660.¹

“ The late king of Visiapour, Sultan Mahomed Adelsia had, in his life--time, taken into service a certain heathen captain named Siwasie who is the son of the old bird of prey Sahagie who violently and without any reason in the year 1657, made himself the master of the Company's lodge at Sadrempatam

Shahji in the
Karnatic.

1. Col. Archives No. 1123.

and roguishly imprisoned the servants of the Company.¹ Sivasia is revolting against His Royal Majesty for the last 10-12 years; he went to the territories of Chiouela (Choul) and Bassijn,² where he has obtained such a great following that at present (he) can bring a powerful army to the battlefield. (And he) has taken from that kingdom, since the time of his rebellious activities, various prominent fortresses and many celebrated commercial centres; and he is daily yet doing the same. This has roused the young Prince Ali Adelchia to stop this procedure (so) unbearable to himself; so he commanded thither the noble Lord Abdulchan, his General, with an awful army *with an express order that he should destroy the above-mentioned Siwasie by the strength of his arms or he should rob him of his life as far as possible with sweet words and great promises and affirmations of unmingled friendship.* This resolution has been plainly communicated to him by a most prominent councillor of the Visiapour Court, *warning the above-named Siwasie not to trust in the noble Lord Abdulchan who was sent for no other purpose but to ruin him (lit. to fetch his head)."*³

Abdula Khan to
treacherously
capture
Shivaji.

Siwasie being a cunning fox, taking the advice to heart, thought of meeting the noble general with a great army, but retired after some resistance, and outwardly assumed an appearance of flight. He spread the news in his army that although he was as powerful in the field as the noble Lord Abdulchan, he could not hold (against him), when he remembered the brave deeds and great victories which the worthy general had always achieved against his enemies; and that an extraordinary pusillanimity and terror had overcome him. These reasons spread like a wild fire through the whole army and reached the ears of the noble Lord Abdulchan who thereupon, according to the fashion of the Moors, as a high flown person, prided (over it). This Siwasie, in order

Shivaji
pretends fear.

1. See Part I, p. 146.
2. Shivaji Vol. I. pp. 50-59.
3. Shivaji Vol. I, p. 50.

to make the previous rumours probable, sent his mother¹ along with the house-wife to the Moorish General with very modest prayers and an humble request that His Grace should spare (her) son any mal-treatment or demonstration

Shivaji's
mother and wife
sent to intercede
for him.

of any threats, which would terrify him so much that he scarcely would know how to behave. She entreated further to receive him fondly in his grace, and to take the oath in the Jentive (Hindu) way that no harm would be done to Siwasie and that he would not be put to death. She added that Siwasie would promise to hand over to him the 23 forts which he had taken from the Visiapour Kingdom from time to time, with two candy goods, each of 540 Dutch lbs, to the noble Lord Abdulchan keeping for himself not more than four fortresses and that he intended to live quietly and peacefully on the income (which he had). All this was heard by the often-mentioned general with great pleasure and he took an oath according to the desire of the above-mentioned ladies that he would not do any harm to Siwasie, but on the contrary, would show all goodwill and try to restore Siwasie in the grace of the Visiapur King. With his answer the just-mentioned ladies appeared to be exceedingly pleased. They took leave, plainly reported their adventures to Siwasie and the promises given by the noble Lord to them. Siwasie thereupon despatched immediately a complimentary letter with perfect satisfaction at the worthy general; and he

Atzal Khan
requested to
come to Javli.

requested further that the noble Lord should please come near the fortress of Saulie (Javli) with a few people where he would hand over the keys of the fortresses with all submission in order to receive the promised gifts. Thereupon the General Abdulchan decided to go there, although he was warned and advised by three persons at various times out of sincere regard for him that he should not go to the place. Siwasie,

1. Shivaji Vol. I, p. 51. The contemporary evidence is persistent upon this point.

being a rebellious and dishonest rogue who deserved no confidence, showed by means of the steepness of the hills and impassable ways that he intended treachery and in such a wilderness he could do anything he liked. But the renowned general through vanity punished the above-mentioned persons miserably; the nose of one was

Afzal Khan
brought to
Pratapgad.

cut off, the other was spitted at and he answered the third (that) although he was not sprung from such a noble blood, being Rustam Zaman's brother, he had the same

way to go. The general travelled to the destination with the pick of his horsemen, consisting of 7000 men. He was brought by the most prominent men of Siwasie with great splendour to a well-erected and eminently decked-out theatre (where on the opposite side another similar to that made for Abdulchan was also erected for Siwasie). In the meanwhile the well-known robber sent a great quantity of cooked foodstuffs for the exhausted horsemen of the general (i. e. Abdulchan) who alighted from their horses forthwith and drew off their arms and fell to eating. Siwasie who was guarded by an armour under his dress, saw this and lost no time to achieve the end of his desires. But he very earnestly

The fatal
interview.

prayed that before delivering the keys to the general and as a proof of submission and for pardon of his deplorable misdeeds, he might fall at the feet of the general, which was allowed to him by the general after some opposition. Then the same rebel opened the belly of Abdulchan by means of a concealed weapon in such a way that the intestines¹ came out and (he) quickly took to flight. After he was chased out fruitlessly, he saved himself in the before-mentioned Castle of Sauli (Javli). In the meanwhile the general once more reached with great alarm his palanquin, but he was struck again by one of Siwasie's people in such a way that he died at once. Then this rebel had a cannon fired as a signal for the announcement of victory to his men

1. Part I, p. 22.

and followers (6,000 foot--soldiers and 2,000 horsemen) who lay concealed in a certain jungle around the above-mentioned theatres of war. These people rushed out with a tumultuous noise and killed the greater part of the general's army except those who rescued themselves by taking recourse to flight. Amongst the latter was the eldest son of the late general, but his two brothers, besides the brother of the Lord Rustumsuma and also other respectable persons, were seized alive and imprisoned. They had in the beginning to suffer many affronts, but now they are treated fairly reasonably. After this had taken place, Siwasie ordered his army to destroy the Visiapour forces as far as it was possible, which would have happened, but for the warning given to them by others. They took to flight. However, a good many were killed during their flight. There was not much mourning about Abdulchan's death, as he was very cruel in all his deeds. The above-mentioned rebel not taking any rest, has taken into his possession by treachery or other means besides the old forts, also many other forts, in which is included, so to say, a well-nigh unconquerable fort of Punnala and great trading cities of the Visiapour Kingdom--yea, he advanced within a short period to places quite near to Visiapour.¹ He was expected any moment in *the world-famed trading town called Ragiabagh* (Raibag) which is situated at a two-to-three day's journey from Visiapour, where he (Shivaji) had already a secret correspondence with the chief inhabitants. But for the old queen sending immediately a strong garrison from Paddegong, situated at a days' journey from this village to that place, Siwasie would have carried out his intention. All this

The result of
the rout.

Rustam Zaman
defeated by
Shivaji.

1. The following places are said to have been captured after the defeat of Afzal Khan:—

Wai, Chandan, Wandan, Khatav (Khatvangk), Mayani (Mayavani), Haljayan-tica, Ashti, Aste, Vandgaon (Vatgram), Velapur, Audumber (Udumbaram), Masur, Karhad, Supe (Shurpam), Tambe (Tamra), Pali (Pallika), Nerle, Kameri (Kamanagari), Visiapur (Vishrampur), Save (Savaham), Uran, Kole (Kolam), and Kolhapur (Karvir). (Shiva Bharat XXIII. 52, 59-61). The last place did not fall into the hands of Shivaji. Therefore the list is not fully reliable.

has caused the gravest commotion in Visiapour. The noble Lord Rustumsuma was commanded by the king to speedily go thither to stop the above-mentioned rebel by means of a fairly large army and to attack him to his utmost abilities. For his assistance, horsemen and foot-soldiers are daily recruited from all quarters. The above-mentioned new general, considering himself strong enough, fought Siwasie, but the latter secured a victory. Rustumsuma lost 12 elephants,

Shivaji marches
on Bijapur.

1000 horses, and a party of foot-soldiers and was obliged to take quarters again in Houkerrie, being the feudal lord of it and residing there.¹

The rebel, having held the field a second time, was urged by haughtiness to promote his victory further and thereafter he travelled further with a fairly strong army to the royal city of Visiapour² which place he approached in 2 to 2½ days, taking into his possession all the towns in his way without any opposition.³ He approached the fort of Mirsi (Miraj) where he was checked. He used his

1. Shivaji was accompanied by Netaji, Jadhavrao, Kharate with his son Hanmant, Pandhare, Hilal, Hiraji, Ingle, Bhimaji Vagh, Sidhoji Powar, Godaji Jagtap, Mahadik, etc. Rustum's army had the following generals:—

Fazal, Malik Itabar, Saadat, Fatte Khen, son of Aziz Khan and Mullahay, Santaji Ghorpade, Sarjerao Ghatage. The battle array was as follows:—

Sardar Fazal to the left, Rustum in the middle, and Malik Itabar with Saadat to the right. Fatte Khan and Mullahav at the rear. Santaji Ghorpade, Sarjerao Ghatage and other warriors protected the army on all sides.

Netaji was to go against Fazal, Vagh against Mullahay, Ingle against Malik Itabar. Mahadik was to face Fatte Khan, Sindhoji was to attack Saadat, and Godaji to fight Ghatage and Ghorpade. Kharate and Pandhare should attack from the right and Hilal and Jadhav should attack from the left, while Shivaji was to face the valourous Rustum. (Sh. Bh. XXIV. 42-53).

2. Shivaji Vol. 1. P. 53.

3. Places said to have been captured by Shivaji's armies after Rustum laid down his arms and Fazal fled with a few horsemen. Some of these are mere villages, but many of them which are given in italics, did not at all come into his possessions at this time. The Maratha light horse might have levied contributions from some of these places.

Kavathe, Borgaon, Malgaon, Kundal, Ghogaon, Sathikiri, Aid, *Miraj*, *Gokak*, *Dodvad*, *Murvad*, *Dharwar*, *Khudravandypur*, *Sangao* (Shamgram), *Mayil*, *Pargaon*, *Sangli*, *Kanad*, *Kurundvad*, *Kagal*, *Hebal*, *Hanuvalli*, *Hunavad*, *Raybag*, *Hukeri*, *Kandgaon*, *Haldi*, *Ghunika*, *Kini*, *Arag*, *Telsang*, *Kerur*, *Ambur*, *Kamalapur*, *Athni*, *Tikote*, and other big towns. (Sh. Bh. XXV. 4-99).

strength in vain, in as much as the men of the king fought bravely; therefore Siwasie laid a siege to the castle. In the meanwhile, the Visiapour prince spared no pains in order to assemble his army once more which amounted to 16 to 20 thousand horsemen and 35,000 to 40,000

Siddi Jauhar
against Shivaji.

foot-soldiers. This was placed under the command of a certain Sidisoor (Sidy Jauhar) and brought to the field a third time. Siwasie, when he was informed of this, raised (the siege) and marched off slowly to the fortress of Panela and busied himself to rally once more his troops which were disposed here and there and they were for the time being judged to be as strong as the army of His Majesty. Thereupon Siwasie was obliged to give up those conquered towns which could not well protect themselves and these have been taken into possession directly

Position of
Rustam Zaman.

by Rustumsuma, from which it clearly follows that he is united with the other to help him on receiving secretly 40,000 pagodas. Therefore His Majesty has no faith in Rustumsuma who only openly pretends to be His Majesty's friend and servant. The above-mentioned Lord yet retained himself about Houkerri in a three-forked road in order to take the favourable advantage of the changing situation of the war with the lapse of time. The above-mentioned armies have not yet met each other. We surely presume that Siwasie who is a cunning fox, stands

Shivaji to bribe
Jauhar.

ready with all his devilish practices and cunning in order to buy off Sidisoor and other eminent persons who are said to be with him, both with gold (money) and promises of great benefit, as he knows too well that in case the Visiapour King would lose this battle, he (i. e., the king) can offer no further resistance. Siwasie, seeing that Sidisoor had arrived quite near to the fort of Panela, to which this rebel had advanced as a place of retreat, speedily despatched 4 to 5,000 cavalry from his army by another way to Visiapour, which, within an incredibly short time attacked at night unexpectedly the suburb of

Visiapour called Champoer (Shahpur) and took it into possession after some feeble resistance and freely plundered it, which caused an unusual terror at the royal court; but as it was

A Maratha
force surprises
Bijapur.

learnt that the enemy was not strong, the king has sent his bodyguard consisting of 5000 cavalry, which was the whole army in Visiapour, under the command of the Lord Cahveschan (Khawas Khan), the feudal Lord of Wingurla against the cavalry of Siwasie. The armies struggled very long and it was long doubtful which party would be successful. But the men of His Majesty achieved so much that Siwasie's people finally receded six miles not without a great loss. The Siddi general when he was informed of the surprise attack, sent to Visiapour 4,000 to 5,000 cavalry for the safety of Alie Adelchia.

Some days ago, it was further reported that the above-mentioned Sidisoor had despatched 400 foot soldiers with

Jauhar asks for
ammunition
from the
English at
Rajapur.

a party of cavalry and five palanquins from his army to Ragiapour and asked for the King (of Visiapour) help of some English people who resided there and also two metal-pieces of cannon, which they (i. e., the English) had to hand over to the Lord (Sidisoor) against their will; but how many English people have left Ragiapour) for that place (i. e. Pannala) is not known to us to this day. The peevish Dessey Lockomsant is also playing a part in the above-mentioned rebellion. Having strongly ordered the Commander and his horsemen who were here residing to leave the village after paying them 1500 pagodas which he took from the revenue of the country, he himself took possession of the village. The others left it on December 26th of the last year at three o'clock in the morning and marched to Visiapour, to complain of the affronts and strange proceedings of their lord. Lockomsant, seeing in the meantime that Siwasie apparently was to be checked in his march by Rustumsuma's army on its way to the south, and that at Paddegion and some other places in the neighbourhood the government

was put in good order, forced the prominent persons residing here to sign a document, stated that the Governor and his troops left the village by sheer fear of Siwasie and that they had gone to Visiapour. He sent this document with one of his letters to Lord Chaveschan, asking to send as soon as possible a new Governor, so as to despatch His Lordship's ships which were ready to leave. In the meantime, he induced the inhabitants of Wingurla, who

Change of
Governors.

with the Governor intended to take French leave, with kind words and many other invented stories, to stay. That Lord sent

another person (namely Chan Abdula) to act as Governor. He arrived here on the 14th of last February. Up till now he shows himself a friend of the Company externally at least. In the meanwhile, the much-written-of

Shivaji's forces
marching to
Kudal.

Siwasie despatched some troops to master the lowest land (i. e., Tal Konkan) and these made good progress from Dabul to Coudael— $\frac{1}{2}$

day's journey. Thereupon the Desseij Lokkomsant resolved to defend his lands, viz., Banda and Wingurla, to oppose Siwasie's people in a gallant battle.

He allied himself for this purpose with many other Desseijs residing in the neighbourhood and raised an army of about 4,000 men. With that force he travelled in the beginning of the last February to Coudael. But Siwasie's various messengers knew how to please Lokkomsant, so much so that the latter changed his resolution to oppose Siwasie against the will of his allies, and concluded a contract with the general of Siwasie's army to the effect that Marathas should pass through his lands without any hostility. Thereupon Lokkomsant returned to Warri (Wari) (where he stayed) with the main portion of his army. But Siwasie's people came

Kudal taken

to Coudael and took the fortress into their possession, thus showing that they were not inclined to vacate the town in a short time. Their general asked Siwasie for more help with all speed, so that his army

was strengthened with 4,000 foot-soldiers and 7,000 cavalry. Lokkomsant now saw the danger in which he had placed himself and he was alarmed. In order to escape this danger, he sent at night and at different times some troops to Coudael with an order to raise false alarms to make the people of Siwasie retire, but they menaced only the undaunted. The enemy was expected to come every day in that place. The news caused such a terror that most of the inhabitants embarked their goods in *Moussons* and other boats, and intended, on arrival of the rebel to take to flight with their wives and families. In the meanwhile, Lokkomsant was compelled to join his forsaken freinds so as to hunt out the enemy once more as far as possible. They agreed to make an attempt and once more an army of 4,000 persons marched on Caudael and made

Kudal recaptured
by Lakham-
Savant.

a small attack on the fort between the 17th and 18th of last March. But Siwasie's people defended it up to the morning. However, at day-break they saw that their powder was consumed, they set the town ablaze and took to flight in all directions, with a loss of a few dead and wounded on either side. The Dessij thereupon became very much puffed up with pride and thought that his name would be greatly honoured in His Majesty's Court. The inhabitants of Wingurla also have given up their fear. Siwasie's general perpetrated many wanton acts and unbearable tyrannies, and pressed out of the common people a sum of 60,000 guilders.

As soon as the Dessij Lokkomsant had driven the people of Siwasie out of Coudael, a certain Ragie who himself

Shivaji loses
more ports.

resided near Alchera, also declared the above-mentioned rebel Siwasie as his enemy and expelled his people out of the newly conquered sea-ports in the South. Rustumsuma, being informed of this fact, wrote to the King that the famous and victorious campaign against Siwasie was carried out by his order and through his intermediary. In fact, he regretted the course of events and intended to take revenge upon Lockomsant.

For that purpose, he took Coudael and Ponda into his possession with the aid of a small party of cavalry and foot-soldiers. Captain Chamber by orders of the above-mentioned Lord is taking a band of soldiers into his service so as to wage war on Lockomsant. This has once more caused terror in the lowest lands (Konkan) where the Portuguese will perhaps take part against us (the Dutch), as they are friends of Lord Rustumsuma and Chanier.

Rustam Zaman
against Lakham
Savant

May Almighty God take care of the Hon. Company that it may not suffer harm and affronts during these troubles, but may He in His high wisdom direct matters in such a way that this empire shall enjoy peaceful government again.

Shivaji invested in Panhala

Letter¹ of the Wingurla Captain to the Governor General of India, 27th July 1660.

In this document we are told that Shivaji had more than 8,000 soldiers to defend the fortress of Panhala. Siddi Jauhar continued the siege during the rainy season. As provisions ran short in Panhala, Shivaji begged for peace, but it was refused. Thereupon he planned his escape from there, but for some time he was held back by his Pathan soldiers.

"Since our last despatch the rebel Siwasi has entered into the strong fortress of Punnela with 8,000 soldiers and 60 horse, as many say, on account of the close pressure of the Visiapour King's army and has distributed his remaining army for the protection of these previously conquered lands. He believed that as the rainy season was drawing nigh, General Sidi Johaer would be compelled to raise the siege. But Siwasi's opinion proved to be erroneous. The above-mentioned general, having besieged the fort, resolved to winter there with the main portion of his army; and has, in order to protect himself from the rains, erected *Adappa* (huts built of leaves of the areca palm) houses. In this place there are strong rumours that in the above-named fort

1. Col. Arch. No, 1123. B. Folio 20.

there is a great want of tobacco, opium, salt, rice (kitserij) and other small things; also that Siwasi is seeking to obtain the pardon of His Majesty Ali Adelchan and be free by promising him to pay a very great treasure. But this has been refused to him. Therefore Siwasij intended to leave the fort with a few people. But he was held back by the *Pattannen* (Pathans) who said that he should stay there with them to the last man. On account of this many discords arose amongst them. It is presumed from this that the above-mentioned rebel will have to deliver himself shortly into the hands of the king. In the meanwhile Siwasi's people appeared now and again with a flying army about Visiapour, and they tried unsuccessful attempts to decoy Sidisohaer from his camp, but they had to flee with some loss every time they tried to do so."

Shivaji's escape from Panhala

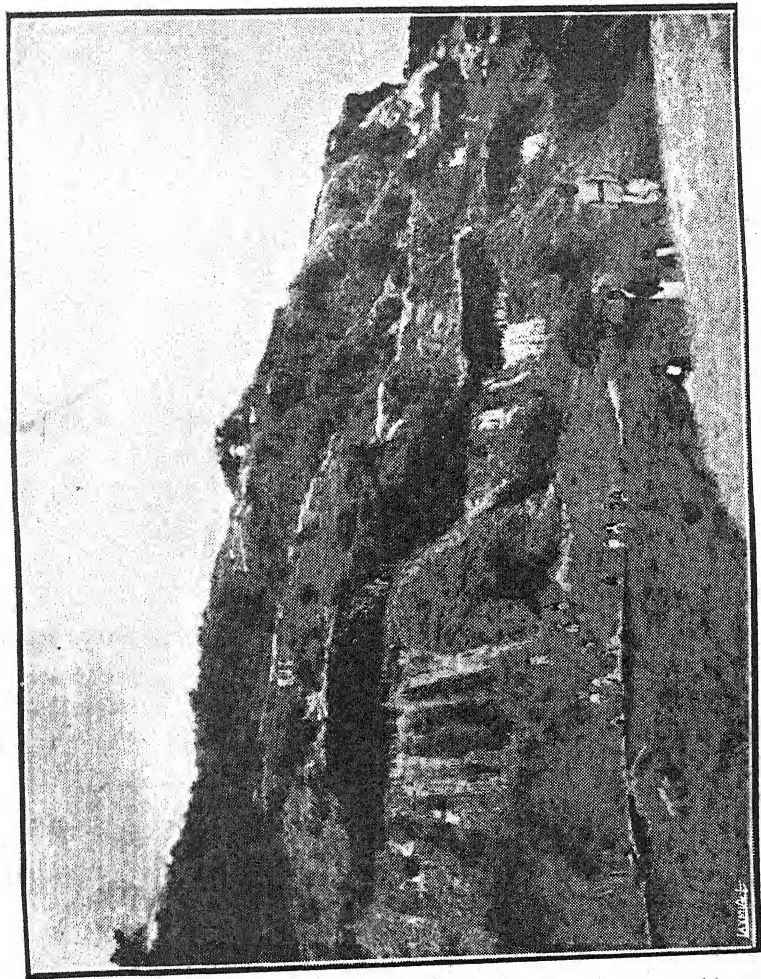
Letter¹ from the Wingurla Factory. 15th September 1660

This document is important for the following points:—

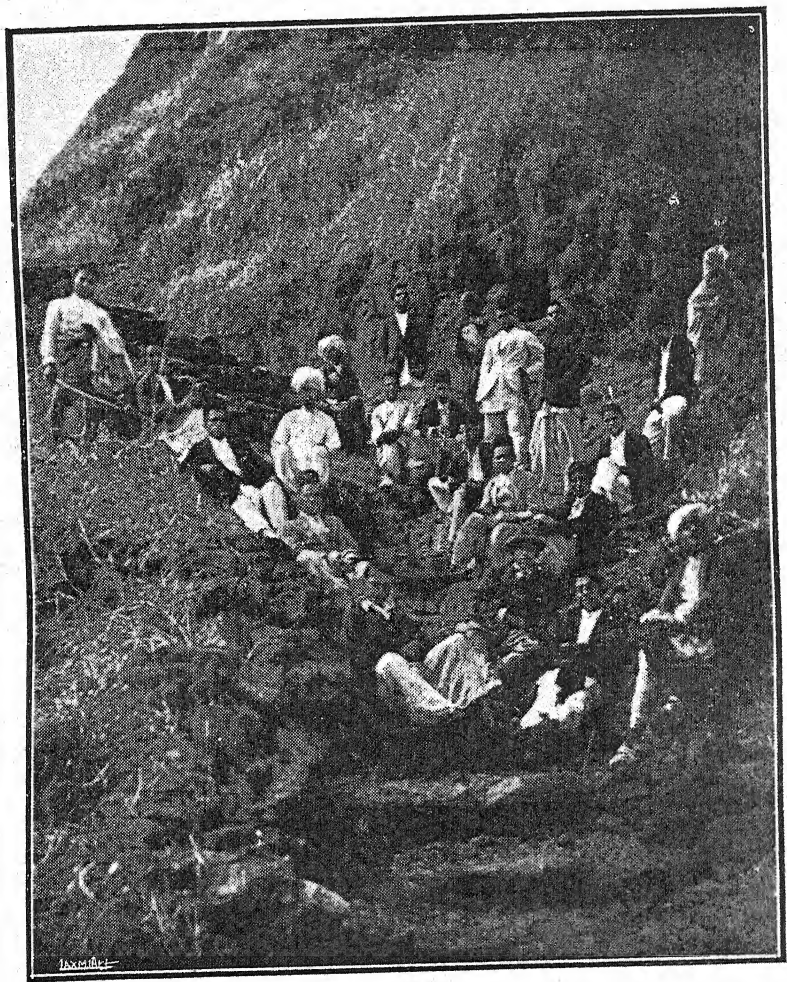
- (i) Shivaji sends an envoy Gangadhar by name with an offer of submission and a request for a personal interview.
- (ii) Escape of Shivaji during the following night.
- (iii) Pursuit by the Bijapur army.
- (iv) Shivaji posted a part of the army near Helna or Khelna.
- (v) Victory of the pursuing army, but Shivaji was wise in sending an imposter in a royal palanquin to impersonate him to divert the pursuers. This man was captured, while he himself escaped to Khelna.
- (vi) Some time after Shivaji went from Khelna² to Purandhar and sent relief to Panhala and other forts.

1. Ibid. B. Folio Vol. 26.

2. The long controversy on the point of the flight of Shivaji to Khelna or Rangna is surely closed by the contemporary, independent and impartial testimony of this document. This foreign source confirms the indigenous evidence of Sh. Bh. (27. 13), Jedhe Shakavali, Rairi, 91 Q. Bakhar, Tarikh-i-Shivaji and Shiva Digvijaya. Chitnis alone mentioned Rangna, and his opinion was followed by G. Duff and Ranade. Relying on the contemporary evidence, we should affirm that Shivaji fled to Khelna.



Vishalgarh photographed from a distance of a
furlong from the Eastern entrance.



Rocky Steps of Vishalgarh-the only way that leads
to the Hill Fort.

Lakshmi Art, Bombay. 8.

(vii) Ali Adil Shah proceeded to Miraj where he called for Rustam-i-Zaman who began to try for a peace between Shivaji and the King.

“On the 14 th of the last month, viz. August, the Bania merchant named Kitsanna Weij (Krishna Bhai) received a letter from the army besieging the fort of Punnela, wherein, amongst other things, it is mentioned that the rebel Siwasie has sent a certain Brahmin envoy, Gangather, to the Visiapour general Salabatchan with a proposal that he (i. e. Siwasie) was willing to meet the said General personally and hand over all his possessions to him for His Majesty, the King of Visiapour if the said Lord agreed to pardon him for all the crimes committed by him, which he confessed to be his gross and abnormal misdeeds, and to father-like protect him from all harm. It is further reported that during the following night when it was pitch dark, when it was terribly raining and the weather was impetuous, the rebel left the above-mentioned fort with 1,000 soldiers, 15 stout horses, two empty planquins and some treasure, and ran away. This news spread in the Visiapour army the next morning and was carried to the above-named Salabetchan who, being extremely afflicted by it, immediately despatched 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot soldiers with the hope to overtake him. When Siwasie learnt the news from his spies who were sent out that he was pursued, he transported himself as quickly as possible to one of his fortresses called Helna (Khelna).

He placed the soldiers not far from there on a road in a thicket with an order not to let any pursuing army of the King to pass by (the same road), but if encountered, to bravely offer resistance and if possible to defeat them. They (carried out) the order received from Siwasie with a brave attack on the enemy. Without a great loss, they struck down a great portion of the enemy, took some captives and put the remaining army to flight. They also pursued them courageously. But on another road where the king's forces were stationed by order of the general, they held the field for the king, obtained the victory and captured some treasure as booty. Therefore the said rebel during the flight divided his people into two parties and sent his barber, also named

Siwasie, in his own palanquin with the usual retinue in order to run less risk himself. And he ordered it to be taken by a more common pass. So this impersonating Siwasie fell into the hands of the enemy and was brought alive to the camp. Thereupon the news spread throughout the Empire to the great delight of all that the rebel Siwasie was brought captive by the general. But the said joy was soon changed into sorrow when Siwasie's trick came to light. In the meanwhile, the oft-mentioned rebel had gone to one of his strongest forts named Purandarij from where he sent provisions and men as soon as possible to the diverse fortifications, especially to Punnala. Every thing has succeeded exactly as Siwasie desired. A few days ago, it was further reported that Rustumsuma was trying to restore peace between Siwasij and the Visiapour Court, and that he had been successful to such an extent that His Majesty, along with the old Queen, had left Visiapour and arrived at the strong fort of Mirsee (Miraj) in order to settle the differences between them. The Lord Rustumsuma, according to the report of many people, has been bestowed upon the lordly title of the general of the Empire. He has left Houkerrie with His Majesty's ambassador Lord Sirasaheb by name, for the camp and from there for the fort of Mirsee, in order to present himself in the royal court. You will not remain in ignorance about the sequel of these things, as we shall let you know about it at the first opportunity offered to us to communicate to you. God Almighty be pleased to restore peace and tranquility in this Empire for the best service of the Company through this means."

APPENDIX II

(Dutch Records from the Hague specially translated for this volume by Mr. C. C. Remmerswaal of Holland appointed by the Government Archivist for the work)

Loot of Rajapur and imprisonment of the English (Pp. 132, 134, 140 supra)

Kol. Arch. 1124 B Fols 119/120.

Surat to the Lords Seventeen. 17 Dec. 1661.

The afore-said English have had to suffer not less affront and violence, but much greater damage, in as much

as last season the rebellious Siwasie with his assembled gang surrounded the afore-said town, carried away and appropriated from the same all the riches of all the inhabitants in the form of plunder. He took into custody the English chief resident, Mr. Henry Revington, with six of his subordinates. Besides he had the factory (or 'lodge') robbed of all cash, merchandise and whatever else was found there, and caused the floors to be dug up in order to see if any thing was concealed underneath. The release of the said persons was only to be obtained from the covetous Siwasie by paying a considerable sum of money. But, being destitute of the Company's cash as well as their own, and unable to collect anything for their deliverance, they were carried away like sheep by those brutish men to one of Siwasi's fortresses, where they remained together for some months, subsisting for their maintenance on nothing but rotted rice and stinking water. So that, in consequence of this unreasonable treatment and other hardships, the said Revington became indisposed. Upon which, after a lengthy negotiation, Siwasi released him with a surgeon and a sailor, but on the condition that after his recovery, he, Revington, with the two said persons, should return, or in default, should pay a ransom of five thousand pagodas for their release as well as for that of the other prisoners. For the fulfilment of this agreement the other four English prisoners became surety, and remained in the fortress of Songher (Songad) situated in the neighbourhood of Bassijn, while the three released persons arrived here by way of Chaul in a Portuguese 'almadie' or rowing boat, on the 27th of October.¹

Death of Revington—Kol. Arch. 1124 B. Fol. 112

Surat to the Lords Seventeen. 14th January 1662.

Then the former English chief of Ragiapour, Mr. Henry

1. It is 17th Oct. of the Eng. calendar and exactly tallies with the Eng. account on p. 140.

Revington, died on 21st December in consequence of the complaints he had contracted in Siwagie's prison. Time will reveal whether the English Lord President will now pay to Siwagie the five thousand pagodas agreed upon for the release of the other prisoners.

Jaswant Sing as Governor of the Deccan.

In the beginning of this year a powerful Ragia Jessousingh (Jaswant Sing), the ex great governor of Guseratta, passed this place with part of his warriors. Opinion is divided about his designs. Some say that it is against the ferocious Siwagie, others against the Visiapur and it is also said that he only goes to fill the governorship of the province of the Deccan.

Kol. Arch. 1132. Fols. 644/646:—Sack of Surat (See P. 202 supra)

“In the half burnt and destroyed town of Surata” to the Lords Seventeen. 31st January 1664.

(A copy of the missive from the Director and Council).

With great affliction we have to inform Your Lordships how on the 15th (= 5th Eng.) instant, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, there came intelligence that the great robber Sivagie had approached this town with an army of about 8 to 10 thousand men on foot and on horseback within 10 to 12 “cossen” or 5 to 6 miles (Dutch miles probably) which caused such a dismay among the inhabitants of the town that everybody, with women and children, bag and baggage, fled away. At this very time all the afore-mentioned specified merchandise, unloaded from the *Leerdam* had just been stored in the Company's factory within the magazines. As it seemed impossible to reload the same into the ship, we resolved to fortify our dwellings as best as we could, enlisting 50 to 60 Moorish soldiers, and first of all giving an order to Soualij's (Swally) beach to send us 12 to 15 men, well provided with arms from the fly boat, which we received. From the Company's ships we took four little metal guns, which we had drawn up where we judged them

to be most serviceable, taking at the same time from the castle 30 pochs (packages) of " nicquania " (nikanee cloth) arrived from Broochia (Broach) the day before, and from the houses of all the weavers, dyers, beaters, etc. We took such goods of the Noble Company as they had in their keeping. But it was impossible to collect the cash standing out on account of the delivery of 'linens' or cotton cloths, as the money was divided among hundreds of people. The afore-said regent *Carajleran*(?) who should have taken due care of the defence of the town, was so dismayed that he dared not think of resistance; meanwhile the day being passed, it was on the next morning—the 16th, that the arrival of the rascals in the suburbs or outskirts of the town was sufficiently brought home by the discharge of fire-arms and the firing of houses; the governor with his followers retired into the castle, leaving this splendid and famous town a prey to the thieves without offering any resistance, so that, seeing no way out, we took a firm resolution as did the English friends, to defend our Lordships' costly merchandise and our lives to the last man. The firing and burning, the screaming of the people in the town increasing more and more, there was nothing for us but to be on our guard and beseech the Almighty for a merciful issue. The robbers were so bold as to rob the customs-house standing near the castle, altogether carrying from it a very great treasure, as in it had been deposited the greater amount of the cash that arrived with the ships daily coming from Bassoura, while they kept up their defence by firing at the castle. On the 17th the rascals kept burning and destroying as well as digging houses of the better classes. Those who could, fled away. The piteous groans of the people would have softened a heart of steel. While being engaged in this way, it happened that Sevagie sent a word to us through a Greek merchant¹ residing here that we had to provide him with money for the maintenance

1. Nicholas Calotha. P. 204 supra.

of his army or that upon refusal he intended to burn our house to ashes. To which, in all politeness, we answered (through the same person) that we were merchants who, whenever they have any cash, spend it on merchandise, so that at present we were not in possession of it, and that we hoped he would not take offence at our refusal, also that, on the contrary, we felt assured that *just as His Highness had shown favour to the Company at Wingurla,*¹ so he would let us enjoy the same favour here. With this message the said Greek left with the promise that he would bring an answer which has not happened. We cannot know how Suvagie has savoured this retort. Meanwhile the thieves showed themselves at about a pistol-shot distance round about the lodge, but perceiving that we continually adopted a defensive attitude, they dared not come nearer.² On the 18th it was perfectly quiet in the town, the fire too, being well-nigh over, so that we imagined that they kept this day for resting in order to be able to re-open hostilities on the next day, being the 19th. In this opinion we were not deceived, for the burning, the screaming of the people and the shooting began again in all parts in the town with greater force than ever before, many houses round about the lodge being in a blaze, so that if God our Lord had not caused the fire on the north side of us to go out, and had not made the fresh east wind change to the north, matters would have come to such a pass that we should not have been able to run clear of the fire.³

While the fire rose more and more on all sides, it was distressing to see how piteously the people with their poor little ones were running along the streets. This day then was passed in such a miserable state. Early in the morning of the 20th we heard that the army of the thieves was marching off; only some 400 to 500 horsemen

1. See p. 205 supra.

2. P. 205 supra.

3. P. 207 supra.

were seen outside the town. To ascertain this, we sent one of our servants outside the town disguised as a beggar. He brought us the welcome news that the robbers had gone away and that the aforesaid horsemen were also proceeding to depart. At which we were not only rejoiced, but could not thank God our Lord enough for His gracious protection against all evils in times so dangerous. Nearly one half of this town has been burned altogether, and the greater part of the large houses has been dug through,¹ except those that stood within a radius of a pistol-shot from our lodge and that of the English, which have remained *in esse*, as Your Noble Honourable Lordships will be able to see in detail from the enclosed extract from our Diary (" Dagh Register ") of that time. It was in truth a lamentable thing that this villainous robber should have got such an invaluable treasure, and that too without meeting the slightest resistance. On the 21st, one day after the departure of the thieves, the governors of Brodra (Baroda), Dabaij, Brootchia and Moleer (Broach and Mulhir) came to the relief of this place with about 2, 500 to 3, 000 horsemen, but since the rogues had already made off with the booty, they did nothing at all, but that till further orders from the King they will keep watch in these parts. Time will teach how His Majesty will like this little bit of work, and in what way Governor Anajetchan (Inayatkhan) will give an account of himself. Until now we have not been able to find out what loss Your Lordships have sustained since all the people had fled; but they are now coming in from all sides. (The following passage up to " From our latest letter " is not very clear in the Mss.). We really fear for (or are uneasy about the fate of) the purveyors of the raw linens (or cottons), cutanees, yarn, soap and lacquer, because these divers persons, owing about 20 thousand rupees, might have been caught and carried away by the robbers.¹ While we are doing our duty by examining everything

1. P. 202 supra.

thoroughly to protect Your Lordships as much as possible from loss, we have already given notice to the King's Commissioner of this apparent loss, with the intention, that after having obtained your approbation to inform His Majesty of this, we hope of gaining some compensation which God may give.

From our latest letter Your Lordships will have seen how King Orangseeb from his Cashmer journey had come as far as Lahore—the latest Agra missive of the 1st instant mentioning that His aforesaid Majesty was going to hold his entry into Siahasianabalt (Shah Jahanabad or Delhi) about the 20th instant which we hope for, and that he may send off such a military force against the raging Suvagie as will deliver us in future from evils—that robber finding against himself not only the Prince Muchemchant (Muhammad) but also the great Ragi Jesswonsingh, whence it is a matter of wonder that the same has been able to find out such quiet roads as enabled him to attack this place with his forces as he has done.

Kol. Arch 1136 Fol. 347, Remission in duties at Surat (P. 145.)

(Dirck van Adrichem to the Lords Seventeen at Amsterdam. Souratta, 7th December 1664)

“ May it please Your Lordships fully to trust that we have not been remiss in our duty to secure Your Lordships as much as possible from loss, but the hurried raid caused the afore-mentioned damage of florins 11134-12 st. It was a good and lucky thing that the friends of the principal purveyor, who is still imprisoned with the robber Siwagie, have accepted his debt and also settled it, else it would have been rather a grievous loss. Up till now we have not received any answer to our complaints lodged with His Majesty, although we were continually impressing upon the Governor for compensating not only this, but also the loss sustained by the robbing of the caffila (caravan) (as before mentioned). This much only has the said Governor done that he showed us a warrant of the King providing that over and above the remission of the tolls for one year, Your Lordships and the

English friends are granted remission for ever of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by Chia Orangzeep, which is great liberality indeed, and will amount to 5 to 6 thousand guilders per annum.

Naval assistance required from the Dutch.

Moreover, we are expecting a still greater pre-eminence for the service we lately rendered to His Majesty, which, craving Your Lordships' permission, we shall relate here. In May, June and the following months of this year there were persistent rumours that the robber Sivagie was filling out a goodly number of frigates in all his seaports with the intention of capturing His Majesty's and other ships coming from Mocha, so that by that means he might draw the commerce from here to his seaports. Having heard of this, King Orangzeep commanded the Governor Geasdin Chan to request or to order us and the English in a friendly way that we should each keep ready a ship against the latter part of August or the beginning of September, cruise with them up to the highland of St Joan and thereabouts (?), also protect His Majesty's ships against those hostile attempts and accompany them for safety up the river of Sourat. He promised us to refund the expenses, or to grant us some additional privileges in trading. This matter having been submitted to us and to the English friends by the Governor, it was the English who first accepted this proposal, on the condition, as we were told, that His Majesty should allow them what was reasonable. They would use for this purpose their president's private ship. The Royal Welcome arrived here last June from Persia with freight goods and wintered in this river. This matter caused us some uneasiness, for, if we refused and the English accepted, it was certain that the Company's respect among this haughty Moorish nation would decline and that of the English, on the other hand, would increase. We therefore resolved to promise the Governor that we too should fit out a small ship at the time required, and hoped to use for that purpose the yacht Vlliant or another that should be sent us by Mr. Van Wijck, on the condition that we did not desire any repayment for our expenses but exemption from the Souratta and Brootchia tolls either in part or entirely according to His Majesty's pleasure. The Governor expressed

his readiness to inform the King of this in the most proper way for our benefit. Of this transaction he passed us a written declaration. (The King's ships safely came back from Mocha with the English and the Dutch vessels."

Dutch Caravan plundered

Kol. Arch. } Governor General and Councillors of India.
 1136. *Fols. 84/85* } (i. e., the Dutch Indies), Batavia, 23rd
 December 1664 to the Lords Seventeen.

Original missive (A fragment from the passage concerning Suratte)

Last April a Company's caffila consisting of 24 packcarts, with 80 packs of *cloths* was surprised on the road between Ammadabath and Suratte by a gang of thieves who by violence took and appropriated 17 packs of which little has been recovered in spite of the pains taken in this matter by the Ammadabat Governor, so that it is to be feared that the Company will have to acquiesce in that loss without any compensation. ¹

After careful examination the loss for the Noble Company caused by the raid of the robber Siwasie, is found to amount to florins 11134:12 which before this day was estimated at not less than 20 thousand Guilders (Dutch florins), so that it might have been worse, because at the outset it appeared as if all the effects of the Company would be taken. The exemption of tolls granted for a year will compensate for every thing, with this we should content ourselves, without complaining so very bitterly of having suffered still greater damage at the Moghul court. In our opinion, these complaints were overdone a little by the Director, because the incident caused loss to the people at large among whom we ought to reckon ourselves.

Character and position of Shivaji

The robber Siwasie has struck a great terror amongst the Moors. They think that they will be attacked by him

1. The loss sustained in the Surat sack—p. 192 supra.

from the sea also, although, as far as is known, he never before sailed on the sea. If he did, the awe he has inspired would enable him to inflict still greater losses on the Moghul with robbing and plundering. He is a man, as it is said, of great conceptions and designs which he knows how to contrive and execute with ingenuity. This might raise him to such a high latitude of power among the terrified Moors, especially now that he has come to perceive the timidity of these people in making his raid on the town of Surat, of which exploit he will no doubt be very proud and boastful.....

Kol. Arch. 1133. Fols. 982/983;

Night-attack on Shaista Khan (Pp. 87-88 supra.)

Director Dirch van Adrichem and Council, Souratta,
5 June 1663 to Joan Maetsuycker Governor General and
Councillors of the Indies.

Some time ago there were rumours in the town that Duke Saestchan (Shaista Khan) who was sent out to steal a march upon the Visiapour King (?) had been surprised at night by 1,000 horsemen of the rebel Siwasie, and that the latter had cut to pieces part of his body-guards, had killed his (eldest) son, had taken prisoners his wives and ladies-in-waiting, and had returned with a goodly spoil consisting of silver, gold, and jewels. Saestchan was reported to have escaped, after having received some injuries.

Ragia Jessonsingh who was lying with his army only 2 to 3 "cos" from that place, did not take any notice of this skirmish, so that it is thought that there might be a secret understanding between himself and Sivagie. Meanwhile Saestchan's forces sent out against the Visiapur king have effected so much that the latter is said to have promised that he would pay Chia Orangzeeb at once a sum of 100 thousand pagodas, and annually a tribute of 50,000 pagodas. What truth there may be in this, we cannot know on account of the great distance; any how it is certain that Sivagie has scored a great advantage over Saestchan. The merchant St.

Pieter van Sontvliet will no doubt send Your Lordship a more correct account from Wingurla than we can give.

Kol. Arch. 1133. Fol. 1434:

Dirch van Adrichem (the "chief" at Souratta) to G. G. Joan Maetsuycker, Souratta, 13 th June 1663.

The defeat that Duke Saestchan has suffered from the rover Suvagie is still promulgated here for certain; also that the great Duke Chan Channa (Khan-i-Khanan) *alias* Mosems Chan should have died. No doubt Mr. Matthew van den Broeck will advice Your Lordship what truth there is in this. The Almighty may give that it turns out to be to the advantage of our Lords Principals. We have not yet heard whom His Majesty will send out as ruler of the realm.

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fol. 596. Shivaji's navy (P. 105)

Dirck van Adrichem on the Soualy Strand (Souratta) 21st April 1665 to the Lords Seventeen.

At present we have no news to tell your Lordships. The rumours of Siwagie's plan to take for the second time a booty from Souratte, by land are declining; but the people are beginning to doubt if in September next he will not make an attempt upon the returning Mocha ships, as during this monsoon he has been busy cruising (really, domineering) with his frigates off Wingurla.

At the departure of the royal ships to Moccha we were not ordered by the Governor concerning convoying them; what will happen on their return, time must show. From the court we have not obtained, up till now, any other answer to our request respecting the robbing of the Amadabat caffila but an order for sending out the ship *Souratta*. When the account of the tolls is settled we shall not leave the matter at that, but keep that claim to the fore until we have received an order from His Majesty. It is true that the Governor makes many professions of his favour, but long delay makes us presume that they want to keep us on a string. The outcome of all this will be communicated to Your Lordships hereafter.

Peace with Lakham Savant (P. 113)

Kol. Arch. 1137. Fol. 1417

The merchant Zandluliet to Joan Maetsuycker and Councillors, Wingurla, 22nd Feb. 1664.

"The rebel Siwasie has given back to the "desseij" Loccomsant who is still residing in his former place of refuge all the villages over which he is the great governor. Their revenue amounts to about 15 thousand pagodas at 4 guilders each annually. Many suppose that this is a stratagem to lure the Desseij into the net, but others say that it is done from the need to collect in peace the revenue of these lands *without* even a small garrison. This could not be very well done, if Siwasie lived on hostile terms with Loccomsant, in as much as the Mogal army give him a lot of work to do

Departure of Shaista Khan (P. 114)

After Mir Swinelas's death Saesti Chan was summoned to court, and, according to rumours current here, directed to Bengal, to assume charge of the government there. In his place has been sent here the son of Orangacha named Sultan Muazam Cha to act as field marshal against Siwasi. A few days ago the fore-cited rebel, as was reported to us, suffered a great defeat of 10 to 11 thousand men, but his men say that their Lord (apparently to keep their loss a secret) has made considerable progress, but at present I cannot tell Your High Honourable Lords the precise truth."

Amount of loot

Fol. 1418. When these things had been committed to paper thus far, there appeared in the Company's lodge seven padres coming from Bassijn in a ship ("Dnijsentbeen") to receive their orders from the afore-mentioned bishop, but learning on their arrival in the Goa river that the bishop had already left, they returned to the north in the hope of finding him yet in Bassijn or Bombaim.

They reported to us that on the 16th of the past month of January the great rebel Siwasi had taken by surprise the

strong, renowned and commercial town of Souratta in such a secret way, with an army of 11 thousand men, that nearly all the notable merchants (who will have to suffer no slight misery, especially if he takes them in chains to his castles-) had fallen into the clutching claws of that insatiable tyrant, and that he had hurriedly sent off in 36 ships to his ports a large part of the spoil taken, which will undoubtedly be an uncommon treasure. God only granted in His mercy that Siwasi spared the Noble Company as well as its respective servants and left them unmolested and free from damage in that furious assault (about which they cannot give us information). But we fear very much that in the "alfandige" (custom-house) he got a great part of the merchandise arrived in the fly-boat "Leerдам".

Devastation at Surat

Fol. 1419 (Now follows a rather incoherent passage, after which the writer goes on:)

Our noble Lords principals will no doubt regret these doings, seeing that the flourishing trade will have been ruined altogether by the destruction of Souratta, in which town, if Siwasi had not lacked time, he would probably have left uncommonly deep footprints of devastation.

Shivaji's victory over Shaista Khan

Fol. 1420. The fore-mentioned padres also told us that, a short time before his departure to Souratta, the said rebel, by sinister practices, had often (?) gained a great victory over the Mogul army, of which many were said to have been killed and the others to have fled to the uplands. The Lusitans about Bassijn and Bombaim which had for the greater part been taken and razed by that Mogul army, had protected the lowlands (?) from further hostile invasions.

Brave Shivaji, the preserver of Bijapur Empire

Fol. 1432. Having received the said tribute from the King of Kanara, King Aly Adel Chia appeared victoriously in

Visiapoer, in the beginning of January last. Lord Bullel Chan, Chasi (Shahji) and the said rebel his son pull together and, having the greatest power, make the King altogether dance to their tune. But of these three Siwasi is loved most, and stands in high esteem with high and low at the court on account of his brave deeds. He is even called by many the only preserver of this empire, which otherwise (as they try to make each other believe) would have been conquered long before by the Mogul.

Surat trade affected

Kol. Arch. 1137 Fols. 1601/1602. Copy of a letter from Leenert Lenaerts to G. G. Maetsuycker and Councillors, Wingurla, 8th May 1664.

To our great regret the Suratta papers report that this season we are to expect tonnage of 68,960 pounds of white cotton yarn and 3,680 pounds of red d. packed in 454 bales, from there or Persia for Patria and Tonquin, but we must content ourselves with the hope of getting a better opportunity from there in October. We should have postponed, if it were otherwise, for it is very awkward to have those goods of such great bulk on our hands during the rainy season in this treacherous and rebellious part of the country. We are not quite free from molestation by the rebellious nation every one of which wants to domineer, whenever he succeeds in finding some followers, and to make a point of murdering and robbing the poor inhabitants, without listening to any reason but to extortion of money.

Commercial policy of Shivaji

It is impossible to be on our guards against the great rebel Siwasi who is not to be trusted either, (although until now he has remained on civil and friendly terms with us), or to escape from his tyrannous and malevolent hands, because at present we live round about and in his dominion.

But we may hope that he will not fail the Noble Company here for fear of injury that might be done by us to his navigation and commerce, which he is taking up pretty busily by stimulating the merchants to traffic.

Jai Sing against Shivaji

Report from Wingurla by Peter Jon Santvliet, in the fly-boat Amstellant, 25th July 1664 to Joan Maetsuycker Governor-General, and Lords Councillors.

What pre-eminence Chia Orangzeep will grant us, we cannot say as the Governor declares that he has not yet received an answer to his request on our behalf. But we hope that it must soon take place and will be communicated to you via England. During the past rainy season King Orangzeep was residing in good health at Dilly (as he is still doing), from there he sent a powerful army against the robber Siwagie under the command of the great Ragia Yessing (Jaisingh) and several Dukes. He also requested the King of Visiapoer to send his forces likewise against that robber. What these strong armies will affect, time must ultimately show. The two princely children of Darasecoex (Dara Shikoh) named Zulleman and Supersecoer, have been killed by poison, in their prison at the castle of Guallek (Gwalior) by order of His Majesty, according to the Agra tidings and that has been done to prevent all rebellions in the Empire. The old Siasiaen (Shah Jahan) is still living, confined in the Agra castle, and this place he will occupy to the end of his life."

(Fol. 348 contains a reference of no importance to Shivaji.)

Bari Saheba going to Bassora

Kol. Arch. 1137. Fols. 1624/1625. Your Lordships will undoubtedly have learned in all details that the old Visiapoer queen Berra Saibeni (Bari Sahebni) was coming to Wingurla in order to leave for Bassora in a galleon specially bought for her. The Moorish governor sent it to Goa for further

equipment. Afterwards His Majesty Ali Adelchia sent a letter together with a present to the Viceroy that he might take in hand the work of the vessel with as much zest as possible.¹

Her ship equipped at Goa

After showing due gratitude, the Viceroy answered to this that he was having the masts put in, and that all the rest had better be left to himself, requesting that on starting Her Majesty would please to come at Goa, since she could embark there more conveniently and rather more safely than at Wingurla, seeing that Siwasi who had captured the province of Caudael, could by no means be trusted. The Queen misunderstood this entirely and took great offence at it. She sent the Governor back to the Viceroy with a letter in which she pointed out that according to his promise the vessel ought to have been quite ready last month, and that the long delay would rouse great suspicion in the King her son or had caused this already; especially because she was called by him to Goa, but she had put the matter right with His Majesty and excused his person. The contents of that letter irritated the Viceroy so much that he burst out saying. 'Go to Hell' (literally, go for a hundred thousand devils), but nevertheless took care that the said ship left Goa completely rigged out and reached the roadstead of Wingurla on the 23rd of February. At this time there were rumours that the queen was dissuaded from her intended voyage by the Mogul ambassador, which made us doubt of her certain arrival till 3rd March last, when the Noble Company's merchants Cassiba (Kashiba) and Santubasenay (Santoba Shenwi) came and reported that Lord Hachiem Suncha¹ (the chief chamberlain² of the said queen) had arrived from Visiapoer in the toll-house at Wingurla, about a mile from the lodge.

1. Pp. 96-98, 113.

1. The Dutch word means : Commander, director.

2. Cf. P. 97 supra.

The Dutch inspect the ship at Wingurla

Santvliet and others then went to the toll-house to salute Hachiem who told them that the old queen was following shortly and would stay at Wingurla for a short time only, as she meant to embark as soon as possible and to go on her intended voyage. After this we obtained permission to go home. From here we applied to the grand governor of Siwasi named Ragie Somanathi Pandito¹ who had accompanied the said Hachiem with 50 horsemen and 150 foot-soldiers from Pattgan to Wingurla, which is rather more than a day's journey. He received us affably, but perceiving that he was occupied and that evening was falling, we took our leave. Two days afterwards, the said courtier Hachiem asked us if we would be kind enough to go with him to the ship of the queen to inspect the same and see if anything essential might be wanting. Although we were very busily engaged in dispatching the fly-boats Amstelandt and Cleverskerchen to Souratta and Persia, we agreed, lest on our refusal he should take offence, because he is a very puffed-up man. Accordingly, we went on board accompanied by the two masters of the said boats. He asked us very particularly if anything was wanting, but, being not unacquainted with the nature of the Moors that their ears are always itching for hearing their own praise and glory, we gave him his fill in flattering compliments, saying that we should not have known how to build a ship in a more effectual way; we only pointed a few slight defects which, when corrected, might conduce to the queen's comfort. He had them changed at once, and, after having obtained permission, we came on shore at sunset.

Bari Saheba at Wingurla

Fol 1634. On the 13th of the month of March, about an hour before daybreak Lord Hachiem joined the queen who, the evening before, had appeared in the village of Wayngeny,

1. Cf. Pp. 113-4 *supra*,

situated rather more than half-a-day's journey inland, to obtain an audience with Her Majesty, if possible, for the grand governor of Siwasi, who had accompanied Hachiem as told before from Ballagathe to Wingurla, to whom Hachiem sacrificed a goodly sum in ready cash. About an hour after sunrise the Benian merchants again entered the lodge, reporting that the queen was going to arrive at Wingurla about eleven o'clock, and that consequently it was necessary for us to be ready for the formal reception. (On the arrival of the queen there arose unpleasantness between her, her servants and the Dutch; the writer then goes on:)

The Dutch during Shivaji's raid at Wingurla

Fols. 1640/1641. In that matter we showed some hastiness to check the Moorman (who in his superciliousness imagines he may do every thing that comes into his head in his attempting to do us any other affronts (-for if one allows them an inch, they will take an ell-) by which the Noble Company's high reputation at Wingurla was going to be completely trampled. We also pointed out to Lord Hachiem how the Grand Mogul had rewarded the Dutch, because we had remained in the town of Surat at the coming of Siwasi, had granted us one year's toll on all the imports and exports. and moreover had entirely refunded the money we had spent on defending our houses, but that the Visiapoer King treated us quite differently. Instead of granting us some favour for a reward, he caused much slights to be put upon us, as told before, although we had tried all possible means to protect the Wingurla citizens against molestation by the Dessey Loccomsant¹ and had urged them not to flee when the raging Siwasi made his raid upon the province of Caudael. This policy of ours induced the prominent citizens (who mostly had taken refuge with us in the Company's lodge), nay, the Governor himself (who had already made preparations to flee in a ship ready to sail, but who dared not do so for shame of

1. Confirmed by another letter. Pp. 92, 112 supra.

us) to stand firm, notwithstanding that he himself, and not we, was in duty bound to take this course. These our doings had been the salvation of Wingurla. It is certain that if we had taken to our heels, the greater part of the population would have followed suit and not returned to all appearance. But now, at the coming of the queen, we saw what recognition we received for so many benefits, conferred by us upon her, not without risk to our lives and possessions! To which he did not say anything but that he had been told as much by others,.....

Kol. Arc^h. 1133. Fols 1992-1995:

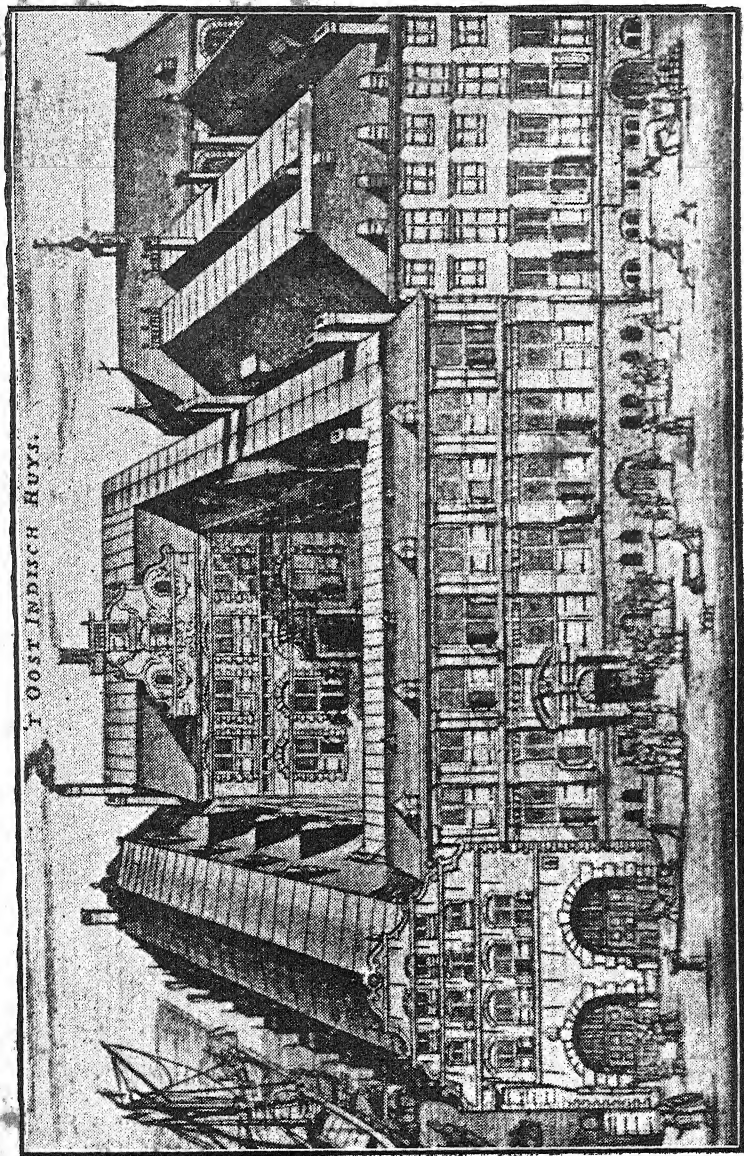
War between the Portuguese and the Moguls

(Copy) Pieter van Santvliet C. S., Wingurla, 14th October 1663 to Joan Maetsuycker, G. G.

Fols. 1992-3.....After the Portuguese had received the news of the peace with our state, it was resolved in the Council of Goa to send two galleons to Portugal against next February; the Viceroy is at present engaged on fitting out an armada of ten ships of war, which one of these days will leave for Bassijn with an auxiliary corps under the command of one Locias d'mirando, since the Mogul army which was waging war there, commits hostilities against the Lusitan, inflicting great losses on him.

Fols. 1924-5 (Pieter van Santvliet writes to say that he thinks it undesirable to have a fly-boat laden with goods and cash. Hence this part of the cargo which is destined for Ceylon and Cutchijn should be unloaded at these counting houses, viz. at Wingurla-) "On account of the perils to which their goods would be exposed to the attacks of Siwasi who, although at present he assumes a friendly attitude towards us, is not to be trusted as examples daily show."

(The fly-boat came from Gabroon and was bound for Batavia. It had goods and money on board. It was to go either directly or by way of Cannanore and Councijn and Ceylon, in which latter case it was to be partly unloaded in these places. P. V. Santvliet proposes to Maetsuycker to

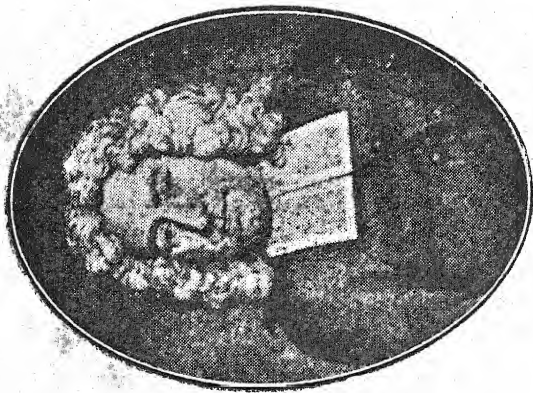


The Dutch East India House at Amsterdam.



Governor General of the East Indies.

John Maatsuyker
(1653—1678.)



Dr. F. Velentya.

unload the goods at Cannanore which can be done in perfect safety and leave their further destination to the discretion of Lucas van Weerden, Superintendent at Cannanore.)

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fol. 498;

(Copy) Translated missive written by the spy at Goa, 6th November 1664 to Leendert Lenartsz, and received on the 11th of Nov. by the chief of the Dutch Factory at Wingurla. The Viceroy has been informed how the eight boats that had left for Choul laden with elephants' teeth, have been taken by Siwasi's frigates, upon which the Viceroy recommended speed to the Northern Armada and sent an "almadi" yesterday to Cannara to advice Don Manuel that if he was waiting still for taking over Sivasie's fleet, he in that case would leave Fernand. Vas de Sagnieira in his place with four frigates and the same order that had been given to him, and that he could transport himself to ditto with the other eight boats. On the approach of Sivasie, the Viceroy had the soldiers paid, and posted them on the frontier against him. The English here are very angry with the Viceroy at his refusal to surrender Bombaim. The proas that Siwasi has taken, belong to various merchants— 2 to Dom Francisco, 2 to the "getroude"¹ within Chioul and the other 4 to the "Gouseratta" (Gujeratis).

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fols. 498-99.

(Copy) Translated missive written by the Goa spy on the 23rd of November 1664 to the Chief Sr. L. Lenartsz, and received to-day.

"I wrote to you some days ago already, but have not yet received an answer, which I trust is for fear of Sivasie."

Fol. 499 sent on 30th November 1664 and received on 5th December:—

Siwasi sent some cash to the Viceroy to get provisions and said that His Excellency ought not to give shelter to any *desseys* or other folk of the Moorish side, but to send back those who were there. But the Viceroy sent word to Siwasij's ambassador that there were no provisions here, but that he

1. If "getroude" is a Dutch word, and not Indian, it means "married people," or perhaps the "true people," those who have remained true.

was permitted to see for himself if he could get any, and with much difficulty he obtained 20 candis at 20 Zeraphins a candi.

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fol. 501.

(Copy) Translated missive written by the Goa spy on 26th December 1664 to the Chief Sr. L. Lenartsz and received on the 28th of December.

Dom Francisco da Lima sent his broker Naranasinaij and one of his *products* (?) to the men of Sivasy at Sanculy to say and show that those linens (cottons) he took are his. The answer he received was that deducting the money paid down in hand, he would have to pay the balance of the trade price to Sivasij and take away his linens (cottons). Some pearls which a certain Gouserati merchant had brought in safety (or re-set?) for 3,000 Zeraphins, were now proposed to be sold to Sivasij's ambassador for 4,000 Zeraphins.

A Portuguese merchant robbed by Shivaji

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fol. 501.

Translation of the missive sent by the spy at Goa, on the 17th of December 1664 to the Chief Sr. L. Lenartsz, and received at Wingurla on the 20th.

"The linens or cottons etc. which Dom Francisco da Lima had caused to be bought up by Tuguasimetta (Tukoji Mehta?) and Narnanaicq (Narain Naik) on the Ballagatta, have all been robbed by Siwasi, amounting to more than 30 thousand Zeraphins, for which reason they absent themselves and Dom Francisco is very sad."

The Moguls, Portuguese and Shivaji

Kol. Arch. 1137-Fols. 1622/1623. Report from Wingurla by Pieter Van Antvliet, in the fly-boat Amstellant, 25th July 1664, to Joan Maetsuycker, Governor-General and the Lords Councillors.

"The Mogul army that lies afield against Siwasi, again threatens strongly to make war against the Portuguese in Chaul, Bambain and Bassijn. Therefore in the beginning of

the said month of April the commanders of those places urgently asked the Viceroy by letter for sending gunpowder, grape shot, firepots (petards) and other ammunition of war. These were sent them about the middle of that month in four fast sailing vessels (*duijsentbeenen*, lit: a thousand legs, a kind of rowing boat). From those quarters some days later 22 proas laden with rice and paddy for the account of nunneries and of the Viceroy have arrived in Goa's river. Under date of the 27th of the said month of April, the Noble Company's spy advises us how a certain Englishman was residing within the oft-mentioned capital of the Lusitans (Portuguese) in the house where the Cingalese King formerly used to keep his domicile. By license of the Viceroy the Englishman enlisted parties of the white Portuguese and had got more than 100 men in two days. This commander had promised the said Englishman to assist him with so much powder, shot and money as should be wanted. We learn further that the said Briton was engaged on projecting the model of a strong fortress which he was going to build in some Moorish place, but he has not been able to divulge anything else, as the plan was kept secret. Nor can I understand what the Englishman's intentions are in doing this, but time will no doubt ultimately make all this clear. It may somewhat be presumed that the Englishmen who remained on Ansiadive (Anjdeev), considering the stormy season is nearing fast, and in order not to be killed altogether, will abandon their attempt upon Coudewaer, the Governor of which has for some time past shown divers hostile actions."

System of government in Bijapur

Kol. Arch. 1137—Fols. 1649 and 1650 deal with the administration of the Bijapur empire:

(Fol. 1649)—The King, "Leenheeren" and the governors. The latter represent and replace the "Leenheeren" in towns, villages and hamlets. The office of governor is often let on lease by the "Leenheerens" (Lords) for want of money, because they have no capital. This system does not work well, as it gives rise to abuses, extortion and grinding down of the population.

Farming of
revenue

The King favours a "Leenheeren" by means of firmans with large territories of which the revenue is reserved for him in exchange for some services. His office is not an hereditary one, but a mere favour on the part of the King. Some "Leenheerens" practically conduct themselves as if they were independent — (The writer then goes on:)

(Fol. 1650) None of the least among this latter sort is Lord Bulle Chia (Bahlol Khan), being but a subject in name of the Visiapoer Crown. At present, he domineers again with a considerable army on the Carnatic soil, under the title of field-marshal, but the old praying bird Chasi

Bahlol Khan

(Shahji), father of the great rebel Siwasi was thrown by his horse in a full gallop, which fall hurt him so much that after a few days he had to pay for it with his life.

Death of Shahji

We do not think that the king has gone into mourning for the said accident, but rather he wished to get rid of other rebellious ring-leaders of that sort in a similar way. Lord Rustumzima keeps quite tranquil within Heukerrie. His daughter was lately married to Lord Schaveschan (Khawas Khan), and the feast was celebrated with much pomp, but he dare not appear at the court for fear of being poisoned. There are rumours that he pulls together

Weakness of
the govt.

in secret with Sivasi, but by no means shows this outwardly. Now if the King wants to send troops to one part or another, he despatches to that part some of the before-mentioned "Leenheerens." One of them is to be their chief and have the command. To him they often pay but little respect and obedience, since each of them has his own horsemen under himself. Moreover, it often happens that there are among them great friends of the particular men against whom they are marching. It also happens that the "Leenheerens" or their governors quarrel among themselves, so that there is always much war or much wrangling at least.

(Fol. 1652) — Each takes the appearance of being a king,

and after having committed divers crimes by robbing, murdering, burning and devastating the land to their hearts' content, they appear at court, where they are praised for being brave soldiers, if they know how to oil His Majesty's palm. This practice is daily increasing more and more and has taken so very deep a root that the king (who is simply adorned with the crown) is unable to prevent this, for if he deprives some Lords of their dignities, they instantly take refuge with Siwasi, Bulla Chan or some other of the afore-mentioned subjects, by whom they are at once favoured with some dignities.

Tyranny of
Governors.

Effect of
Shivaji's raid
on trade

Fol. 1664 contains only a simple mention of Siwasi in connection with merchandise becoming damp in the warehouses when it has to remain there all through the rainy season, " to which must be added the perils on account of the cruel Siwasi. "

Fols. 1665/1666 say something about the difficulties of trade, about the complaints of the two merchants-Cassiba and Santubazinay that they got large expenses on their goods: by carrying them from one place to another for fear of the said rebel's (viz. Siwasi) coming, not without many of them getting wet on account of the rain that was falling on their way so as to spoil some goods especially in May 1663, all which we have been obliged to consider with lawful eyes (with a view to our own interests). For finding that his coming to Suratta for the first time causes such a change in

Conquest of
Konkan by
Shivaji.

trade, we should also consider how things must be in and about Wingurla, where he has held sway now for about four years with inhuman tyranny, during which time in capturing them he not only completely destroyed all the seaports of the Visiapour realm north of Wingurla, but also ransacked, destroyed, and laid in ashes a number of the most important inland commercial towns in the territory of the Visiapour monarch.

We think it unnecessary to make mention of the blow inflicted by this upon commerce in those parts, as your Noble, High, and Honourable Lordships will be quite able to judge of this for yourselves.....

Fol. 1669:—A few days before my departure, the said dessey Loccomsant sent a captain with some soldiers under some pretext to their houses (viz. of some merchants) to secretly extort 500 pagodas, but he could not obtain anything, because for fear of Siwasi's governor he dared not use open violence in Coudewaer.

The Dutch to
go to Coudewaer

Fol. 1670:—From our letter of the 6th August 1663 Your N. H. H. L. will have learnt already about the suitability of the said seaport (probably Coudewaer) where the Company's business, in our humble opinion, could be done as well as in Wingurla. Therefore the Wingurla chiefs ought to receive orders, as long as the raging Siwasi holds sway thereabouts, to go there with the Company's assets in the last extremity, when matters should come to such a pass that they could no longer remain at Wingurla. To this end they have been for a long time keeping up a friendly correspondence with the Coudewaer Governor, Mahamed Chan, who has again been restored to his governorship by the noble Lord Rastumsima who of all things would like our people to come there to trade.

War in the Konkan

Fol. 1674:—On the 23rd April last there arose rumours among the mob in Wingurla that the Visiapour monarch had sent one of his most distinguished captains, Tais Chan by name, to Coudael with 2,000 horsemen to harass Siwasi and also that the dessey Loccomsant had been favoured by His Majesty with some present and a certain firman. By this the King commanded him to recruit a goodly number of soldiers so secretly that Raugie Pandito would not hear of it, to

Bijapur begins
war against
Shivaji in
Kudal

abstain from plundering the villages in the neighbourhood before the arrival of the said captain, and to join the latter on his arrival with all his forces for the recapture of Coudael. There were also rumours that Siwasi had been very closely harassed by the Mogul army. Besides we were informed that the mighty Lord Mirsa Tssos Chan had ordered his governor, Fette Khan by name from Visiapour by an express missive, to leave Wingurla.

Fol. 1675:— After the arrival of the King's command a certain captain (who, together with a body of soldiers, had come to Wingurla to extort a number of coins from the Company's Benjaen (Bania) merchants - as said before -) was immediately sent for by the dessey, before whom by a sinister trick played at night he managed to drag the farmer of the tobacco duties. He was pressed to pay 250 pagodas to Loccomsant for his release. On the 26th next we heard with surprise that the agent of the dessey, Narrari (Nar Hari) by name, who was continually staying with Siwasi's grand governor, had absented himself from Coudael with Loccomsant's minions; notwithstanding that the dessey still continues to receive the revenue of his land, ceded to him by Siwasi, which amounts to an annual sum of 15 to 16 thousand pagodas.

We also received tidings that the said Loccomsant, in haughty arrogance, on receiving the said firman, had ventured to prohibit the ministers of the said rebel (Siwasi) in Coudael to collect the duties, which was also confirmed to us by one of Loccomsant's clerks.

On the 29th April we were informed by one of the Company's Benjaen merchants that the dessey had the King's firman shown to Siwasi's grand governor, who thereupon had announced to him that not the slightest difference had arisen between the Visiapour King and his master, so that he should quietly adhere to the contract between his master and him, but if anything should have to be settled between His Majesty and Siwasi, he ought to

leave this to be settled by his master and the King's army who were sure to bring matters to a conclusion without his having a finger in the pie.

On the first of May we were informed that he had the roads of the Ballagat mountain cut off steep down by Siwasi's people to prevent the expected army from coming down; and on the following day we heard that, besides the foot soldiers, 100 horsemen had arrived at Ragiabach (Raibag)—about half-way between Visiapour and Wingurla which was the meeting place of the army. They remained there till the

The war is a
show to satisfy
Aurangzeb.

coming of further troops which were expected every hour. It was professed that this war will put an end to Siwasi's rule in the province of Coudael. How all this will end, time will decide. Your Lordships will no doubt be told by St. Leendert Lendertsz. But I presume that it has been an empty noise only, to no purpose other than to satisfy the Grand Mogul who, after the sack of Suratta, menacingly wrote to the Visiapour King that if he did not attack Siwasi, he would in person head a powerful army against him, and would not stop fighting until he should have brought the whole Visiapour Kingdom under his rule. It is also intended to tempt the dessey Loccomsant by this stratagem and to entrap him,

Effects of war
on Wingurla.

seeing that Raugie Pandito sought to effect his utter ruin with Lord Hachiem with no slight promise on the occasion of the last stay of the queen at Wingurla.

Fol. 1677:— But if the Visiapour King attacks Siwasi in good earnest, Wingurla will have to suffer great violence, if this has not happened already by now. In that case, the Company's buildings will also run a great risk of being razed down, but we hope that God Almighty who rules everything in His supreme wisdom, will prevent this, seeing that both that rebel and his subaltern governors have not yet shown us any hostile feeling, but have openly tried to keep up friendly relations which, however, must by no means be

trusted. But Siwasi's inclination towards us chiefly arises from the fact that he knows the Company's maritime power, which might inflict great losses on him. He intends to open up an intensive traffic in many quarters, and tries to obtain a busy navigation in the parts he has taken under him. This is also in some measure to be seen from the fact that at the time of his raid upon Souratte, he did not attack our lodge there, although he certainly would have been able to capture it, or at least set fire to it. But the afore-cited Raugie Pandito who was all the time present during the stay of the old Visiapour

Ravji Pandit
and the Dutch

Queen at Wingurla (in order to provide her with various necessities), several times intimated his great desire to us to see our Lodge.

Considering that his visit could result in nothing but great expenses, we sent an excuse, saying that the house would be open to His Excellency at all time, that his salutation was very gratifying to us, but that we had nothing we could offer him according to the customs of the country, without breeding jealousy among others, for the Moors like (fol. 1678) Chaves Chan, Mosso Chan, Hachiem and other Lords, whose hands are always open for receiving presents, would on hearing of it, also send in a request, and, on our refusal to comply with it, we should have to expect nothing but insults, or at least Hachiem's answer that we had given presents to Siwasi and Raugie Pandito without remembering his own claims. To this Raugie Pandito sent answer that it was not necessary to give him anything, and that the existing friendship between us and himself was a sufficient mark of honour in itself, together with some other compliments. But to prevent that our excuse should not breed ill-will, we sent him a present on his departure by the former clerk Babazinay. It consisted of clove, mace and cinnamon. With these we sent our respects which he graciously accepted, saying, however that he would have liked us to invite His Excellency to visit the Company's house. To this, according to the instructions given him,

the above—mentioned clerk offered his excuse in a few words, saying that His Excellency ought to consider what would have been thought of this by the other Moorish Lords who are all obsessed with greediness and love of honours.

(Here end the extracts from Kol. Arch. 1137, fols. 1612-1681.)

Trade declines by reason of Shivaji's raids

Kol. Arch. 1145. Fol. 980:—Dirk van Adrichem. Director, Souratta, 13th January, 1665 to Joan Maetsuycher,

It acknowledges receipt of letters, etc. and reports that the junior merchant Sr. Leendert Lenartsz has sent 2168 lbs of vermilion, contained in 6 "balyen" (bales) and 5,000 Wingurla pagodas, as the merchant would not run the risk of having ready money there for fear of Siwasi, and also, because vermilion does not sell well there, etc..... He has fixed 10th December for a public sale of various goods, as the fear of Siwasi and the possibility of his re-appearance are still troubling this saint-hearted nation..... This letter contains further particulars about trade, etc.

Jaisingh against Shivaji and Bijapur

Kol. Arch. 1145. Fol. 1003:—From Dirk van Adrichem to Lords 17, Souratta, 6th March 1665.

We have not much news to tell Your Lordships, the whole Mogul Empire being at present in peace and harmony save for Siwasi's turbulent doings, to counteract which Ragia Jessing has approached as far as Brampoer with his army and if we may believe it, has set a watch on all his movements. But seeing that the number of soldiers with whom he is coming down, is much too large for what he needs to watch Siwasi, rumours have been spread that he might be aiming at the Visiapour King. If this should be so, then the trade of Your Lordships will surely be affected by it

Kol. Arch. 1145. Fol. 1016. Director van Adrichem to Lords Seventeen, Souratta, 17th March 1665.

In our last letter we told Your Lordships of the rumours. It is now thought to be perfectly true that the army sent off by King Orang Zeep under Ragia Jessing to check the robber Siwagie, is marching against the Visiapour King who is said to be in league with Siwagie. If this should be so, we shall soon see strange doings here. God may grant that all turns to the best, both here and in other places, for the trade of Your Lordships.

The roads between Ammadabat and this town are getting more and more unsafe every day, so that we ordered the merchant Sr. Slant at Ammadabat to send us all the goods bought for Your Lordships, escorted by horsemen of the civil governor at Ammadbat, as it is better to spend a little money than risk the safety of the goods, because a few days ago, a great Moorish merchant was murdered at a distance of a day's journey from Ammadabat, and all his goods were plundered.

Shivaji against Wingurla

Kol. Arch. 1145. Fols 1271-1274:— Leendert Lenartsz to Lords Seventeen. Wingurla, 23rd March 1665.

On the 16th of March we had requested the Viceroy to permit us to leave Wingurla, seeing that the Company's business there had come to a standstill and that Sivasi was fast approaching with a considerable army.

They were told a lengthy story by His Excellency (either Lord d' Brito or the Viceroy of Goa) about the insincerity of Sivasi who seemed to have filled those of Goa with great fear, although they dare not show it. In this interview they also discussed the matter about Mangalore.

Shivaji holds the Portuguese in awe

Fol. 1273:— Don Francisco da Lima who, after obtaining permission from Mr. van Goens, left for Persia in the

fly-boat *Cattenbough* on the 8th inst., told us for certain that the taking over of the Cannara forts had been checked by two causes :

(1st) The people of Cannara had come of their own free will to surrender all the forts, including Onoor (Honawar) among them, so that His Excellency the Viceroy Anthonio d' Melloacasta had thought fit not to proceed so hastily with the transfer, seeing that the surrender itself had now been firmly promised him, perhaps in the hope of obtaining some restitution for ships and goods that had been taken.

(2nd) Last May (1664 A. D.) General Azischan had been sent off by the King of Visiapour to drive Sivasi away from the province of Caudael, with orders to claim from the Lusitan the restitution of the captured vessel with its goods and horses. He would have apparently demanded the things with due zeal, if he had remained in command, but that was not to be. Hence that menace seemed to stop. Not long after Rustumsima was appointed in his place. He came down in the latter part of September, and apparently wished to take up the matter more persistently, being the father-in-law of Chaves Chan to whom the horses were said to belong. As a matter of fact he sent some letters to this end to the Viceroy, but in vain, so that his effort also proved fruitless. Then he too was called back, and Lord Chaves sent in his place. It seemed that time would breed trouble, since the Khan was highly exasperated against Sivasi who was marching against him with a considerable army. It was presumed that Goa or its lowlands would not be spared by Siwasi. For all these reasons the armada of Dom Manuel Lobo da Silvera, destined for the taking over of the Cannara forts, was continually being held back in reserve till the 18th of October of last year, so that, according to what that Fidalgo said and the spy wrote, it was the Viceroy who was most to blame for the delay in the taking over of the forts.

Kol. Arch. 1145. Fols. 1276—1283. (The same writer continues :)

Loot by land and sea

(*Fol. 1276*) The deeds committed by the admitted robber Sivasi a short time ago and the misery suffered by the inhabitants here beggars description, for money, the prop of the community, causes him to use whatever means present themselves to him, and he keeps neither word nor oath where it is to be got, as his very soul thirsts for it. Thus, from the last day of October to the 7th of December he seized at sea several Moorish frigates arriving at this roadstead from Persia and Mosquetta; some of these belonged to his own lord and master and others to the inhabitants. Then leaving his fleet to cruise hereabout, he himself went to the uplands (Balaghat) with the pick of his soldiers. There he got much booty which, added to what he plundered in the lowlands and what he got in seizing the Moorish ships, *is presumed to exceed the Souratta plunder of the last year*. Besides he keeps under his rule all the territory in the lowlands (Tal Konkan) which he raided and plundered, as far east as Goa. It is a stretch of land, about 24 miles long and 12 miles broad. But whether he will be an easy-going neighbour to the Lusitan there, time will show.

Shivaji's pourparlers with the Dutch

Besides the rumoured rupture between the English and our state, there was at Goa also a talk of peace having been broken between the Crown of Portugal and the Netherlands. Thereupon Sivasi's grand governor, Raugi Pandito asked our chief Lenertsz for a reliable person, to whom he wanted to reveal important matters. Thereupon one man was sent to him. He told him that he had received letters from his spies in Goa to say that there had again been some estrangement between the Dutch and the Portuguese, which being so, his master Sivasi would be willing to enter into a contract with the Dutch for the town of Goa, but, if there were no disputes between the two, he should not talk about it. On the other hand, the Viceroy had said to the above-mentioned chief that he had not the

slightest fear of that rebel, as he lived in peace with their state, perhaps on account of his partiality to the Europeans. But the Portuguese are keeping a continuously strong watch on all the frontier places and points round Goa and are having the same continually provided with victuals and ammunition. Besides, the Viceroy ordered the Islands of Zalzeet, Bardees and the Islands of Goa to be inspected and had a list made of all soldiers capable of bearing arms. On Zalzeet were stationed 64,000 men able to bear arms, on Bardees 24,000 and on the Islands of Goa 12,000 soldiers. His Excellency caused to be selected from among the most capable black men, 8,000 from the first, 5,000 from the second, and 3,000 from the third place. All have shooting arms of their own, and they have to go their rounds each in their own cities giving notice to the others to be ready if need be, so that this rebel is keeping all Goa in constant alarm.

Shivaji's naval expedition—1665

After having abated his plundering a little in the month of January last, this admitted rebel turned up again in February, and put to sea from Malvan (situated 6 miles north of Wingurla) with a naval power of 50 frigates, 3 little ships, and some small craft with 4,000 soldiers, without our being able to find out whither he held his course. But it was generally presumed that he aimed at the lowlands of Goa, Cannara or Cannanoor against Adra Chia(?). Only on the 3rd inst. we learned that Cannara was aimed at, where, according to a letter from the resident there, he levied a contribution of about 300,000 guilders from seven rich persons whom he had dragged with him, but here his adherents speak of 800 thousand guilders. We had always hoped that the robber or the admitted rebel would not in the least injure the Noble Company on account of the firm promise and the long friendly relations which have been kept up by him from the knowledge that the power of the Company could easily force him to compensate for the slight damage he could do to the Co. here.

Loss of the Dutch

But to our great regret, the contrary has proved to have happened by his robbing 25 cows and 50 corges of cangi chiadder, 27 candies of cotton yarn and 500 pagodas which had been sent for buying this yarn (literally: spun goods) and had been partly given to the sellers in Boemsemonder, this place being situated at eight days' distance from here and eighteen days' journey from the rebel's farthest frontiers, where the Mogul stands against him with a powerful army without undertaking anything against him. This place was thought to be so secure that even some from Goa and many from the towns and hamlets in this neighbourhood had carried their goods and money there for safety, for in order to reach it, he would have to pass the Moorish army (which was stronger than his) and three important towns. But it seems, and all the circumstances bear out the truth of this saying that, owing to his (Siwasi's) plunder, he has got all the great ones on his side. We also think that this is the case with some lords of the Mogul empire, for if it were otherwise, it would be impossible for him to undertake what he does now. Learning from a fugitive that Sivasi had carried with him the greater part of the cangi chiadder and rather more than one half of the cotton yarn, we thought fit to send the assistant Albraham LeFeber with a note to that rebel to request him to hand over the goods of the Company, if he should have seized (Fol. 1280) any, in accordance with the security given by him, in order to prevent the Company from making reprisals. But on 18th December just when Le Feber was ready to go, there came tidings that Sivasi had started for his den via the uplands and had left behind 400 loaded pack-animals in the charge of 5 or 6 persons, carrying much of the Company's yarn and changi. Upon this we did not let Le Feber depart, but sent a letter by two servants to Siwasi in the fortress of Chouly (Javli) whither he was said to have

gone, requesting meanwhile (*the following passage is obscure in the Dutch Mss.*) the governor of this place (?) to write to Lord Hachiem (being the superintendent of this place to serve the queen at Court) and to the Governor of Boemsemoender that they should not have those goods despatched with such a small number of guards, as there is danger from Sivasi.

But in the latter part of the same month we were informed that the king had had the beasts which had already left for Javli, carried back again. By this deed, we hoped, the loss to the Company would have been little on restitution of the goods, of which at the time the probability seemed to be great. But we regret to say that nothing came of it, nor have we received any answer from Lord Hackiem. On 10th January Sivasi sent us a complimentary letter and nothing else, but he had said to the servants that he had not carried away with him any cotton yarn or cangi chiadder on account of the great bulk, but his horsemen had made stirrups and torches from a parcel of yarn, so that (*Fol. 1281*) we could not but feel that Your Lordships would get little compensation, unless Y. Ls. should resolve to enforce it, which might be done in a suave manner if Y. Ls. were to withhold passports of the ships, and announce to him that until he has made restitution, no passport would be granted him, but that the Noble Company would go on seizing his vessels until compensation had been made with interest. But this should not only be a menace, but ought to be effected immediately on refusal.

Estimate of Shivaji

That rebel is possessed with such a vainglorious opinion of himself, owing to the fact that everything he undertakes, always meets with success, that he thinks that nobody will or dare oppose him. In order to fulfil our duty towards Your Lordships and to maintain our honour we resolved on the 22nd of December to send the assistants Le Feber and Du Pree to Collapour (Kolhapur) to fetch the 600 " bettecambys, " and " lijwaten(?) " which all arrived at the

Company's lodge on 11th January. The care of getting the said "lijwatan," cotton yarn, sandal-wood from Banckapour, " lac galiga," ginger etc. safe into the Company's house, and thence on board a ship to be sent to their various places of destination, lay rather heavy on our minds; we entered upon our duties under such a remarkably unsettled state of Moorish government as we have not seen for twelve years, although these parts have always been in a rebellious condition. But the Lord of hosts be praised for His mercy that, barring those goods that were taken, most of these are within the Company's lodge, save a small quantity of cotton yarn that is being expected every day. The " lijwatan," Sandal, lac, ginger, etc. for Persia were forwarded on the 9th inst. per *Cattenbough* and *Vogelesang*, and we hope to despatch in the first ship coming from Suratta the cotton that is required for Patria and Coucquin together with wheat (?) etc. (to Batavia). Owing to the seizure of the yarn, we had not expected that we should have been able to meet the demand of both Your Lordships and the Company, but now through the mercy of God we hope to do.

Dutch merchandise sent to Goa

We had hoped to ship to Batavia in April of last year the red and white cotton yarn wanted for Patria, but we failed altogether to do this, because all the ships arriving here from Souratta were full of cargo, and although we had every hope that the large flyboat Amstellandt would relieve us in these dangerous times, it was in vain. To our great regret the goods were left on our hands throughout the last season as a good capital (?) under three different Moorish generals. This caused so much anxiety, and put us on the alert to protect Your Lordships' goods by all practicable means we could use. To this end we were sometimes obliged, against our will, to spend some of Your Lordships' goods in the most serviceable way, which is the reason that this year the presents and gifts at this counting house (factory) have run into a pretty high sum, for the hands

of the Moors who are bred to squeeze people rather than to be soldiers, are always open to receive, and that too with a high opinion of receiving something due to them. They are not ashamed of demanding it, and a gentle refusal they requite with insults where they can without wishing to know the reason. The desire to maintain the balance has somewhat made us resolve to grant the presents. *Siwasi who at present holds sway, and whom everybody here fears*, has not only persuaded us into doing this, but has also made us live in great suspicion whether he is to be trusted in spite of his suave address. Therefore we were obliged to enlist nine men and strengthen our position with some native servants to be used in case of a raid, all which has increased the amount of our monthly charges.

Kol. Arch. 1136. Fols. 482/83. Leendert Lenartsz C. S., Wingurla, 22 January 1665 to Joan Maetsuycker and Council.

On the 14th inst. at night after consulting the assistant Abraham Lefeber and the provisional Do. Jannes Ringerse our chief Lenertsz is going in all secrecy to Goa with the cloves, mace, nuts (nutmeg?) and tin sent to this counting house by Your Lordships, in order to store the Company's goods there for greater security than here. The motives moving us to do so, are that we saw Sivasie had not spared the little ship of Cassiba and Santubasinay, the Company's merchants, but in spite of his pledged security, had taken it to Carrapatan, and that he had taken away the greater part of the Company's goods, bought in Boemsemoender, consisting in Changi Chiadder and cotton yarn, and also because Dessey Locconsant who by order of the king has come down again and ought to protect these places, is beginning to harass the inhabitants with as great a tyranny as Siwasi, having piteously murdered on the 13th inst. one of Sivasi's soldiers, who was sent to the above-mentioned chief with a wounded person (being his prisoner); and because he took prisoner the Gouseratt (?) Pasquier when he left

the Company's lodge. All these, besides other actions taking place in these circumstances, have induced us to the above resolution. We hope that Your Lordships will approve of this, as it has been done to serve the Company, for in the present state of things, when we do not find justice, reason, or rule, but only robbery, treason, murder, inhuman torture, shameful violation, and other outrageous means practised by the robber Sivasi, the consideration what to do or not to do lies pretty heavy on us, the more so, because we have to deal not with an open, but with a feigning enemy, who in all his actions pledges his faith to the Company. When the said Chief appeared before the Viceroy on the following day about 4 o'clock, he requested His Excellency to be permitted to store the Company's goods provisionally at the house of the nobleman Anthonio de Azevedo de Britto, until we should come to take them back, on account of their not being secured at Wingurla against any enemy whomsoever.

Fol. 483—His Excellency not only approved of this, but expressed his willingness to allow Lenartsz to stay with the goods in some dwelling within the palace, but hearing that Lenartsz was going back to Wingurla, as soon as he should have stored the goods in a safe place, His Excellency thought it more advisable to store the goods of the Company under the supervision of a Dutch man, in the house of the nobleman Anthonio de Azevedo de Britto. To this end he ordered the Oridor do Crunen (?) to announce on his behalf to those of the alphandigo that they should not in the least hinder the Dutch factor in storing the goods at the house of the said De Britto.....

Anjdiv fortified against Shivaji

Kol. Arch 1136. Fols 486/487. Leendert Lenartsz C. S. to Joan Maetsuycker and Council, Wingurla. 22nd January 1665. (Copy). On 28th December we learnt from Goa through

a letter and a black native that the English had left Ansdivo (Anjdiv) and everything in it, and had embarked from the same in the three ships lying in the sea of Goa, to be carried to Bombaim. It is said that as soon as the English evacuated the said little Island, the Governor of Coudewaer sent thither diverse materials with all speed to build a fort there, in order to take refuge there with the valuable belongings of the inhabitants, in case Sivasy should march to Coudawaer.

A Portuguese merchant plundered by Shivaji

The Armada which was for a long time said to be going to the north with the Viceroy's son to be married there, is still being held back in spite of many requests of the Cambadi merchants. (The next passage is not clear in the Mss.)

Dom Francisco de Lima, as told in my last letter to Your Lordships, was to have left the roadstead of Goa on the 13th inst. and to have held his course for Portugal (?). This departure should have taken place before, as he had persuaded the Viceroy, by means of a present, to license his little ship for Portugal in precedence to the King's ship (?). But as Sivasy had taken Lijwaten (cloth) worth about 80 thousand Zeraphins belonging to this fidalgo in Boemsemoender, and the latter (?) is living in hopes of the restitution of his lost property, he was obliged to postpone the departure of the little ship. However, we have not heard up to the present moment that he has recovered his goods. The *putiche* (a kind of a vessel) of Pero Gomes has also left, bound for Mosambecq. Of her cargo I have not yet heard anything with certainty, as the Goa spy was imprisoned by the Viceroy for some private reason. The other (ship) which the Viceroy expressly intends to send to Portugal with the reports will be dispatched, I suppose, not earlier than February, although he says it will do so.

Basra ship warned against Shivaji's fleet

Fols. 487—496. On the 12th inst., after having been warned by an almadia of Sivasi's fleet off Atherio (?), the ship of the broker Kimsie arrived in safety at Goa from Basra. But the reception given by these Portuguese gentlemen appeared to the foreign merchants to be rather improper, and they seem to be negotiating with the Governor about leaving Goa to come here (to Wingurla). However, it is pretty certain that they will not succeed in this, unless they pay the duties either wholly or in part at Goa. As we firmly believe that the said ship is bringing some documents from Mr. Van Vijcq, we sent a domestic servant on the 15th inst. with an almadia for that express purpose to that place to fetch them.

Plunder of Wingurla

It is impossible to tell Your Lordships in mere words about what passed under Sivasi and of the misery inflicted on the inhabitants of this town.¹ For money, the prop of the community, being the main passion of his soul, makes him have recourse to whatever means enter his head, and he keeps neither word nor oath where it is to be got. So, saving Your Lordships' pleasure, we shall give Y. Ls. a short and succinct report.

Strength of Shivaji's army

After we had sent some complementary lines on the 29th October to Sivasi and Raugi Pandito containing a request for security, the bearers returned on the 31st at mid-night without bringing an answer. They said that Sivasy had no time for writing a letter on account of leading his army in its retreat before the advance of Chaves Chan. He told them by word of mouth that his word pledged before to the Dutch should be considered to

1. Confirmed by Eng. docs. Shivaji Vol. I. Pp. 104, 106 *supra*.

be firm and steadfast, and on that the Dutch would have to rely. They further reported that Sivasi's army¹ consisted of 10 thousand foot-soldiers, 5 or 6 thousand horsemen, and 90 frigates, and this army was followed by 7 or 8 thousand "biggerys" (Bigaries or forced labourers) and 4 to 5,000 pack animals carrying provisions and divers other necessities for the army and for raising the siege of some forts. The commanders of the frigates were Daria Serangh and Mocquery.

Skirmishes between Khawas Khan and Shivaji

After Chaveschan had courageously beaten Sivasi on a plain with a small army consisting of 2,000 horsemen and as many foot-soldiers, Sivasi again rallied his army, divided it into three or four squadrons, and marched against that Lord in a very good order. A sharp fire of rockets was first opened on both sides. This frightened the said servants so much that they came back to this place. On the following day we heard about the sequel of the battle from several persons who said that the greater part of the rockets fired by Sivasi went over Chaveschan's army. As soon as the rebel perceived this, he made a vigorous attack on the Dessey's (Lakhamsant's) foot-soldiers with his own infantry. He was met with a good resistance, still after a good deal of skirmishing and firing of muskets, he caused them to waver. The main causes of this defeat were the want of powder and the absence of Lord Chaveschan.

Netaji defeated near Kudal

When the latter heard of this, he sent a word to the Dessey to say that he had acquitted himself very well, and that he should go on in that way. He would come to the rescue as soon as the field-marshal of Sivasi's cavalry, Nettosy (Netaji Palkar) by name, should come a little

1. An Eng. letter gives 10,000 and 8,000 men respectively. P. 107 *supra*.

more to the front. He would then attack him and this was actually done. In the fight Chaveschan displayed so much courage that he broke through Nettosy's wings, although his cavalry too was in full array. But in this attack Chaveschan lost some of his best captains by the missiles of Nettosy's horsemen, some of whom carried carbines. However, His Lordship gave such a brave account of himself that his enemy had to leave him in possession of the field as a victor. After four hours' fighting he had 100 men killed and a few wounded, but Sivasi had more than 400 men killed and 800 to 1,000 men wounded. This loss very much grieved the rebel and upset him so much that he would have repaired again to his hiding-places.

Khawas Khan fled away before Netaji from Banda

But Chaveschan left Coudael on that day on the advice of Dessey Loccomsant who directed his attention to his weakness compared with his enemy. Understanding that the Bijapur General had broken up his army, Siwasi hurriedly went to Coudael and had the fortress immediately pulled down. On 5th November he sent Nettosy to Banda with the pick of the cavalry to take Chaveschan by surprise, as His Lordship was still staying there. But as soon as Chaveschan heard of Nettosy's approach, he fled with all his soldiers to Chandagra (Chandargarh), above Mannery on the Balegatta.

Miseries inflicted upon the people

From that time till the 5th inst. when at night he left in a great hurry and without apparent reason with his frigates by way of this place, and his horsemen by the country-road, the inhabitants of Aesthera (?) and of the country as far as Phonda,² being a tract of land about

1. An Eng. letter confirms the defeat of ShivaJi. Pp. 105, 113-118 *supra*.
2. See p. 106 *supra*.

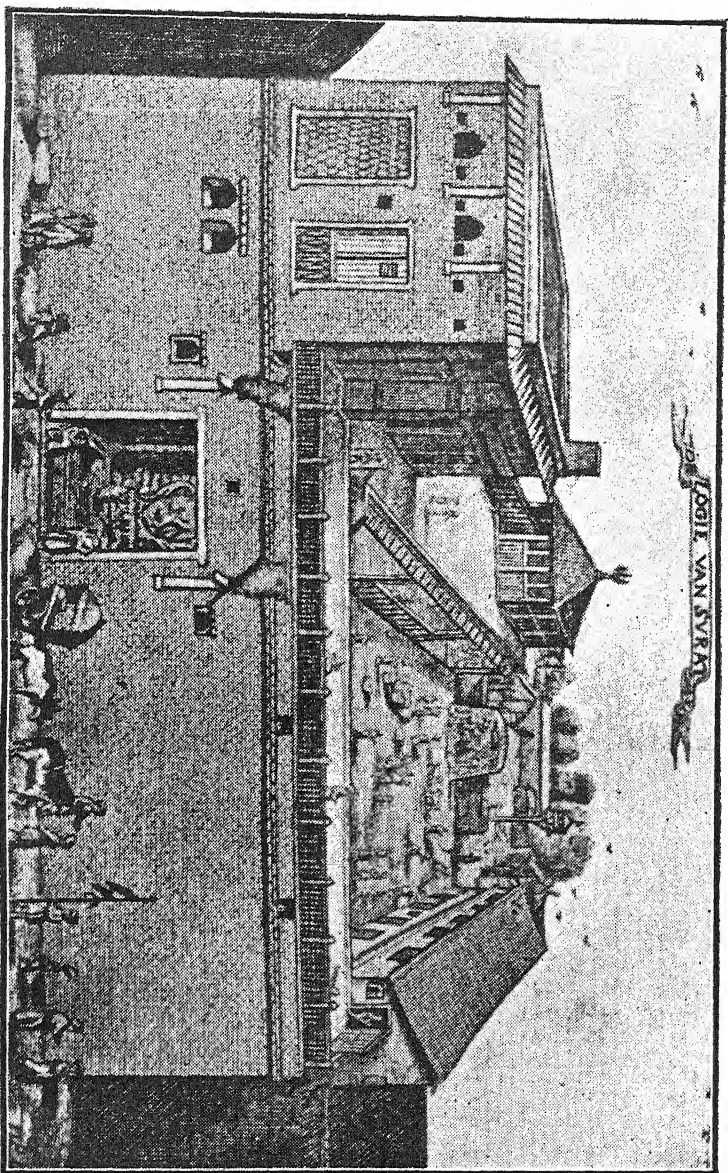
20 miles long and 16 miles broad, have suffered indescribable outrages! To secure the payment of the contributions demanded by him, he tore the wives from their husbands, the children from their parents, and gave them to his soldiers in lieu of a part of their pay. Besides, he carried away with him all the females he could lay hands on against their will at the time of his departure with or without their men knowing of it. These women, and it seems to be true, are said to have been sold to the Mogul soldiers and presented to the chief captains to win their favour.

Secret of Shivaji's success

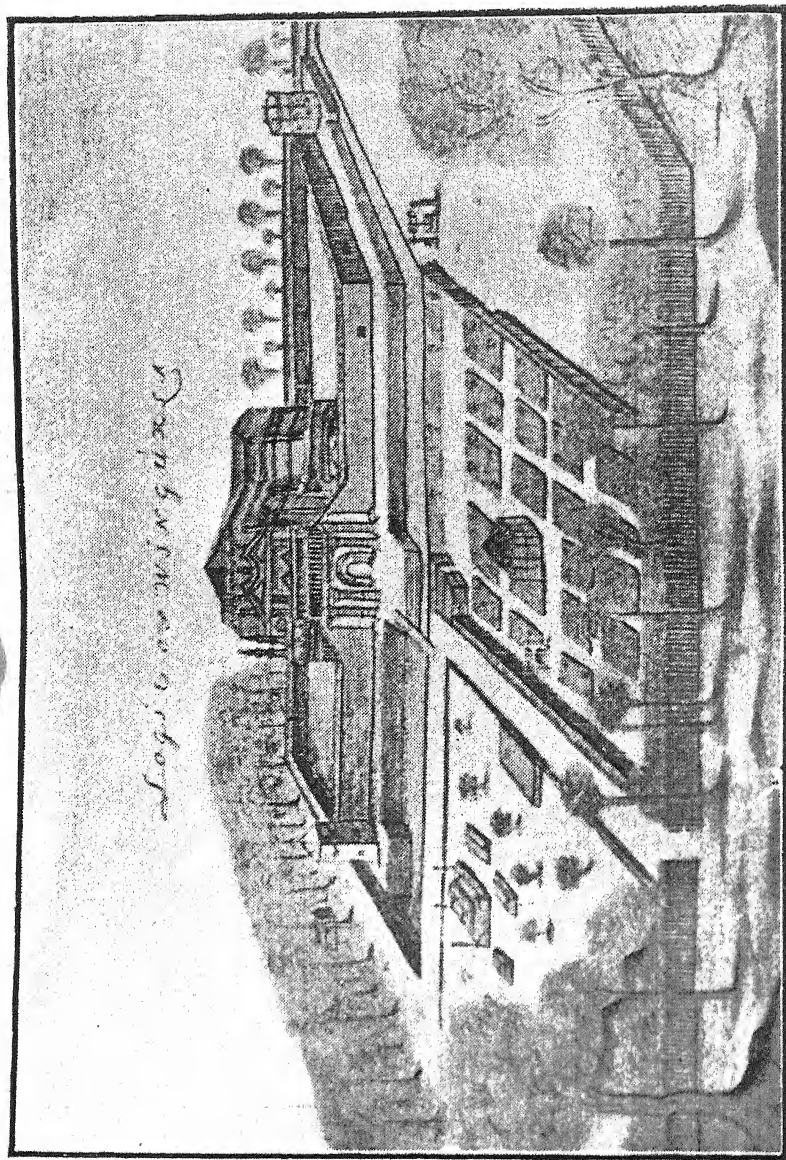
This much is clear to us that Sivasi is cunning but a weak enemy, not only to the Mogul himself, but also to the Visiapour king. The reason why he is not crushed by either, is hard to find. He who for money suffers every wickedness to be done, also spends lavishly on those from whom he gets profit, and we doubt if not many in the Mogul Empire and here at court are tempted by this. So far as this place is concerned that admitted rebel may say that they are all devoted to him, except Mahammad Ali, the son of Siashahep.

Shivaji's fleet captures two ships at Wingurla

On the evening of the third (?) of November his success at sea began by capturing two little ships in the roadstead. One of them, belonging to Cannara, was taken by surprise, while it was riding at anchor in this roadstead, and was carried away without a shot being fired. His men thought that they could attack the other vessel, in a similar way belonging to the old queen, which has not yet cast its anchor. But they met with such a warm welcome that they could not have captured it, if its powder had not been damp. However, before Sivasi got it, he lost about 60 men, while no more than four men were wounded on the frigate.



The Dutch Factory at Surat.



The Dutch Factory at Wingurla.

When Sivasi's men took it, they found that the Nachoda (captain) of the frigate had stabbed himself out of despondency, saying he would rather die than fall into Sivasi's hands. Your Lordships can sufficiently conclude from such disconsolateness what fear the people have of being his prisoners, and also the soldier-like conduct of Sivasi's sailors who, after four hours' fighting with a fleet of 65 sail, which was the strongest fleet they have ever had, took so much time in taking possession of the King's little ship. In the morning they were seen together with the captured frigate at anchor near the burning islands (?), and the next day they went to Carrapatan. When they were there, unloading the stolen goods and storing them in the fortress of Giria (Gheria), not less than one third of their rowers ran away. This act need not excite any wonder, for many of them were peasants who had never plied an oar before, nor had even been at sea. It may be easily imagined what hope of victory there can be to Sivasi with such men, and especially at sea, in case of resistance or foul weather. In the evening of the 8th, two Musquet frigates appeared in this roadstead. One of them, on hearing the news about Sivasi, directed her course homeward to Cannara, the other from Jman (Yemen), the master of which was a certain Christian, named Manuel Dandrade, cast anchor here. Having come on shore, this man inquired about Sivasi's whereabouts, and whether we advised him to stay here. So we did. We told him that Sivasi had promised a safe-conduct to the merchants and the frigates that came safely to anchor, and he had obligations to the Arabs as he knows. From this his staying might be considered to be a safe thing (?), the more so because he had arrived in good condition. Moreover, he had brave Arabs on board on whom he must rely more than on Sivasi's security. He answered: "I may trust him, but I trust my arms most. Very well, I will wait here for three days." Meanwhile Sivasi's frigates, thirty sail strong, appeared

here again on the 14th of Nov. One of the two captains, Mocquerly¹ by name (who is a Malse-(?) of Sivasi) came to Lenartsz in the afternoon, to say that they had thought that the little ship in the roadstead here belonged to us, but that on coming here they found out that this was not the case. Therefore he would go back on board his ships to take possession of it. Mr. Lenartsz advised him not to do so, saying that Sivasi had promised safe conduct to the frigates in the seaports. We also handed him two letters of security granted by Sivasy to the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese. Although we advised him not to harm that ship before he should have orders from his master, that he and Lenartsz ought first to write about this matter to Sivasi and obey the reply to this letter, yet he would have his own way and hurried to his armada after abusing the Dutch chief. While he was going back, Lenartsz dissuaded him from approaching the frigate, as he would have to expect resistance if he did.

But Daria Sarangh, having heard that this little ship belonged to Jman (Yemen), pursued it with all his ships. Manuel d' Andrade, without showing that he wanted to fly, managed to get wind of them. But when it became calm, they overtook him by dint of rowing, and came up to him at about four o'clock in the afternoon. They fired four shots which were answered by the ship with grape-shot. Sivasi's fleet got some men killed and wounded, after which they returned in a great hurry without thinking of pursuing the vessel any farther. Although the said Manuel kept cruising before Wingurla for three days, they left him alone.

Surat ship captured

But brave soldiers like these (viz. on Andrade's ship) did not appear to be on the little ship of Surat. Concerning it Sr. Adrichem had asked us on behalf of Lord Asdinchan to protect it. This request we should have complied with

1. It might be a misreading for Bhandari or Mai Naik.

on safe arrival of the same. But they surrendered it to Sivasy's fleet in this roadstead on the morning of 20th November without resistance, to the surprise of all the inhabitants who even up to the evening were firmly convinced that the same could not be captured by Sivasy. The latter was a ship of 200 tons burden with a fixed deck (?), and was manned with more than 100 men, among whom there were many topasses and even two Englishmen to serve as gunners. She carried 14 guns, belonging to the former Zendeer (Sirdar ?) Babasinoy of Cannara. After she had been hard pressed by the enemy and had reached the roadstead without firing a gun, the crew ran her ashore. The enemy already seemed to leave her alone for mere fear of resistance; but when they perceived her manoeuvre, they boarded and captured her, and then divided her crew among their frigates. Afterwards they towed the ship to their frigates and sailed away.

Another ship taken by Shivaji

On the 7th of December at sunrise there was added to this booty the little ship of the Company's merchants, Cassiba and Santubasinay. It was anchoring in the roadstead. It also ignominiously suffered itself to be taken by the enemy, although the Nachoda had been advised by the Daria Sarangh to cut the cable and sail away. This is a great blow to these surprised merchants, and the Company will also be interested in it, for on its safe arrival and on being credited to Your Lordships' account which, they say, they have settled, they intended to pay their arrears this year. However, we hope that Sivasy will remember the safe conduct granted by him to them and make restitution.

Incredible amount of booty

The booty he has got in capturing the little ships and surprising off the Ballagatta Captain Gorpora (Ghorpade)

who was in charge of the King's cash for paying Chaveschan's army, is estimated at 800,000 gold rups (?) and the spoil taken by land is said to be 20,00,000 gold rupees.

Baji Ghorpade wounded in battle

The victory gained by the rebel in taking Captain Gorpora by surprise was far from what Chaveschan expected, as that person was certainly one of the most excellent commanders. He got so severely wounded that he soon died and lost 200 men besides all the cash. We wonder very much that the Mogul's army should not have done anything in particular, while that rebel was so far from his home in the north, because Gorpora's men who escaped, though no more than 300 horsemen, made it so hot for Sivasi near Carrapatam and Wain above the Ballagatta, that the same is said to have hastened the breaking-up of his camp from here. It was a matter of wonder that although every day men from his armada were coming ashore, we could not ascertain where he was staying until the 11th inst.

Sack of rich towns

Then we learned that he had gone to Canapour with the pick of his men to plunder it, and that, in doing so he had passed Chaveschan's army within a mile without that lord's stirring. Many wondered at this and suspected that he had also been bribed. This is not altogether unlikely, for the Desseys of the places thereabout had warned him and asked him to come down, or to give them a Christian (?) order to march against Sivasi, but he did not comply with their requests and those of the poor inhabitants, but detained them so long with the promise that he would come that the rebel had leisurely plundered Canapour,¹ Bomsemoender, Hobely, etc., and sent off the goods in due security. When

1. Khanapur is about 12 miles S. W. of Belgaum. Sack of Hubli is described on Pp. 107-9 *supra*.

we learned that he had taken with him more than one half of the cotton yarn, and the greater part of the cangi chiadder, bought for the Company at Boemsemoender, we thought fit to send the assistant Abraham Lefeber to His Excellency (Shivaji) with a note. In this letter we requested him to release the goods of the Company in accordance with his given pledge, if they should have been seized by him, lest he should give the Company cause to make reprisals.

Shivaji back to Javli in December

But when on the 18th of Dec. the said Lefeber was ready to start, we got tidings that the robber Sivasi had left for his dens by way of the uplands, and that he had left 400 pack-animals in the charge of 5 or 6 persons, among which there was a good deal of the Company's yarn and cangi chiadder. After receiving this letter, we did not let Lefeber go, but sent the afore-said note by two servants of Sivasi in the fortress of Chauly (Javli)¹ whither he was said to have gone. Meanwhile we begged the governor of this place to notify to Lord Hachim and the Governor of Bomsemoender that they should not allow those goods to be despatched with so few superintendents for mere fear of Sivasi, who had ordered the governor with harsh threats to despatch the goods shortly after him with the appointed overseers. But in the latter part of the said month, we learned that the King had the beasts which were already going off, carried back again, so that when the King sends us the Company's goods that are among them, our Noble Lords will be put to some little expense. In order to see to these and other things to the service of Your Lordship and to our credit, we resolved to send the said assistant together with the junior assistant Du Pree to Collapour on the 22nd December to go and fetch the 600 corges of bettecambys,

1. In July 1663, too Shivaji is said to be at Javli. As Poona was in the hands of the Moguls, Javli was the chief place of the residence of Shivaji. P. 95 *supra*.

The Lord be praised eternally. These all arrived in safety in the Company's lodge on the 11th of January.

Trade depressed by Shivaji's raids

The care of safely storing the said cloths ("lijwaten"), cotton yarn, sandal, lacquer, etc., in the Company's lodge and further storing them aboard the ships to be sent to their respective destinations, lies heavy upon us in our function newly entered upon under such a strange and variable reign as ever we have seen these 12 years, although these parts have always been turbulent. This care specially concerns the trade in cloths, Banckapour lacquer, etc., which we have bought up, it is true, without instructions to do so, but with the true intention to show that there is something better to be done at this counting-house for the Company than leaving the cash unemployed in the money-box. We told Your Lordships as much in our last letter; therefore we hope that Y. Ls. will graciously consider the good intentions rather than the results. Certainly, the advance of 1 fl. (?) pr. cent, as the noble Lord van Wijcq writes in his letter of 4th May in passing, is important enough to justify the storing of those goods in partly laden ships, arriving here on their way to Persia. The cloths could be sold there, according to quality, at a profit of about 30% as that gentleman rightly says, to the absence of numerous supplies of these cloths, of which there seems to be little chance in these years, because Sivasi has pretty well deterred the native merchants from trafficking at sea. In our opinion, it is far better for divers reasons to spend the Company's money on what the native merchant sends thither at a profit than leaving it here unemployed or remitting it to another place.

(The writer has forwarded certain goods to Suratta in the flyboat *Leerdam* together with 50,000 pagodas.)

We trust that Y. Ls. will approve of this as the times were tumultuous and still are so. We should have despatched at the time all the merchandise, if they had not been disembarked on shore at the certain report of Sivasi's coming.

Dutch Factory fortified against Shivaji

However, we ceased doing this (?) with the approbation of the masters of the said ships, viz. the yachts *Naerden* and *Vlissingen* and the flyboat *Leerdam*, as appears from the said resolution,¹ lest we should rouse suspicion in the rebel Sivasi, who up to that time had not shown us the least discourtesy in anything whatever. For the greater security of the Company's goods and for the protection of the lodge, we demanded nine men from the vessels together with 2000 lbs of gunpowder. We also enlisted 10 peons, especially to serve us at the guns as the occasion should require. With all these, together with some Arab merchants who had fled into the lodge, some Christians, and a few native inhabitants we considered ourselves sufficiently strong to bear an attack from the admitted rebel, as his soldiers had already shown courtesy in many respects. We trust that Y. Ls. will approve of all this, for at present what happens in this Empire is this. Whoever succeeds in collecting a party of men, carries on war against everybody, but chiefly against those who, when conquered, possess most that can be taken from them, so that we do not know against whom we have to be directly on our guard.....

A Dutch ship pursued by Shivaji's fleet

On 26th December last, at noon, a little ship was seen from the mountain. As far as we could see in

¹This 'resolution' was not specified, in the folios immediately preceding this passage. C. C. R.

the north, Sivasi's fleet sailed towards it, and pursued it till late in the evening, nearly as far as Wingurla. Early in the next morning, this little ship was lying half-a-mile south of Wingurla and Sivasi's frigates were in the roadstead at anchor. As soon as the fleet perceived that it was a Dutch ship, it sailed away, and the chief Lenartsz sent an almadia to it to reconnoitre. On its return the Pilot said that the vessel was the "*Cadt*", the master of which dared not go ashore with the letter without orders. (The following passage is rather obscure and does not seem to fit in very well with the preceding passage as regards the messengers sent.) But as it was clear at sunrise that it was a Dutch vessel, the said Lenartsz had already sent a *mansjul* and a Dutchman..... With these men the master Pieter Roemer and the book-keeper came ashore. He delivered the letters to us. In the evening, after having read them, we sent them on (...) together with our letters to Lord Ryckloff van Goens through this yacht '*Cadt*.' We provided them with drinking-water and some provisions. We dared not detain the ship longer to prevent all possible risks, because the master told us that they had been pursued by Sivasi's armada for twenty-four hours, but that the latter had not been able to overtake them by sailing. By the said yacht '*Cadt*' we got a letter from the Director Dircq van Adrichem, from which we were glad to learn the sale of the merchandise and the fair profit on the same. Thereupon, on 15th January, we sold the goods brought to this place, as usual deducting the 4 per cent which the Noble Company has to pay on account of the toll there, to the Benjaen (Banian) merchants Cassiba and Santubasinay,¹ we did not sell tin and lead, because we did not ascertain their prices, when the merchandise returned from Goa. We shall deliver (?) from the warehouse that much goods every time for which the buyers will bring money (?). This, we fear, will be a

1. Cf. P. 77 *supra*.

very slow business as the merchants are ruined (?) or seized with fear to undertake anything. We had hoped, as we told Y. L. in our former letter, to be exempt (?) from the duties on the merchandise brought here, but the Governor of Wingurla, who left this place at the coming of Sivasi more than one month and a half ago and fled to Goa, will not consent to this until he has further orders from Lord Hachiem. However, he promised us that he would write to the said Lord in favour of the Company by whose staying Wingurla has not suffered the woes of Sivasi so much as other places. Meanwhile, we shall exert ourselves as much as we can, so that the Company shall receive a recognition for the great efforts it was obliged to make in such dangerous circumstances.....

A part of Konkan given in Jagir to Shivaji

On the 14th inst. the grand governor Raugi Pandito asked our chief Lenartsz for a reliable person to whom he would reveal matters of importance. As he was silent upon his intention, the said Lenartsz sent a Gentive (Hindu) clerk to him. He communicated to this man that he had received a letter from his spies at Goa to the effect that there was again an estrangement between the Dutch and the Portuguese. If this were so, his master Sivasi would be inclined to enter into a contract for the town of Goa with the Dutch.¹ But if there were no disputes between the two nations, he should not speak about it. He also told the said clerk that there was a good and sincere peace between the King (of Bijapur) and Sivasi and that the King had granted to his master in Jagir all the lowlands as : far as Ponda, except Wingurla and Ditcholy. By this acquisition he has become a neighbour of the Lusitans, and time must reveal whether he will not prove to be rather troublesome."

1. Confirmed by a letter from the Dag-Register. P. 97 *supra*.

Facts of Bajī Ghorpade's death

The preceding document is very important, because it unequivocally exonerates Shivaji from the charge of treacherously falling upon Bajī Ghorpade and cowardly killing him in cold blood, while he was in bed. It is also evident that the wives and sons of Bajī Ghorpade were not murdered. Shivaji's assertion that Bajī fell with other notable men in a battle, is confirmed by the Dutch document. So are the defeats of Khawas Khan and Savants corroborated by the Dutch account.¹

Similarly, the brief notes of the Jedhe chronology are fully borne out by the preceding account. "There was a rupture between Adil Shah and Shivaji, and Khawas Khan came to Kudal. Shivaji went with his army and killed Ghorpade. There was a fight with Khawas Khan, he fled beyond the Ghat (10th Oct. to November 1664.)

Shivaji looted Khudavadpur² (8th November to 7th December 1664)".

Lakham Savant, though a feudatory of Shivaji, had allied himself with Bijapur, and actually fought against Shivaji. For such a signal service he was bestowed jagirs of several new towns and even given a dress of honour by the Bijapur King. The five Firmans of 1664-5 whose Marathi translation is given in the Marathi History of Savantwadi,³ throw much light on these points. Some doubt can justly be entertained regarding the genuineness of these Firmans, as all of them bear the seal of Muhammad Shah who had died in November 1656. These should have borne the seal of Ali Adil Shah.

Here we must discuss the genuineness of the letter⁴

1. Shivaji's letter to Shahji, Part I, Pp. 205-6. See the Grant to Maloji in Part I, and Shivaji's letter to Maloji in Vol. II, p. 282 for Bajī's death in a battle.

2. It is Coudawaer of the Dutch Records.

3. V. P. Pingulkar, A history of the Sawant Wadi State. Appendices. Pp. 9-11.

4. Shivaji The Great, Part I, Pp. 205-6.

said to be written by Shivaji to his father, wherein he describes all these events of the death of Baji Ghorpade, the defeat of Khawas Khan and Sawants, and even of the plunder of the Portuguese territory.

We have seen that Baji Ghorpade¹ died of wounds inflicted upon him in a battle fought in November 1664, and Khawas Khan fled away from Banda in December, while Shahji is said to have died on 23rd January 1664. It is therefore evident that the said letter is either spurious or was not written to his father but to his mother. It cannot be said to be spurious, for almost all the details mentioned in the letter are borne out by the Dutch and English documents, while the date of the death of Shahji too is confirmed by a Dutch document. Mr. C. V. Vaidya has vainly² attempted to show that Baji Ghorpade died before January 1664 and that the said letter was written to Shahji. He discredits the date of Jedhe Chronology, though the Dutch document reproduced here, completely confirms the account and dates. Thus it is certain that the said letter was not written by Shivaji to his father, but might have been sent to his mother.

News of the sack of Wingurla sent to Masulipatam

Kol. Arch. 1143. Fols. 396/397 :— The Residents at Masulipatam to G. G. Joan Maetsuycker and Council of India (Dutch). 6th March 1665. (Copy).

The other day there arrived from Goa a peon of the above-mentioned Mr. Jersey with letters addressed to him relating how Souagie was taking one village after another in the neighbourhood of Wingurla, murdering innumerable human creatures, and how this created such a terror and suspicion among our people at Wingurla, that they were said to have left the lodge with all that they could carry

1. The Mudhol History gives 1661 as the year of Baji's death. It is incorrect and so should be changed to 1664. Therefore his successor Maloji's rule also began in 1664. See p. 56 of Part I.
2. C. V. Vaidya, Shivaji. Pp. 164-170.

with them, and to have fled to Goa. But we trust that this is only a made-up story, because the latter piece of news was only communicated by the peon, and not by a letter, and the more so because we had not heard anything about this from Golconda. The latest letters from the latter place were dated on the 21st February and were received here on the 30th. Among other things it was mentioned that they had remitted 6,000/— old pagodas to this place to be received here on the 27th and 18th of the same month; that the parcels of gums, pips (peppercorns?) and tin lately dispatched to them had safely arrived there on the 14th of the said month, and that they had not yet received any tidings about the sale of the spices at Suratta.

The Co.'s brokers impoverished by Shivaji

Kol. Arch. 1143. Fols. 728/732:—Sr. Leendart Lenartsz to G. G. Joan Maetsuycker and Lords Councillors of India. Wingurla, 29th April 1665.

That the merchants Cassiba and Santubasinay did not pay more than 600 guilders in the account of their debt of last year. This sum appeared to be little to Y. Ls. from the cause we adduced; therefore we could let it pass this time, but in future we had to stick to the old contract of deducting 10 and 5 per cent on the merchandise. Indeed, we should have entirely conformed to this as it was the right plan such as it proved to be in our letter of the 8th May of the last year. But it seems that we cannot always gain our ends. If their pataches coming from Musquetta, had not been taken in this roadstead by Sivasi, in spite of his giving a pledge on 7th February last, they would have paid this debt to the Company and rendered their account according to their own promise. However, they suffered not only this loss from Sivasi, but also the loss of a goodly part of the bought-up cloths, 500 pagodas in cash (which they had sent for purchasing cotton yarn for the Company) and about 27 candies of cotton yarn, of which that rebel

robbed them. Therefore they begged us very humbly that we would excuse them this year in paying that debt, and that we would be pleased to credit them for the stolen cash, the cotton yarn and 50 corges of cangi chiadder, since the same had been sent to Bomsemoender and bought up for the benefit of the Company. We told them that we could not decide on this until we should have advised Y. Ls. of it, but we promised them to write favourably about it. We wrote to Lord Van Goens about the payment of the debt in question, but as this gentleman thought this was not in his power, we have succeeded yet in persuading the said merchants into paying 1,200 guilders, being scarcely one half of the real debt, not without bitter complaints on their part that they had been quite ruined now by Sivasi. If Y. Ls. do not resolve to credit them for the said goods and cash, which they protest to have sent for the Company, they respectfully request you to order us what we shall do about this matter, and if we are to debit Sivasi in the 'negotie boeckjens' (books) with the said goods and cash, also with the 25 cows he stole from the Ballegatta. At a rough estimate these goods and the cash amount to 6,000/— guilders. If we had sent the Company's servants personally to buy up the cotton yarn, they would also have been liable to the accident. Therefore we beg to submit to your wise judgment our own opinion, viz., that they should be exempted or partly compensated. Up to now they have not been able to get an accurate account of what has been taken, as Sivasi is still keeping in prison their servant who was sent to Bomsemoender for the buying-up. In the latter place are also kept 400 loaded pack animals in the charge of 4 to 5 servants of Sivasi. Neither these nor their owners have been released (?). With them are the 50 corges of cangi chiadder. The governor of this place and Lord Hachiem are holding out some hope of the goods being restituted, but the ready money was carried away at the time by Sivasi. To one of the servants despatched to him, and whom he sent back with a complimentary note

only, he said; "I did not carry away the yarn, but my horsemen made cords for their stirrups and torches from a part of it. From these words we can expect but little chance of restitution, unless Y. Ls. resolve to compel him, which might be done in a suave manner by refusing the ships' passports with the message that, until restitution shall be made, the same will not be granted him, but that, on the contrary, his vessels shall be seized until the Company recovers their own goods. A good opportunity for doing this would seem to be, if the Company thinks fit, and if Y. L. would resolve, that the Moccha ships should take as much as Sivasi has stolen from the Company out of his frigates which often sail thither, or that they should exact as much as they could do from the masters of the frigates. We are of the opinion that this might be done without much difficulty, seeing that every body has suffered loss and injury at his hands. Your Lordship would perhaps suggest that he would be sure to get his payment back at our expense here. This is true. But we see such a disposition in this nation that they are hardest upon those who do not oppose them. After despatching the Company's goods to Battavia, we intend to send the Gentive clerk Sonnoba to Sivasi to demand compensation; the more so since we are informed by many people that both the general Nettosi and the admirable Daria Sarangh strongly advice Sivasi to return the Company's goods. The outcome of this will be reported to Y. L. via the coast at the first opportunity.

Naval expedition to Barcelore

In the last month of January that admitted rebel kept somewhat quiet, but in February he turned up again and on the 18th of that month he with 50 frigates, 3 little ships,¹ some small craft and 4,000 of his best soldiers sailed from Malvan which is only 26(?) miles north of Wingurla. At the time we

1. The Eng. account mentions three great ships and gives further details of his expedition. Pp. 109-110 *supra*.

could not learn with certainty whither he took his course, but it was generally presumed that he was aiming at the lowlands of Goa, Cannara, or on Adriachia of Cananoor. But on the 3rd of March we learned that he was going to Cannara. At this place, according to a letter from the Resident Covert de Bruyn, he is said to have obtained a contribution of about 300 thousand guilders together with seven rich persons whom he carried hither (?). But this booty is magnified here by his adherents into 800 thousand guilders. However, it seems that he was not satisfied as, after the events at Cannara, he had the spy cruelly murdered who, through Raugi Pandito, had held out the Basseloor (Barcelore) enterprise to him (?).

The secret of Shivaji's success

The plans which that admitted rebel dares execute against the Vissapour King, are certainly of a bold nature. Although on many occasions we cannot see him anything but a weak enemy, yet he succeeds in everything owing to his boldness. It is divulged that he also aims at Cananoor and Camboja, but this enterprise cannot take effect this year. We have occasionally made mention of Sivasi's activities to Your Lordship as frankly as we could. Doing it over again would seem to be a needless, tedious and improbable story. This comes nearest the truth that in him everything is to be found that is strictly required to be had in a tyrant. We cannot but accept his own saying for sober truth, although he is untruthful in many things, viz., that, by distributing his spoil, he has corrupted ² the greater part of the Visiapour court and some part of the Mogul court.

Stone wall round the Dutch Lodge at Wingurla.

Kol. Arch. 1143. Fol. 738:—(from the same letter as Kol. Arch. 1143. Fols. 728/732. 29th April 1665.)

1. The Portuguese mention the same cause for his success. P. 498 of Shivaji, Vol. II.

In accordance with Your Lordships' order we made a beginning as soon as we received the same by the ship Vogelesangh, with pulling down the old mud wall of the lodge and building up one of stone instead.¹ But as these parts are destitute of labourers on account of Sivasi's devastations, the work is making slow progress. However, after dispatching this letter, we shall have more time and hope to push on the work with diligence. We shall let your Lordships know by way of the coast how far we have proceeded.

Precautions for the defence of Goa against Shivaji

Kol. Arch. 1143 Fols 777/779.—(from the same letter as *Kol. Arch. 1143. Fols. 728/732*).

In the latter part of March the little ship owned by Kimsi the broker left Goa for Persia with a large quantity of rice, borborry(?), ginger, and some cloths. Although during our stay at Goa the Viceroy to all appearance did not do much against Sivasi, yet he was continually arranging things. For instance, he provided the fortresses with ammunition and provisions, and set watches all over the lowlands of Bardees and Zalzeet.² After expelling 400 suspected persons, he caused to be announced by beat of drum that neither Moors nor Gentives should carry any arms within the Portuguese territory. After our departure, he also provided the whole fleet of small craft with Lascars and ammunition of war, and distributed them all over the river for keeping watches. He also went in person to Zalzeet to put every thing in order. From all these doings it may

1. This solid stone rampart with four bastions is still in existence. The Dutch Factory is now being used for various Government Offices. It has three stories, big halls, beautiful arches, and thick walls of six feet width. It is indeed a small fort. Four big guns mounted on each bastion protected the Dutch from all hostile attacks. See pictures of the Factory as it was in 1670 and as it is now in 1932.

2. See the map of Portuguese possessions in Vol. II.

easily be concluded that they too are in fear of Sivasi, and with good reason, for if there was no peace between the Company and the Lusitans, that tyrant would not leave the Company without a proposal to make an attempt on Goa. He also asked us for the former clerk Babbasinay for the purpose of sending him as a spy to Goa, as he is acquainted with the Portuguese and with the native language. However, this man refused to go, because he is not allowed to enter Goa, and also because he is unfit for the work of a spy.

Policy of religious freedom adopted by the English at Bombay.

In a letter of 18th March, the Goa spy informs us that Chancellor Sebastiaen Alvares and Ovidor da Facenda have written from the North that according to instructions, they had surrendered Bombaim to the English, but that they and His Excellency would shortly become aware of a very great change in the North. Nearly all the married Gentive and Guserat merchants were already beginning to seek the protection of the English as the latter promised them religious liberty, not to make Christians of the children whose parents died against the will of the overseers and not to withhold their inheritance from them. (Now follow some other favourable arrangements and remarks about the English *re* law and religion. A comparison is made between the English and the Portuguese, among whom the Jesuits have great influence).

Bijapur declares war on Shivaji in the Konkan

Goaded by Aurangzeb, Ali Adil Shah sent an army under Ikhlās Khan against Shivaji in the Konkan. But the general belief was that this war was not begun in earnest but to keep up appearances. (See pp. 238-140 *supra*)

*Kol. Arch. 1145. Fols. 822/823:—*Joan Maetsuycker and Councillors of India. Wingurla, 15th May 1665 (Copy).

As soon as we know what General Tgnatio Sarmento who has already written for some ammunition, has done, we shall let Your Lordships know by way of the coast. It seems that some trouble is again impending over these lowlands at the marching-down of the King's army against Sivasi under the command of General Eccles Chan (Muhammad Ikhlās Khan), a brother of the former general Chaveschan. Though it happens only to keep up appearances and to satisfy the Mogul, yet this tomfoolery will apparently lie heavy upon the poor community. The domestic servant Narsou returned yesterday. We had sent him to Lord Hachiem in Visiapour with a note requesting shipment of the goods that are still at Bomsemoender in charge of the four servants of Sivasi. He brought an order and a letter from the said lord. Of those we enclose the translation. As we do not think the order a proper one, we fear it will come to nothing. We shall consequently have to await the decision of Mamed Eccleschan with whom Lord Hachiem discussed that matter. He is proceeding to the lowlands with an army of 3,000 horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers instead of his brother Chaveschan. This Lord is at present keeping 40,000 horsemen besides the foot-soldiers in readiness at Visiapour against the Mogul. Although there is as yet no open war between these two Crowns, nothing else is expected according to common rumours, as the Bijapur King makes too much of the money that Sivasi pays him at present for the maintenance of the army, and he also says that after all he prefers to make war, if war there must be, against the Mogul rather than against Sivasi.

War between Shivaji and Jaisingh

Ragia Jessingh is said to have gained some advantage over Sivasi, but at the loss of many men. This Lord intended to besiege Sivasi personally in a certain fortress.

but,¹ escaping by unknown paths, he attacked them from behind, cutting off the rear of the army and the Basaer (Bazar). What the outcome of all this disturbance will be, the more so as the Mogul army here is estimated to be 100 thousand horsemen besides the foot,² time will reveal. Meanwhile, we fear that this population will not escape molestation when the Moorish army comes down. God our Lord may grant that the company may not suffer the harm.

Europeans and Ommersie employed against Shivaji's fleet

Kol. Arch. 1144, Fols. 1529/1530: Sr. Hartman and Council to G. G. Joan Maetsuycker and Councillors of India, Suratta, 1 July 1665. (Copy)

As we told you in our last letter, we have not yet received an answer to the petition made for the grant of privileges for protecting the royal ships coming from Moccha at His Majesty's request against the hands of the robber Sivagie.

So we trust that nothing will come out of it. We also think that we shall not be asked for it again, since we are keeping our claims in the forefront in connection with the recognition for the service rendered them last year with the yacht *Souratta*. We advised Your Lordship last year, that at the request of the Governor of Souratta and after the promise of a fair reward one Ommersie, a certain naval hero, renowned among these Mahometans and a resident of Goga, had equipped 25 Moorish frigates and manned them with 1,500 soldiers to attack Sivasi. After he had incurred the expenses, this promise

1. It may refer to the fall of Vajragarab, (14th April), the key that was to unlock Purandhar. It appears that Shivaji gained some advantage over one of the flying columns which were sent to desolate the Maratha country. See Sarkar, Shivaji, pp. 118-120.

2. This strength is confirmed by an English letter. See, P. 239 and its footnotes supra.

was recently kept only in part to his great chagrin and grief, and so he conducted only a part of his fleet to sea. We were told for certain that he has now been granted a Firman by His Majesty Orangh Sia to encourage him in his zeal.

This firman also presents him with a body of men (?) to find his expenses from the treasury. Since he is now officially recognized, this arrangement will apparently encourage him the more to inflict losses on that tyrant Shivaji and harass his ports, or at least to set on fire the villages in their neighbourhood. This seems to be his chief aim at present.

Aurangzeb builds a new fleet against Shivaji

Kol. Arch. 1144. Fols. 1511/1512. Suratta to G. G. Joan Maetsuycker and Councillors of India, 6th June 1665.

We have not received any answer from the royal court at Dilly either to our repeated requests or to the letters of recommendation from the Governor Geasudinchan, concerning the robbing of the Company's Amadabat caffila last year and the protecting of the yatcht *Souratta* against the fleet of the pirate Suvagie. So we are not again able to inform Your Lordship what will come out of it. Meanwhile we have been permitted to carry the goods, left in the custom house for payment of the duties, into the Company's lodge. These goods together with others, have been specially permitted on being entered on the King's account of the duties until further pleasure of Chia Oranghzeep. We shall have to wait patiently for the result.

As for the request of the Governor Geasudinchan (about which we wrote to Your Lordship in our last letter) to render assistance against the pirate Suwagie's fleet for the purpose of chasing him from the seas, we must tell Your Lordship that he has not yet received a

reply from the King. So to all appearance this matter will come to nothing, the more so as last night we received from Sisianabat (Shahjahanabad or Delhi) a letter of 15th April from the chief surgeon Jacob Fredrick Bertsen. In this letter he said among other things that a certain English gunner, Thomas Rolts by name, was going to be sent down to build five large vessels and a few frigates here. These will be used against Suwagie. For their making Chia Oranghzeep has already ordered a good deal of money to be employed, as Your Lordships will please to read in details in the copy of Mr. Jacob's letter. Time will bring the truth to light.

Shivaji against Jaisingh

Kol. Arch. 1144. 1520/1521. (From the same letter as fols. 1511/1512. 6th June 1665.

There are strong rumours that Ragia Jessingh has gained an advantage over the robber Suwagie, and that he has captured one of his chief strongholds,¹ but we cannot tell you so with certainty on account of the current rumours that are changing every day. Similarly, we cannot write for certain if he is also aiming at the Visiapour and Golconda Kings, but there is fear on either side and this causes slackness in trade. The afore-said Ragia Jessingh is said to have informed Governor Geasudin Chan that Siwasie had descended again from his mountains to his lower dens with 4 or 5 thousand horsemen for the purpose of undertaking again some foolhardy exploit. Almighty God may save us and every one else from that vulture's claws.

A struggle between Lakham and Krishna servant

Kol. Arch. 1142. Fols. 1695/1699. Leendert Leenartsz to Lords Seventeen. Wingurla, 12th March 1666. (Original letter)

1. This news is partly confirmed by the Dagh-Register. P. 244 supra.

Last October Sivasi marched to Coudael against General Chaveschan, gave him battle there, and put him to flight. Although he had been assisted by Loccomsant, he chose in his place one of the latter's most distinguished captains, called Coursant who had been separated from his master for sometime and had gone to Bardees for residence. By means of a reconciliation with the King, if reconciliation it can be called, he effected so much that he was confirmed in the Dessaiship by firmans of His Majesty. But since the state of things is very liable to change here, Dessey Loccomsant did not take a long time in procuring a firm promise from General Mamed Eccleschan that captain Coursant should be delivered up to him,¹ and that the former should be reinstated in his original position, for which Loccomsant would pay him 25,000 pagodas in two years. The said Coursant came to know of this negotiation from intercepted letters, and resolved to go to Bardees again with the Viceroy's permission. There they were neighbours without visiting each other. Although Coursant often tried to humble himself and settle the dispute as well as he could, he always found in Loccomsant a strong opponent. It did not matter through whose mediation the attempts at concilation were made.

To all appearance he could not be pacified by anything but his death which, to our regret, he ultimately found in a singular manner. Seeing that the General would not deliver to him the promised person, Loccomsant put off his visit day after day to induce him to lower the stipulated sum, as he knew quite well that His Excellency could not collect the revenue of the land without him. In this he succeeded as he had anticipated. Having got the amount reduced to 6,000 pagodas he went to the Moorish country and to the said general who received

1. A brief notice is taken of this event by Pingulkar in his *History of the Savant Wadi State*, Pp. 42-40. Krishna Savant seems to be mentioned in the *Dag-Reg*. P. 97 *supra*. See Chap. III of Guarda in Sen's *F. Biographies*.

him with great honour and respect. He (Loccomsant) left his family and his nephew (Khem Savant) at Bardees. Meanwhile, this nephew summoned Coursant to speak about the reconciliation between him and his uncle, assuring him that he would do his utmost to effect the same. Coursant accepted this assurance as sincere, and went to him with four of his servants. Leaving one outside the door to keep watch, he went in with the other three servants. Those were all arrested after sitting and discussing for some time, and carried to the Moorish country with great secrecy. When they appeared in the presence of the Dessee (Loccomsant), Coursant was all but killed and the servants were beheaded. In the end Coursant too had to pay for his simplicity with his life. Now it is on the basis of this event that His Excellency is making a wonderful use in his proceeding against that Dessee. At first he threatened to have the nephew of the Dessai shot from a gun, and to keep the wives he had captured in everlasting imprisonment, but time seems to have mitigated that harshness a good deal and to have brought some hope of pardon owing to the sums that have been paid, and yet there is no promise not to extort any further amount (?). Further extortion seems to become quite probable again, because the said Dessee became dejected at the dilatoriness of the Viceroy who would not yet release the women. The Dessai personally went to Bardees with five men, as he thought he would be able to come near his wives without anybody perceiving it. This plan miscarried; he was detected by the guards and had to go to the monastery of the Franciscans, where he was confined by an order of the Viceroy.....

Shivaji's men at Dicholi and the Portuguese

In the same month of September the Viceroy prepared 23 frigates in order to be sent to the North and to Cannara. However, on account of the success of Dessee-Locomsant,

and the conflict between the Dessey¹ Roelesseney (Rawal Shenwi?) and his brother at Ditchely (Dicholy) in which Sivasi's men too are engaged, those frigates have been held up, and their men are being used on the frontiers to prevent any invasion of Sivasi whom the Portuguese trust very little. On the 20th inst. a hurried attack was made in Ditcholy on the house of his brother as well as upon Sivasi's men by Roelesseney whose soldiers had been reinforced by the Lusitans, in whose territories he is staying. This raid was successful, but his brother, seeing pretty well that he would be a doomed man if he did not arm himself and crush them, hurriedly gathered his men and those of Sivasi, and fell upon the other's band so furiously that 60 men amongst the raiders were killed on the spot. As soon as the Viceroy was informed of this, he despatched two companies of white soldiers in vessels to the place. Although the fight was finished, these soldiers wanted to land, contrary to the warnings given them. The subsequent scuffle cost them six men and made them retire to Goa. Meanwhile, Sivasi's men, on the landside, cut off the communications with Goa as much as possible. When Dom Manuel Lobo da Silvara had tidings from Cannara of the coming of our ships to fetch rice, he got his galliot and *patache* ready to be sent thither. The Viceroy also wanted to dispatch the armada for this purpose to ask Narna Malse² if he was willing or not to keep the contract with the afore-said fidalgo (a noble) concerning the bartering of rice for salt. If he refused to do so, the Viceroy, according to the letter from the spy, intended to keep the armada cruising off Cannara to seize all the craft they could get. However, the Council and the whole community are entirely against the said contract as being very disadvantageous to the merchants and especially to those who possess salt-pans, since they will now be obliged to deliver their salt to Dom Manuel. For

1. He is one of the four chief Desais, P. 97 *supra*.

2. He was a distinguished merchant of the court of Bednur, P. 99 *supra*.



Maharaja Ramsinhji of Amber.

Jaipur Pothikhana.

Shivaji, the Maker of Maharashtra.



“De Gancigny and Raymond’s Inde”

the rest of the contract does not seem to be a strange and unprofitable one, in as much as that fidalgo would have to dispose of the rice at Goa at a fixed and reasonable price. Meanwhile, 20 proas ("prangijens") laden with rice have arrived at Goa, and others are daily expected.....

A view of the Muslim administration

Kol. Arch. 1142. Fols. 1701/1708—(The same writer to the same addressee. 12th March, 1666)

The government of this country is so unsettled and tyrannous that it is impossible to commit it to paper. We shall only inform Your Lordship of what is necessary for you to know concerning the Company here. After the coming of General Mahmed Eccleschan on the 15th of July last year, we were worried in the Company's lodge. He would not accept the presents of spices, cloth and some Japanese lacquered articles, rather he would either buy or be presented with the Persian horse sent us by the Lord Director Hendrich van Wyck last year in the fly-boat d' Spreecuw. For divers reasons we could not resolve to do this. Some people saw that he was very much inclined to have it. He intimated to a few persons that he would compel the Dutch to sell the horse, or else that they would have to leave Wingurla. This information was given by the governor of this place, who of all people calls himself a servant of the Company. From this you may easily gather what kind of feelings these people entertain towards us. After some time the unreasonableness of the lord grew even more. He desired that the Company should supply him with a ship and a crew to make an attack upon a little fortress situated on an island. After exciting discussion the chief Lenartsz refused, to lend any help as he could not dare do this without orders from his superiors. Dropping this subject, he began to speak of borrowing some cannon, balls and powder. To this request he received a similar answer, as these were ammunitions of war. But this discussion ran so

high that the said chief Lenartsz not being able to argue against all those present who were speaking for their living and were belching out more unreasonable and refractory abuse than the lord himself, requested him that only-two persons should be delegated to him. Lenartsz felt sure that he could give these persons so many reasons which would show the inability of doing anything in this matter without orders, that the noble lord, though not desiring to be inconvenienced, would yet be perfectly satisfied. Upon this he was allowed to go home. In the afternoon he sent to the governor of this place one of his brahmins for discussing the loan of the cannon. After several debates in which we directed their attention to the manifold difficulties that had now and then arisen from lending ammunitions of war, both for us and especially for the English, we got them to see our point. Still they would assure us that things would not happen as they had done before, that this general had come down to annihilate Sivasi, and on him we might rely with certainty. Consequently we had no reason for refusing to render this service to the King. Moreover, the predecessor of the said Lenartsz had generally made a considerable present to the court every second or third year, but of late years this had not been done. To this we answered that we could never approve of this. Moreover, what had been given before was a present from the Company to the King's recognition for firmans, granted to promise exemption from toll. Now the King had not only failed to keep his promise, but kept in his possession, by way of spoil, the Company's goods bought up at Bomsemoender, without wishing to release them. We asked them how presents could be given to such people. To this they replied that, if we would now lend them the cannon, they would see that those goods were restituted. But we again expressed our inability to do so. While we were losing more than two hours over these unreasonable proceedings, the General returned to Coudael, leaving an order for the

governor of our place not to issue a passport for the frigate which the Dutch had laden with goods to leave for Cochin, as he wanted it on His Majesty's service against Sivasi. He also forbade us to go on with the building of the stone wall which was all but finished. This prohibition caused us much anxiety, since we saw that the goods of the ship *Naerden*, sent hither to Sustuma from Goa free from peril and seizure, were now in greater danger. We also considered that the Company might at this juncture be in a great want of the men, the cordage, etc. with which the ship had been freighted. The serious injunction of Lord van Goens too urged us to do our utmost to expedite the matter. So we despatched the frigate to Couchyn, and while doing so, we sent to the General some bottles of Persian and Spanish wines together with a complimentary message by which we intimated to him that an extreme necessity prompted us to despatch the ship. To this letter we did not get an answer, favourable or otherwise. The question of sale of the cannon, however, took a very different turn. A captain of Sivasi who came over to the King's adherents in the little ship of the Company's Benian merchant, which was captured in this roadstead last year under Sivasi's flag, insinuated to the noble Lord Mahmed Eccleschan and his grandees that he would deliver up the fortress of Malwan into his hands if the said little ship should be provided with cannon of the Dutch. To this hint he lent a willing ear, and, being summoned to the uplands by the King, he gave the charge to his Subedar, and ordered him to demand the cannon once more, or on refusal, to take the same against their will and put them on the ship. On this matter we were again addressed by the governor.

(Of the following paras on fols. 1704 and 1705 only an extract is given, as the text is rather obscure.)

(The writer excuses himself for having put the cannon on board the little ship with some other necessities from the stranded yacht *Naerden*. The General promised that he would return the frigate to the merchants and also give back the goods

of which the Company had been robbed at Bomsemoender. Sivasi gave back the frigate last year in February when he left Malwan and went to Cannara, but according to Sivasi, the grand governor Raugi Pandito was most to blame for that negligence. Lord Hachiem too had made as liberal a promise. The writer then goes on to say:)

After the chief Lenartsz had taken on board the little ship servants and sailors of the Benian merchants, he acquainted his governor and Dessey Loccomsant (now recovered again) with the matter. Both of them were of the opinion that he had done very well and praised his action. We further sent our excuses for having been pressed by necessity for following this course to the Subedaer of Coudael, to the King and to Lord Hachiem in Visiapour. Your Lordship will please to read the said letter in the enclosed copy. We added 6 pomelos and some oil of cinnamon and nuts (nutmegs?). From the brief answer of the Subedaer it did not appear that he took the matter so ill as it was rumoured. From Visiapour we have yet received no answer. Meanwhile, the merchants Cassiba and Santubassinay used all possible means to cut down the sum, and through arbitrators they managed to persuade the Subedaer so far that he would have been content with a recognition of 150 or 200 pagodas. But being a very inconstant person, he allowed himself to be talked over by the captain of the little ship, and would not listen to the former terms.

The dispute was at last settled in favour of the merchants. On the 20th of January the Subedaer invited Lenartsz to come and see him. That very evening the visitors were received with uncommon courtesy and remarkable professions of friendship. On the 22nd, the Subedaer was entertained in the Company's lodge. On neither of the two occasions the subject of the frigate was touched upon. However, joy on this earth is but a precursor of grief. Whilst he was in the Company's lodge late at night, the said chief received reliable tidings of

Shivaji recaptures Kudal, Wingurla, Ponda, etc.

Sivasi's arrival at Coudael. He was advised to flee and not to rely on the Dessey who was a man of extreme inconstancy. However, the Subedaer would not believe that Sivasi could appear here in person, as he had received letters that the robber had lately been with the Mogul. We could not put this idea of running away out of his head by our arguments, and after some compliments he took leave. The next morning he lingered about for an hour until he heard that Sivasi had approached the town within a mile. On learning that we reinforced ourselves with some Persians, a few native soldiers and some Swedes. Then we came to know that the Seeck (Shekh?) had not yet departed, Sivasi settled down near the town and announced to the Dutch Chief that he must not take the Seeck into the lodge as he and the King were open enemies. Then the Seeck took to flight with his horsemen, and afterwards being abandoned by his horsemen too, was overtaken by Sivasi's troops, and was miserably murdered by them. Meanwhile, Sivasi remained the whole day there just outside the town from which place he sent a word to us several times that we should expel the Persian merchants, knowing as we do sufficiently well from experience the deceitfulness of that person in all his words and promises, we answered him in accordance with his own promise that we had taken these men into our lodge in virtue of the security granted us by him. Therefore, seeing that he could not reasonably advance such a plea, he turned from this subject to exacting a tribute. Leaving his governor with 300 men and five armed frigates to plunder and burn the town if it should not bring in enough, he left for Banda in the evening. It is situated only three miles inland. The afore-said tribute brought in to his governor 14,000 guilders and he seemed to be content with it. After having nearly got that money, he would not accept the tribute given by several persons who were well-known on the register, and therefore demanded a private tribute from them to the amount of 11,000 guilders. In all this excitement the Company is yet remaining out of the way of harm. Thank God.

Owing to the fact that the Lords at Batavia have been pleased to provide this dwelling with a stone wall, we are pretty well able to defend ourselves. However, he did not fail to impose a tribute upon us for shoeing his horses. We answered him that the Company had three times paid him a tribute, and that we now begged him to restitute our goods robbed last year at Bomsemoender. To this we did not receive a reply, Noble Commanding Lords.'

Atrocities committed by Shivaji

It is not only impossible to commit to paper all the tyrannies and hellish practices of that admitted rebel, but it bears very little upon Your Lordships' service on the whole. Nearly all the places he marched through, were set on fire by him, if they did not pay the money he demanded and that so hastily that parents could not save their children from the flames. After that rebel had been hanging about here for eight days to put everything in order, he left again for the North towards the boundaries of the Mogul with his men, leaving a garrison in the fortress of Ponda which is situated to the east of the Moorish country. He established his government all about here from the north, so that the Company here must also obey his rule.

Kol. Arch. 1142, fol. 1490:—Hartman C. S. to Lords Seventeen. Souratta, 31 December 1665.

From Mocha the King's ships of this roadstead made their voyage in safety, as the haughty Moors were not subject to dread of the raging Sivagie, because at Mocha they had received information that this robber had been reduced to obedience by Ragia Jessing and had agreed with the latter on delivering divers strongholds of his to the Emperor Orangh Zeeph, with the stipulation that he should no longer carry on hostilities against the Mogul Empire but remain a tributary of the same. As a security for this treaty, he (Zeewa) had to

Peace between
Shivaji and
Jaisingh.

leave his eldest son at the Dilly court whom this crowned head presented with a lordship over 5,000 horses. God grant that this harmony here may continue.

Kol. Arch. 1146, fol. 838.—Hartman C. S. to Lords Seventeen. Souratta, 29th March 1666.

The raging robber Siwagie who was thought to have been reduced to peace, has again acted his part about Wingurla.

Shivaji's forces
plunder villages
near Wingurla.

As we are informed by the chiefs, he razed down not a few villages and hamlets; nay, as far as Wingurla he sent a goodly part of his creatures with 5 (?) frigates to demand a tribute, and if this should turn out too small to please him, to rob and set on fire the whole concern. It cannot be said

The Mogul
defeat from
Bijapur.

with certainty whether he is leaning to the side of the Mogul or to that of the Visiapour King. The Mogul has suffered his first defeat from Visiapour with a loss of many men. Time will show how this business will end.

(Note:—the writing of this folio was *extremely* small and the text often obscure).

Shivaji at Agra

Kol. Arch. 1146, fols. 987-988.—Soualys Strand (Souratta) to Lords Seventeen, 21st February 1667.

This is one of the most important documents relating to Shivaji in the Hague Archives. It was written from the Swally Marine to the Lords Seventeen on 21st February 1667, and was based on the letters received from the Dutch Chiefs at Agra. The following points deserve attention:—

(1) The place of Shivaji's detention was Agra and not Delhi.

(2) Shivaji was permitted to stay in Raja Jai Singh's gardens outside the town.

(3) Shivaji was accompanied by 700 horsemen and not 4,000 foot and horse as stated by Sabhasad.

(4) Shivaji arrived in the outskirts of Agra on the 22nd May of the Dutch calendar. This is equivalent to 12th May of the English year. On the next day the party was received by Mukhlis Khan and Ram Singh on behalf of the Emperor. This date should be preferred to 9th May given in the text (P. 254 *supra*) on the authority of Sir J. Sarkar.

(5) This letter mentions 27 forts having been ceded by Shivaji to Aurangzeb (Pp. 240-249 *supra*).

(6) It confirms Khafi Khan's account of the event on several points: (a) A valuable present was kept ready by the Emperor for Shivaji; (b) Shivaji observed the etiquette of the Court in making the three obeisances; (c) he abruptly retired from the Court to a corner outside the Court; (d) Ram Singh and others were sent by the Emperor to bring back Shivaji, but he took Ram Singh's scimitar to commit suicide and was held back from doing so by these nobles (P. 258 *supra* and Vakaskar, 97-8).

(7) Shivaji did not pay homage to Prince Shuja as he proceeded through the Court to the seat reserved for him.

(8) Shivaji went for an interview with the Prime Minister Jafar Khan on the 18th of May. He remained in his residence till the latter returned from a visit with the Emperor on matters relating to Shivaji. The Minister gave him high hopes of the happy conclusion of the impasse. But Aurangzeb changed his mind and intended to keep Shivaji in suspense and surveillance as long as these could be expediently prolonged.

(9) Aurangzeb invited Shivaji into the Agra Castle for an interview, but the latter refused to appear there and rightly as the Emperor had made preparations to clap the Raja and throw him into an unknown prison.

(10) Ram Singh warns the Emperor from carrying out his nefarious plots, as he and his father had plighted their word for the safe return of Shivaji. Both father and son would rather stake their own lives than allow Shivaji Raja to be placed into the Emperor's clutches.

For 'Prince Shuja' on P. 561, read 'the Prince.'

(11) Raja Jai Singh's letter was received by the Emperor on the 1st of June praying for the fulfilment of the promises made to Shivaji. It had some effect upon the Emperor but in a few days he once more changed his mind and kept Shivaji under the strict guard of the City Kotwal (Cf. Sarkar, 148).

(12) It is said that Shivaji made his escape on the 18th of August at midnight. Sarkar fixes 19th August. As no authority is given by him, it is difficult to choose between the two dates. This letter does not relate the use of the baskets by Shivaji in effecting his escape.

(13) According to the letter, a slave of Shivaji who was drugged with opium, and left in his master's bed, fell into the hands of the guards. On the authority of the unreliable Tarikh-i-Shivaji Sarkar (P.151) says that even the last servant accompanied Hiraji, the half-brother of Shivaji, and made his escape on the following day before the search took place. (See Vakaskar, Pp. 100-2)

(14) Ram Singh was deprived of his rank and sent home, while Jai Singh, being recalled from the Deccan, was succeeded by Mahabat Khan, the Governor of Ahmadabad.

"In our letter of 5th January of this year we informed Your Lordships how the grand duke Ragie Jessingh, under divers conditions, had effected that the raging Siwagie should no more oppose this crown-wearer (Emperor), but act as a tributary, and how his son (too?) had been promoted to be a duke over five thousand horses. This we find to have been a mere fancy, as the Agra Chiefs in their letter of the 18th June last related that on the 22nd May last the said robber with his son, accompanied by a guard of 700 horsemen and escorted by one of the sons of the said Ragia Jessing, had appeared about Agra and that the next day, by order of His Majesty, they were received in state (?) by the dukes Mokhleschan and Jessingh's son who were Lords over four thousand horses.

Shivaji received
near Agra on
13th May

Before this, in accordance with the contract made, His Majesty caused to be prepared a present of 100 horses, 2 elephants, 100 state robes (dresses of honour), a poodq (?) and some plumage both decked with jewels, a sword and 100,000 ropias in ready money. In exchange for this, His Majesty was to receive 27 fortresses that had been taken by the robber from the Visiapour King. Being conducted before the court and appearing in the humblest way before His Majesty as a new subject, he made his obeisance according to the rites of the country in three different places and approached within four steps right in front of His Majesty, who was surrounded by a large retinue of his most distinguished dukes. Sitting on his throne he looked at Siwagie for a long while without saying a word, and beckoned to the State Chancellor through whom he had announced to him that he had done well in appearing before his throne and that everything should be to his honour and happiness. In the mean time he was shown a place rather lower than he had thought—one among the nobles of 5,000 horses, and that too three steps behind Ragia Jessousingh (Jaswant Singh) who before this had taken the field against him and was present there. At this he felt greatly vexed and showed it, for when the second son of the King appeared in the grand audience hall and passed the same, he (Shivaji) did not make his obeisance to His Excellency. Being informed by Ragia Jessingh's son that it was the Prince, he answered with a passionate and scowling face: "To what prince should I pay homage? I do not know him." Then, turning round with pent-up feelings of spite and disappointment, he left the place he thought too low for what had been agreed upon and promised that he should take precedence of Ragia Jessousingh. Upon this he withdrew to some spot about the gate of the royal place of assembly where he could not be seen by

Present to be
made to Shivaji
for 27 forts

Shivaji made
three obeisances

Shivaji given
a seat behind
Jaswant Singh

Shivaji did not
bow to Prince.

Shivaji left the
court without
permission.

His Majesty and sat down there. When the Crown wearer, being a quick-tempered man, heard of this breach of the servile ceremonies of the country, he asked the other Ragias with wondering words where Siwagie had gone and what cause had made him leave the place assigned to him. At the same time he ordered two or three Ragias to go and ask for it. They found him, as we said before, sitting at the gate.

Rajas sent to
reconcile him.

They told him that His Majesty wanted to know what the matter with him was and why he had retired from his place. Upon this

Siwagie, inveighing against them in the Deccan language, burst out "You son of a whore, I have already seen your and your father's glory and his promise, and also that of the King." Notwithstanding these abusive words, one of the lords, being the son of the powerful Ragia Jessing, exhorted him with affable address to pay more respect to His Majesty. Meanwhile, the King also sent hither the dukes Mochleschan and Multefetchan with the order to announce to him that he should receive satisfaction in everything, but, being very displeased, he replied: "I desire no one nor anything, but I lament the narrowness of my understanding and my evil resolution of having come here on deceitful promises, the more so as I have not been subdued by force of arms but have made an agreement with the King at his request as an independent prince. I am present now and have seen the King's treatment towards me. His Majesty can now deal with me at his pleasure, either by taking my head or making away with me in another manner."

Shivaji ready
to commit
suicide.

Upon this he took the pooq or sieridda (Scimeter?) from Ragia Ramsingh's side and said with a scowl: "I fear no death, therefore

I will try and court it myself, for an example to others, although apparently none of you are inclined to do so." This he would have done too, but for one of the dukes, who grasped the hand in which he held the pooq, and prevented him from doing it. Then, nearly mad, he uttered among others the

following words: "The King now honours Ragia Jessousingh before me; although at the time of his stay in the Deccan,

Shivaji furiously complains against the King.

lying against me with the King's army, he was not ashamed to send me a word that we should not give each other too much trouble, as we were both Respoeten (Rajputs). And

now such cowardly servants are placed above me by the King and I am honoured or rather dishonoured far below them. I put to flight the great duke and the King's brother-in-law Sestechan's army, caught his son in battle, robbed Souratta and was always victorious. There is nobody who dares boast of having gained an advantage over me. Since I made an agreement with this King on promises and was not conquered or captured, I ought to be looked upon as an ally of the King and not contemptuously treated as a prisoner, in which latter case I am not inclined to appear before His Majesty Orangh Ziep. When all this had been announced to the monarch, he ordered Ragia Ramsingh to conduct him (Siwagie) again to his tent outside the town in order to try to restrain his excessive discontentment in the meantime, for, said he, "the Deccan brain is somewhat seething, everything that will come of it ought to be guarded against." With these

Shivaji returns to his camp outside the town.

words His Majesty who was somewhat ruffled, as this temerity seemed exceedingly strange to him, that Siwagie should have gone out of the court. And so all the afore-mentioned

things already prepared for the present to be given to Siwagie were left alone until the consequences of this unexpected action should have been seen. Meanwhile, the King consulted for two days with his great nobles on what had passed with Siwagie.

The Emperor sent nobles to reconcile Shivaji.

On the 3rd day he sent these dukes to him with instructions to induce him amicably to..... (?) and in this way bring him to court. This for the time being he refused with an excuse, but

promised that he would appear before His Majesty a few days afterwards. Upon this the King announced to him that he

should send his son at least, as the latter had already entered upon his office with his approbation. Lest he should appear to be too obstinate, he let the young man go to the court.

Sambhaji highly
honoured by
Aurangzeb.

Sambhaji appearing before His Majesty, was presented with the following things, namely, a rich necklace of pearls, a plume (or set of plumes) decked with jewels, a gierjaart (?)

or poocq set with diamonds, pearls and rubies, a sword, and a horse with a gold bridle and saddle together with a court dress (dress of honour). After this he was made a lord over 5,000 horses in the presence of all the dukes, and receiving a pijnagh (Panja-hand) he was placed where his father at his first appearance had stood with vexation, as we told before. By doing so the King showed that he would satisfy the father, since now he esteemed the son so highly already as the father. After this Siwagie's little son (being a youngster of twelve years) departed again to his father outside the town.

Two days dragged on in this manner, without anything being heard of it, except that the extraordinary behaviour of

Shivaji's inter-
view with the
Chief Minister
on 18th May.

Siwagie somewhat ruffled His Majesty, whereas Siwagie also kept looking forward to satisfactory end till the 28th May. Then he made up his mind to go and see the Chancellor of the realm and intimate to him that he should make an end of these doings. Addressing the same he said: "My Lord, since Your Lordship, as Chancellor of the realm, has been raised to the highest place beside the King, I could find nobody else in the course of these incidents but Your Lordship's person fit to be chosen by me for a counsellor and at the same time for a mediator. Your Lordship is undoubtedly aware of the way in which I appeared here as an unconquered and not as a captured prince, relying upon the word of the King and upon the concluded treaty. In spite of this fact, on my first visit, contrary to the word of the King, I was placed among those of whom I ought to have taken precedence. This, then, was the

cause of my discontentment, and therefore I request Your Lordship to lay this matter before the King and beg him to make an end of my case, no matter whether His Majesty should grant me what he promised me or put me to death, in which I solicit Your Lordship's mild favour." Upon this leaving Siwagie at his own house, the State Chancellor departed to the court and announced this to the King, who at once consulted about it with the chief dukes and in his vexation leaned to Siwagie's imprisonment and also somewhat

Aurangzeb
dissuaded from
imprisoning
Shivaji.

to the consequences of this. But the dukes strongly opposed this course, saying among other things, that they could not approve of the proposal, the less so as in future nobody would be able to rely upon the replies and the promises of His Majesty and consequently he must remain rebellious. Besides, it might be expected that in his fortresses in which he had left strong garrisons, great change or stir would result and from these, many desperate attempts would be made upon the royal power in the Deccan. His Majesty considered these arguments carefully, and it was secretly resolved to make Siwagie a lord over seven thousand horses and send him to Caboel. For the time being he commanded Jafferchan, Chancellor of the realm, to hold out hopes of a happy outcome to him, with which, coming home, the former acquainted Siwagie (who had stayed there during this interval). After some conversation Siwagie retired to his tent and meanwhile remained awaiting what would

More Marathas
and Rajputs
coming into the
town.

come of this. Various discussions about this matter were held for a few days by every body till the 5th June, when the bailiff of the town called to announce to His Majesty how every day more than 40 to 50 of Siwagi's people arrived in the town from the Deccan, and, by order of the said Sivagie, repaired to the place assigned for that purpose; also how Ragia Ramsing too (with whom the King was displeased in connection with the Siwagie-business) was getting a great many men from his country every day. This made His Majesty fear that Siwagie

would join the said Ramsingh and commence a desperate attempt, because Siwagie had given out that unless he should receive what had been promised him, he would die sword in hand, If this should happen, it was to be feared that not only (here) but also in the Deccan great confusion would ensue. Therefore the King caused to be announced to Siwagie

Shivaji invited
into the castle,
but he refused
to go.

that he should appear before the court in the castle to salute His Majesty and at the same time to taste his beneficence towards him, but it was presumed that instead of this, he would have a prison and ultimately death. Siwagie, the cunning fox, perceived this and answered that he was willing to pay every honour to His Majesty as a subject, but for the nonce he preferred to pay his allegiance not in the fortress but on the opposite side of the river against which the castle and the King's mansions are leaning; there he would await His Majesty's favour and promises; he would then without delay at once depart to the place of which he was to receive the

Aurangzeb's
plan fails.

command, either as the duke and governor of Caboul or elsewhere, but (only) as chief governor and under nobody's authority but His Majesty's. With this answer the envoys returned to the King who only wished to capture him by a trick and hence he did not like the reply at all. Meanwhile, His Majesty was continually discussing the confusing incidents and ordered

Altercation
between Ram
Singh and the
Emperor.

Ragia Ramsing not in the least to concern himself with Siwagie, but to leave him alone, otherwise he would lose his position. All this was done for the purpose of ensnaring or killing Siwagie in an easy manner. Ramsingh who had pledged his and his father's word to Siwagie to the effect that no harm would be done to him or they would share it at any cost, answered to this: "Gracious King, our pledged word must stand for a fixed law, for which we promised to stake our lives. Thus if any harm should be done to Siwagie (who trusted the King's word and accordingly came here on ours as well), it concerns us too, and we shall have to stake our lives." The

King was irritated at this reply and looking at him with a scowling face said: "You white Ameer," indicating that Ragia Jessing would lose his land (?) and he answered to this: "First our lives and then Ameer." Upon this the king went in without saying a word, with the order that Ramsingh should be denied entry into the Gesselchane (Bath-Room or Council Chamber) which was done, and that he should only be allowed to enter the "amkhas" (Public Assembly Hall) to make his obeisance. After this, on the 11th June about eight days after the denial just related, a letter of

Jai Singh's
letter to
Aurangzeb to
fulfil his
promise.

Ragia Jessing reached the King from the army (in the) Deccan, in which Jessing advised the King to satisfy Siwasi in all respects in as much as otherwise everything there was about to be thrown into the greatest confusion, and none of the enemies would surrender without desperate bloodshed, if they could not trust the King's word, the less so as all the Sivasians had a strong desire to get tidings about their master. This made the King resolve to grant him what had been promised him to make him a duke of seven thousand horses and give him the governorship of Moradabat instead of that of Kabul. Nothing followed after this, but the Residents inform us from Agra that this cunning fox had permitted all his soldiers to leave for his country, as he felt inclined to lead a life far from the world. Then he procured for the same a passport under the King's seal, but, as it appears, let them depart without it in order to use it for his own plans. And so, availing himself of this opportunity, he fled from this turbulent court, filled with the din of war on the 28th August at midnight, notwithstanding the watch that was still being kept round his tent. For, when in the morning his keepers came to make their perfunctory

Escape of
Shivaji on
18th August.

obeisance, they were told that Siwagie was still sleeping. When they afterwards returned, they wanted to make a careful search, which resulted in nothing but their finding a covered up sleeping place and a slave of Siwagie's drugged with opium

Being asked about his master, he answered that he knew nothing about him, only that a little while before midnight he had been given something to drink that had made his brain reel so that he had to lie down; and he had not seen anything else but that his master had girded on his sword without his shield, and had gone out with his son; he was not able to speak a word or get up to follow him. This news at once reached the King; every nook and corner was searched, and the roads, chiefly those leading to the Deccan, were inspected by mounted soldiers, but up to this moment none has been captured. Only this much has become known that with the afore-mentioned passport, destined for his despatched servants (who no doubt have made their way clear) he passed the watches, and passes on his way to his country under the show of Siwasi's servants. Everbody is firmly convinced that the bird is flown.

Results of the
escape.

This escape has made the King gloomier still and he is so much pre-occupied with these incidents that he can neither eat nor sleep. Meanwhile Ragia Jessing's son, who had been in charge of the watch, has been deposed and sent to his country. The father of the same, Ragia Jessing, the present field marshal against the Visiapoer Kingdom (?).....has also been summoned, and Mabet Chan (Mahabat Khan) from Amadabat has been appointed in his place. From all this it may sufficiently be concluded that the comet that was seen some time ago, has not run its course in vain for this country either. Siwagie's flight from Agra to his country, related above, creates no slight embarrassment here at Souratta, the more so as the certainty of the arrival in his country and among his people is infallibly proved by divers letters. So great is the fear among the population of being raided on by that robber for the second time that they are constantly on their guard in order to be able to take to flight in that case.

Shivaji's success against Bijapur and Aurangzeb

Kol. Arch. 1152, fols. 753-754.—Hartman C. S. to Lords

17. Souratta, 12 Nov. 1667 (original).

In the latest reports from Wingurla under date of 11th August the Sr. merchant there informed us how the raging

Rangana de-
fended aganist
Bijapur.

Siewagie had manfully defended the fortress of Rengena (Rangana), against the Visiapoer general, Bullus Chan (Bahlol Khan) until the 14th June, but that owing to the heavy rain he was obliged to break up from there, and go to his capital (lit. chief place) Rasgar (Rajgad) where he was collecting a large army. This army he intended to use against the Mogul after the monsoon. It became also apparent that Siwagie was about to ally himself with the Visiapoer monarch, in which case he would have more time to fight Oransiep. No sooner had this news reached this town than the Governor was

Surat awaiting
Shivaji's raid.

seen to be in a great agitation. The community is continually living in great fear of again being taken by surprise by the said robber, and, to tell the truth, if he did, he would not meet with any resistance as the governor has no troops (power) to offer any resistance to an army. Besides, the town lies open and, contrary to His Majesty's orders, is for the greater part unwallled still.

Mogul success
in the Frontier
War.

God preserve Your Lordships' estate here from damage, and grant that this robber may use his arms elsewhere. The Agra Resident reports from that place that the King's army that was in the field against the rebellious Pattans (whose territory lies between Cabul and Condhaer) twice suffered a defeat, after which the said Pattans had retreated again into their mountains. This had made the King's adherents take heart again and they had surrounded the same to prevent their coming down again and, at the command of

Nothing
particular in the
Deccan.

His Majesty had also built a strong fortress about the principal entrance to the mountains. Of the large army that he is having in the field against the Kings of Golconda and Visiapoer, and Siewagie, nothing particular is heard yet, because the wet monsoon is just over. Time will show the outcome of all these wars, which will then be related to Your Lordships.

Kol. Arch. 1152, fols. 838-843 :— Lenartsz to Lords Seventeen. Wingurla, 28th November 1667 (Original).

(See Vol. II, pp. 508-12)

Shivaji and the Portuguese

This document furnishes such details of Shivaji's expedition into the Portuguese district of Bardes as supplement the information contained in the Portuguese and the English records reproduced on pages 508-10 of Vol. II. It is worth remembering that both Naro Savant and Lakham Savant were at that time refugees in Bardes, that Shivaji made Patgaon near the famous fortress of Rangna as the base of his operations, that exact dates (10th to 12th November) of the raids into Bardes are given here, and lastly the preliminary terms of peace offered by Shivaji are mentioned herein.

"Above we made little mention of the dealings of the Company's Benjan (Banian) merchants, who, at the coming of the Dessey Narsant¹ after he had driven away Sivas's men from here on the 15th September last, had beyond all reason become implicated with the same against the Company. But all difficulties were removed after many discussions until the 20th October last. On that day the uncle of the said Narsant, called Loccumsant, appeared here and had the Company's buildings surrounded, so that no provisions at all could come in, under the pretext that he did all this with the knowledge of the Viceroy. There is undoubtedly some truth

Lakham Savant
besieges the
Dutch at
Wingurla.

1. Narba Saunto or Naro (Narayan) Savant, Vol. II, p. 512.

From the unpublished Portuguese Records at Goa, we find the following references :

"29 June 1666- *Narba santu* Dessai of Kudal was given permission to live in Bardes on account of the fear of Shivaji who was creating trouble in the Adil Shahi kingdom.

17 July 1667- *Pitambar* Sinay Dary (?), his son *Ram* Sinay and his brother *Harba* Sinay are given license to stay in Bardes.

19 July 1667- As the trouble from Shivaji is now over, whoever have come to stay in Salsette and Bardes, are ordered to return to their homes.

in this, although he denies it himself, for they have tried for a long time past by various means by bribery, to make the Company remove from this place. And for this they seem never to have had a better opportunity than now with these disputes between Sivasy and the said Desseys. (The writer now gives detailed account of what happened between the Portuguese, the Dessey and the Company; then he goes on:)

After this (?) Sivasy, whose arrival (?) under the fortress of Ringena and the village of Pattagon has been from the 8th inst. till the 17th (?), made all his

Shivaji near
Rangana.

soldiers (5,000 foot soldiers and 1,000 horsemen) bake dry wheat cakes (to last ?)

for three days in this place and departed thence without anybody knowing whither. He allowed his enemy, the above-mentioned Desseys to do as they liked before his eyes, without preventing it, which otherwise might easily have been done, and came on the 20th next (being a Sunday when everybody was attending mass) to surprise Bardees (being in the territory of the Portuguese);

Shivaji's raid
into Bardes.

he plundered three of the principal villages on that very same day so that, within three days, he overran nearly the whole of Bardees before the Lusitans offered resistance. Sivasy's objects were only to plunder and to carry away some Desseys whom His Excellency had taken under his protection. The former object he attained but not the latter as they escaped to Goa. He carried away great riches, of which the true estimate is not yet public. 1600 natives, mostly women, and young girls, whom he sells to his soldiers, with a few men and as many persons who had retreated into Bardees from the villages neighbouring to escape from Sivasy's outrages, were carried away by him to his fortresses. Besides he had several Christians put to death, among whom there were three priests. He further spent his time in burning and committing other outrages. Indeed, it is an exceedingly great misfortune to fall into that tyrant's hands; it is better

then to be dead than alive. Nor has the Company remained altogether free from this calamity, as we have again been beset at the coming of one of his captains but up till now but feebly. Time must show what will happen at Sivas's coming here. Meanwhile we live under threatening circumstances. Sivas does not show at all that he wants to undertake something against the Company, but rather that he wants to keep up a friendly correspondence. He is not wanting in kind words and promises, but his actions differ much from the same, so that experience has sufficiently taught us to be on our guard. The Almighty may bless us with judgment and courage if need be.

The Dutch on
guard against
Shivaji.

This exploit having been carried so far by the said Sivas, he departed from Bardees to Bichyly (Bicholy) to negotiate there with the Portuguese about a truce. He pointed out to them how easily he could overrun and devastate their lowlands; however, if they would make peace, he would assent on these conditions, that they should deliver up to him the Desseys who have fled from the Moorish districts into Bardees and were sheltered by the Viceroy; besides a contribution of 200 thousand pagodes at 4 Carolus guilders each, and in addition the customary presents of the King, which they have not given these twenty years. If they could not agree to this, he would declare war on them. We cannot believe that the Portuguese, however weak they may be, will ever accept this proposal, but will rather try to revenge themselves for the outrages inflicted on them, especially now that so much time for action is granted them. The Viceroy has called to Goa at short notice all his troops from the north and from Cannara. The latter country will easily remain free from the attack of the Portuguese during this monsoon. When these forces unite, Sivas will have a hard nut to crack, and

Terms offered
to the
Portuguese.

will not be able to harm Goa much more, unless the Visiapoer King should assist him. Then, I trust, Goa would be done for. But as the Moors are very slow in their actions and would neither like to see Sivagi grow more powerful, we presume that he will not obtain support from that side, although he pretends to obtain it. If the said Sivasy had continued his invasion and had awaited the Viceroy on the plain who with 2,000 men, among whom there were not over 500 white soldiers (and who, urged on by blind zeal, had wanted to fight him with even 250 men, if the nobility of Goa had not prevented him), he would certainly have been victorious and would have sorely pressed Goa into surrender. This bit of luck he will not easily meet on his way again. Nor do I suppose that when the Portuguese have collected their forces, they will agree on a permanent peace, for they can ruin nearly all his lowlands with small troops."

Kol. Arch. 1152, fol. 815. Souratta to Lords 17. 14th March 1668 (Original).

We learn from this document that skirmishes between the Portuguese and Maratha forces continued after the peace. Shivaji is not to be blamed for these as they were due to the aggressions of the Desais (P. 513 of Vol. II). The Raja was anxious to put an end to these troubles by making peace with all his neighbours. This and the next document show how treaties were concluded with Bijapur and the Mogul.

(Contains only a reference to a large sum of money to be taken on board a ship off Bassaloor (Barcelore) which had been carried there from Wingurla for fear of Siwagie.

Kol. Arch. 1156. Fol. 158. Lenartsz C. S. to Lords 17, Wingurla, 28th August 1668. (See P. 275 *supra*)

Whether Suasi (of whom they are afraid) will not visit them again, as last year, must be revealed by time. There are rumours here, of which we cannot learn the truth as yet, that he wants to send out a considerable force by land as

well as by sea, the Lord may know whither. In our last letter we made a brief mention of the progress made by Sivasi

Peace not
observed.

against the Lusitans in the land of Bardees.

Shortly after a truce was made between the two, it is little observed by Sivasi for when the grand governors (of Sivasi) have a slight pretext, they invade Bardees and steal what they can get. Whether they will connive at ships, we cannot very well believe, as this nation boasts much and takes heart with little power. Until now

Shivaji likely
to populate the
Kokan lands.

he has left the Company pretty well alone, and it is to be expected that, having made a firm peace with the Visiapour monarch, he will try to benefit his lands and populate them

again, seeing that the country is nearly destitute of people, so that he is likely to try to please the Company too. Meanwhile he must not be fully trusted.

Kol. Arch. 1160, fol. 981:— Lenartsz to Lords 17. Wingurla, 9 March, 1669.

The English letter on p. 274 *supra* does not mention the amount of the indemnity, but the Dutch letter states that to be 4 million pagodas. It also gives us a view of the forcible collections made from all over the Bijapur Kingdom for the payment of the war indemnity.

Since the war between the Visiapour King and the Mogul has come to an end with the concluded peace, in which the robber Sivasi was also involved, these lands

Subsidy to the
Mogul collected
from the people

seem to promise some rest, but as the promised tribute granted to the Mogul by this agreement amounts to 4 million pagodes at 5 guilders

each, large contributions are imposed upon the people to pay to the Mogul. To this end he also sent the greater part of his troops to the Carnatic quarters, Tansjouwer and Madure, to impose contributions on those pretty Kings too, either by an amicable agreement or by force, so that this empire is in a very poor state. Sivasi, who does not trust the King very much (The Dutch construction also admits:

whom the king does not trust very much), entertains him with fine promises and little presents, but the king highly esteems these although he very cheaply extorts them from the people. Meanwhile things are better now than before, and we may hope this will daily increase.

Shivaji and the Dutch

Kol. Arch. 1160, fol. 948. Lenartsz to Lords 17, Wingurla, 25 September 1669 (copy).

The trouble caused to the Company and its servants here by Sivagie is great, and is excessive to the verge of disrespect, of which (lest we should tire Your
 Shivaji troubles the Dutch. Lordships with their endless frauds) we shall mention only one instance, viz. how the Company's goods might find a good sale here, without prejudice (?) to Souratta (to which market we adapt ourselves), if it were not for the frequent hindrances, and even thefts, from which the buyer and the Company too have to suffer in bringing them to market (?). This deters the buyer from buying the goods. We wrote about this matter to the Noble Lord Governor General and the Noble Lords Councillors at Batavia.

Kol. Arch. 1159, fols. 145/146. Governor General and Councillors of India to Lords 17. Batavia 17 November 1669 (original).

(Extract from the report about *Wingurla*).

After the peace between the Mogul and the King of Bisiapour, in which the well-known Siwagi was also included, the lands were quiet save for the wrongs done to them by the rulers themselves on account of collecting the sums of money that the Bisiapour King promised to pay to the Mogul, viz. 20 million guilders, which had been assessed upon the Carnatic, Tansjouwer, Madure and other provinces under his rule, and which came in slowly. Siwasi had also to pay his share, but he has not yet paid much,

although to this end he had introduced new tolls and other impositions. Our people, however, had till then kept out of it; they had also done their best to shield the Christians living at Wingurla from those new inposts, but it is to be doubted if we have a right to do that, as they are not strictly under the Company, but real subjects of the government of the realm. The Governor, Dutagie Pandito by name, also caused us a great deal of trouble. Among other things, in the 17 packs (of ?) ruinas (?) about which we wrote last year, he wanted the same by all means to be delivered up since these did not belong to the debtors of the Company but to a Dessey Bangi. Our friends think that this is not the case. They are, however, afraid that it will have to be done, as he would not listen to any arguments. The same person had also begun to demand from us an annual sum for the property consisting of a garden and a cemetery that had been used by our country-men for years past without ever having paid anything for it. The sum demanded, it is true, was not large, but our friends are afraid that the matter would not end there, but that if this were to be given, other extortions, perhaps still more onerous, would follow at once.

Kol. Arch. 1159, fols. 368-369. Governor-General and Councillors of India to Lords Seventeen. Batavia, 15 December 1669 (Original. Extract from the report about *Wingurla*).

Wingurla. Besides the Ceylon papers we received by the said yacht named Bleyswyck a letter from the Resident Lendartsz at Wingurla, dated 28th September written per afore-mentioned flyboat Duyavliet (?) and passed on as far as Gale (?) (or handed over at Gale ?), in which, as usual, he complains a good deal of the wrongs and vexations caused to us there more and more from time to time, both by the well-known Siwasi and by the governor and minor regents. He thinks that no remedy more suitable and efficacious can be used against this than that we shall pretend that we cannot remain there, but shall be obliged to close the lodge

The Dutch
required to pay
a part of the
subsidy.

The Dutch
submit
to oppressive
levies.

and go away. They would by no means like this, but prefer to content us and see to it that the debts of the old merchants Cassuba and Santuba are paid. But we doubt whether they would take such pains for us, because they have the English, and at present also the French, at the works, by whom they would perhaps be more humoured than by us. Besides, who knows but that the new Resident Rombout Lefer (Lefeber), who went there in the flyboat Alfén, will know better how to deal with those people, which time must reveal.

Kol. Arch. 1160, fol. 982. Lenartsz to Lords 17, Wingurla, 29 December 1669.

Shivaji and the Portuguese (Vol. II, p. 513)

This letter mentions one cause of the beginning of hostilities between Shivaji and the Portuguese at the end of 1669.

The noble Sivasi has several times applied to the above-mentioned Viceroy about the little ship of Kimsi with

the cargo, but every time he met with a refusal,

Shivaji's men
ill-treated at
Goa.

as it had been returned to its right master ?)

by the Council after mature deliberation, this resolution had been taken in due form, so the

Viceroy could not change it. Hereupon that tyrant sent several envoys with the threat that he would come and lay siege to Goa. The Viceroy, not being able to stand this any longer, thrashed one of the messengers with a cane, saying, "I do not beat you, but your master, and tell him so; if he wants to come, we shall await him without any need for him to utter threats." Then he had all the servants of Sivasi chased ignominiously out of Goa with the message that if any business of Sivasy had to be done with him, this could happen through two or three servants without arms. At present the said tyrant has arrived at Coudoel with his troops with the professed plan of attacking Goa. However, we can hardly believe this, as the Portuguese are well on their guard. Meanwhile time must show the result.

APPENDIX III

Dutch Records at Batavia

(These and other documents given in the text were kindly translated by
Prof. E. C. Godee Molsbergen, Archivist at Batavia).

Shivaji's victories and Bijapur maladministration

There is one letter of 16th December 1660 in Batavia Archives on the maladministration of the Queen and the extraordinary victories of Shivaji. Its translation from the India Office Records is given on pages 69-70 *supra*. Therein the names Zollegan and Chare Chan are wrongly read in the London copy. These should be replaced by Fettehchan and Chavas Chan. The last part of the letter as given in the Batavia copy runs thus:—

“The said Chaveschan up till now has proved to be friendly to the Company, but seems to be at the beginning of his reign of a fickle disposition, as Wingurla during the short period of his reign received its second governor Achad, and at the departure of the ships another Chan was expected, all obnoxious alterations to the poor people, but these Lords care little about their subjects and attend merely to their own profit and loot to obtain the highest revenue.¹

Shahji's conquests in the South (Part I, 146-150)

“We will begin to speak now about Nagapatam and the Tansjouwer District. The state of affairs is this that those provinces by wars and famine have been so depopulated by the death of a lot of people, that the slave trade there came to a complete standstill. Rice however is there in abundance and available at a cheap price. These districts will want a period of tranquillity before recovering their breath. The trade is slow and next to nothing. The Naik or prince has left his hiding-place and went to the capital Tansjouwer, having had a mutiny with the Naik of Madura and the general

1. Letter Book 1660-61: 16th December 1660.

Sahagie, Antoex Pantoil and Lingamanaik to conclude a contract for defensive and offensive warfare, but there was no result as the aforesaid Naiks secretly tried to murder Sahagie, who thereupon besieged the fortress of Tegenapatam and on the 4th of February last took possession of the town by treaty. So the Company's lodge there is now, however, not without peril, under his sway. Governor Pitt does not expect him to harm the Company as it is not unknown to him that the Company can rely upon her great forces at Porto Novo and is able to deprive him of all his revenue."¹

Defeat of Shaista Khan and an expected attack on Wingurla

The trouble continues and it seems that the rebel Siwasie is rather increasing in power instead of being in decline. Some time ago, he dared to lead a surprise-attack on the Mogul's army, as they say, numbering 40,000 horsemen and a great number of soldiers, and put it to the rout. The general had to leave two of his sons and many of his wives. He himself had a narrow escape, being wounded. This success will increase his (Siwasie's) bravery, so that one keeps in mind the possibility that he will attack the commercial town of Wingurla, some day or other, and get an enormous booty. For that reason our officials had a ship in readiness on the roadstead, storing the most valuable goods therein, which were now in safety at Ragiaback (Raibag) with the exception of the cloth, as the daily rains prevented the expedition. What will become of the afore-said Siwasie God knows."²

Shivaji waxing strong against Bijapur and the Mogul

(Pp. 101-117 *supra*)

" The cause of the slow trade at Wingurla lies principally in the wars, still going on in those countries and no end of them is soon to be expected. The robber-chief Siwasi is still increasing in power and importance. The King of Visiapour

1. Letter Book 1661-62. 20 December 1661. The rest of the letter is similar to the one given on Pp. 147-8 of Part I.

2. Letter Book 1663-64. 21 December 1663.

brought an army in the field against him, but our officials are of opinion that they intend some co-operation and thus strengthen each other against the Mogul. Preparations at sea are also made by Siwasi; the aim is not known. Up till now Wingurla remained undisturbed by him, but many a time we were in fear. May the Lord protect the town and the Company.

Badrapaneyk of Canara died, as people say, by poison, and his younger brother, 8 years old succeeded. This again brings riots and wars into that country.

A letter of Resident Lenartsz dated Oct. 23, mentions that the war is still going on. The armies of the Mogul and of Visiapour were unsuccessful in the operations against the robber Siwasi. He had raised a fleet of 40 battleships in the rivers of Carapatan and Rajiapour, and a greater number was in construction. The aim was unknown.¹

From our Resident Leendert Lenartsz we received the letters dated 22-1; 29-4 and 15-5 of last year (1665). In our former letters we informed Your Honours about the vexations and robberies of that robber-captain Siwasi. He has increased in power, both at sea and on shore. Our officials, fearing that some day or other he might attack Wingurla, though he professes to be our good friend, felt themselves compelled, till the danger might be over, to remove with the most valuable goods to Goa and seek the protection of the Portuguese, where our men were kindly welcomed by the Viceroy and high officials. In the meantime the lodge at Wingurla remained occupied, with the assistance of some hired native soldiers. To this fact only our Resident attributes the preservation of that place. He thinks the King (of Bijapur) ought to pay in a large sum (for keeping the town from the hands of the enemy), but we are not of opinion that the King's intention goes in that direction.²

1. Letter Book 1664-65. 23 December 1664

2. Letter Book 1666. 30 January 1666.

Shivaji's activities after his escape from Agra

(See Chap. IX and Pp. 560-569)

The well-known Siwasi, in May of last year, had repaired to the court of Agra with large presents consisting of stolen goods, but he did not meet with a kind reception. Some say he was in jail, others that he had been murdered already, but the last news from Bengal mentions that he escaped death, and that he again collected an army of 3 or 4,000 horsemen and was victorious in a battle with the King's force off Brampour, so that he is still in a good condition.

At last Lord Hackim had the goods which had been stolen from the Company by the said Siwasi and stored at Bijapur, recovered and handed to one of the Company's officials who was re-packing them. This is a success. It is to be hoped that, seeing the unsafety of the highways, they will arrive in good condition at Wingurla and not be robbed again, as Your Honours may read in the letter (from that Lodge).

Shivaji against the Portuguese in Bardes

"Against the Island of Bardees which was for many years in possession of the Portuguese, Siwasie led an invasion and took some villages, but was not prevented to do so by the Portuguese. He also seems to covet the Island of Salset belonging to the King of Visiapour. Whether he has taken it, is not known to us. The Portuguese seem to stand in awe of him, and as he rules now the low country, Resident Leendert Lenartsz was morally bound to congratulate him with a present of 253 pagodes. Siwasi was lavish with great promises of favour, when necessary, to the Company, but we cannot rely upon this. He seriously begged to be informed in case war broke out again between us and the Portuguese, as he was willing to side with us to expel them from the country. We are of opinion that he is serious in this matter,

1. Letter Bcok 1667. 25 January 1667.

as he has a strong antipathy against them, which might serve our views.

The old Queen Mother of Visiapour, often mentioned in our letters, according to the letter from our Resident died at Mocha by sorrow, so that we will not be vexed by her any more." ¹

Second Sack of Surat (P. 330 *supra*)

"The five letters dated 18-12-1670, we received this year, on the 14th of February. These were brought by a vessel belonging to the King of Bantam. The news was bad. We were informed that the heathen robber Siwajie in the month of October attacked the town of Suratte with a strong army consisting of horsemen and soldiers, and completely sacked it in the period of three days, burnt it and carried away an enormous booty. The Moors made no resistance at all. Our ship arrived 8 days after that invasion on the 21st of October from Batavia at Swally Road in good condition, and although the Company has not suffered any damage, we remain in great fear.

Of the well-known robber Siwasi the wings were clipped by the power of the Mogul and the King of Visiapour. But one cannot rely upon it, as he is a clever fellow who has friends and spies at court, and gets in this way continual information about their intentions." ²

Shivaji's activities in 1673

"The vexations and worry at Wingurla have increased in such a way that our officials, fearing to be robbed by the robber Siwasi, were compelled to remove and to transport the goods to Condaware—a commercial town beyond Goa. At Wingurla remained one assistant and three other Netherlanders (Dutch men) for the preservation of the lodge." ³

1. Letter Book 1668-69. 18 October 1668.
2. Letter Book 1671-72. 19 December 1671.
3. Letter Book 1673-74. 13 November 1673.

The well-known Siwasi is ruling the country just as before, notwithstanding the armies of the Great Mogul and the King of Visiapour defeated him once or twice. But he was too clever and saw his way to regain by money what he had lost by force. He took possession in this way of a very important castle without any resistance from the Moors. This increased his influence and glory.

Your Honours will read that in Surat people live in fear for a third invasion by the famous rebel Siwasi, as parts of his army had reached the neighbourhood of the town, this makes residence in that town far from safe." ¹

1. Ult. January 1674.

APPENDIX IV

Treaty between Shivaji and Sawants, 1659

The terms of the treaty were:— (1) The Sawants should be confirmed in their possessions. They should give half the revenue to Shivaji and keep the other half to themselves. But with this income 3,000 men were to be recruited in the infantry. Whenever the Raja would need their service, these men should be sent. Even the Sawants should themselves attend whenever their presence was required by the Raja.

(2) The fort and territory of Phonda be given over to the Raja, but the Sawants should help to defend the same whenever necessity arose.

In an expedition against Bednur, the Sawants would have to go for assisting in its conquest.

(3) They should keep themselves in touch with Shivaji through their Vakil; and fight against the Turks (Muslims) for the establishment of Swarajya.

(4) The officers of the Raja (Shivaji) would, from time to time, visit the territory for the assessment of revenue. These should be assisted in their work according to the orders of the suzerain.


(5) The lordship of the territory, the jagirs (Watans) and the title of 'Bahadur' are confirmed for ever. The forts, kots, and thanas are to remain in the possession of the Sawants, but the officers of the Raja should also remain there.

This treaty of five articles which was signed on 5th March 1659 (Phalgun Vadi 7 of 1580 Shaka) is a very important document, since it brings out its real purpose which was the establishment of Swarajya in place of the Muslim kingdoms, reveals the ambition of Shivaji for the conquest of the country up to Bednur, and shows his new system of administration. The officers for revenue collection and

supervision of administration in the province under the Sawants were to be appointed by the suzerain, Shivaji. A subsidiary force was to be kept by the Sawants for the Raja's service. The country was virtually to be administered in the name of and for the benefit of Shivaji. These harsh conditions very much fettered the freedom of the Desais of Kudal. They submitted to the terms in time of danger, but repented of them afterwards. Shortly after they broke the terms of the treaty and resumed² their allegiance to Bijapur. Their subsequent relations with Shivaji have been described in Chapter V.

1. G. Duff (p. 15) refers to a copy of the original treaty; it is now available in the Sawantwaree Sansthancha Itihas. App. P. 9.

2. Mr. Pingulkar wrongly places Shivaji's letter to his father in 1658 instead of in 1663 and connects it with the first treaty with the Sawants, although it really refers to the second treaty mentioned in the Dagh-Register. But even this agreement was broken before the ink was dry on it. Lakham Savant joined the Bijapur commander Aziz Khan in 1664 for capturing Kudal from Shivaji. The three Firmans supposed to be issued in 1664 by Muhammad Shah of Bijapur would seem to be spurious, as Muhammad Shah had died in November 1656. But there is one Firmam of Ali Adil Shah, which confirms the subject of the other three Firmans. Hence it appears that the seal of Muhammad Shah was also being indiscriminately used on some documents. The King bestowed Malwan and a good many other places on Lakham Savant for his service against Shivaji. (For details see Shivaji Part I, pp. 136, 205; Shivaji Vol. I, pp. 113-116; Savantwadi Sansthancha Itihas, App. pp. 9-13).



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* J. P. is Jaipur Pothikhana.

† P. W. M. is Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.